

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XXIII. 1935-36.

EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

PUBLISHED BY MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED BY MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA
1940

CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAOL
ACHARYA, G V —	
No 23 A Grant of Gurjara King Jayabhinava III [Kalachuri] year 486	147
ALTFKAR, A S, M A D LITT —	
No 7 Three Maulhara Inscriptions on Xupais Kanti year 205	12
No 20 Two Inscriptions from Shergadhi	131
No 48 A Note on the Date of the Manne Plates of Stambha Ranavalola	293
BACAN, R G, M A, PH D —	
No 10 The Puri Plates of Madhavavarman Samvabhinava	122
BHATTACHARYA P N —	
No 13 Badalhimedi Copper plates of Indrayavarman	78
No 47 Nalanda Plate of Dharmapaladeva	290
CHAKRAVARTI S N M A —	
No 12 Four Ganga Copper plate Grants	261
CHHAJIA, B CH, M A, M O L, PH D —	
No 12 Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Devendravarman the year 308	73
No 21 Upalada Plates of Panaka Ramadeva	141
No 31 A Note on the Tiruvay Rock Inscription	196
No 40 Sonapur Plates of Mahabharata (II) Janamejaya, the year 17	218
No 16 Umanandi Lamp Inscription in Kharoshthi	250
DAVER, S R, M A, S A H R E —	
No 58 A Note on the Rajapura Copper plates of Madhurantakadeva Samvat 987	214
DEB, HARIT KISHNA —	
No 34 Sone East Bank Copper plate of Indradeva and Udavaraja	222
DHESHT, K N, M A RAO BAHADUR —	
No 16 A Note on the Phor State Museum Copper Plate of Khambha II	99
No 17 Three Copper plate Inscriptions from Gionri	101
HOSOW STR, PH D —	
No 6 Hidda Inscription of the year 29	35
No 39 Allahabad Museum Inscriptions of the year 57	915
KISHORACHARI, C P, B A —	
No 47 A Note on the Parah Copper plate of Bhojadeva	242
KRISHNARAO BHANAJI V, B A, B L —	
No 25 Tandilonda Grant of Ammaraja II	161
LAW, BIMALA CHU, PH D, M A, B L —	
No 36 A Pali Counterpart of the Nalanda Text of Pratityasamutpadavibhanga	241
MAJUMDAR, N G, M A —	
No 8 Nandapur Copper plate of the Gupta year 163	52
No 24 Mallararui Copper plate of Vijayasthana	166
No 32 Four Copper plates from Soro	197

	PAGE
MAJUMDAR, R C, M A, Ph D —	
No 9 Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman King of Kalinga	56
,, 10 Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarmah the year 79	62
,, 11 Ganjam Copper plates of Vajrahasta III, Saka Samvat 991	67
MIRASHI, V V, M A —	
No 1 Pendrabandh Plates of Pratapamalla the [Kalichuri] year 965	1
,, 2 Anjanavati Plates of Govinda III, Saka year 722	8
,, 14 Pattin Plates of Pravarasena II	81
,, 18 Mallar Plates of Maha Sivagupta (see also Pandeya, L P, Pandit)	113
,, 26 A Note on the Dates of Uchchakalpa Kings	171
,, 33 Two Copper plate Inscriptions from Borar	204
,, 41 Karitilai Stone Inscription of Lakshmanaraja [Kalichuri] Samvat 593	255
,, 49 A Further Note on the Date of the Manno Plates of Stambha	295
NAGAR, M M, M A —	
No 29 Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Queen Uddaladevi V S 1294	186
PANCHAVUKKI, R S, M A —	
No 15 Tandivada Grant of Prithivi Maharaja 46th year	88
,, 28 Sangur Inscription of Devarava Maharaja Saka 1329	182
,, 30 Sangur Inscription of Yadava Mahadevaraya Saka 1186	189
PANDEYA, L P, PANDIT —	
No 3 Arang Plates of Maha Sudevaraja	18
,, 18 Mallar Plates of Maha Sivagupta (see also Mirashi, V V, M A)	113
RAMANATHA Aiyar, A S, B A —	
No 45 Four Pandya Records from Ukkirankottai	233
SANTAPPA, H D, M A, LL B, Ph D —	
No 43 Six Silahara Inscriptions in the Prince of Wales Museum (see also Upadhyaya, S C, M A, LL B)	269
,, 44 A Stone Inscription of Yadava Ramachandra Saka 1222 (see also Upadhyaya, S C, M A, LL B)	281
SUBRAHMANYA Aiyar, K V, B A —	
No 4 A Note on the Panchavara Committee	22
UPADHYAYA, S C, M A, LL B —	
No 43 Six Silahara Inscriptions in Prince of Wales Museum (see also Sankha, H D, M A, LL B)	269
,, 44 A Stone Inscription of Yadava Ramachandra Saka 1222 (see also Sankha, H D, M A, LL B)	281
UPADHIL, A N, M A —	
No 5 Kolhapur Copper plates of Gandaradityadeva Saka 1048	28
VENKATASUBBA Aiyar, V, B A —	
No 22 The Melpatthi Inscription of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman	143
,, 27 The Valur Inscription of Kopperunjungadeva	174
VIAS, AKSHAYA KEFRTY, M A, SAMSKRITI Pt —	
No 35 Srungi Rishi Inscription of Prince Mokala	230
INDEX — by B Ch Chhabra, M A, M O L, Ph D	299
Title page, Contents, List of Plates and Additions and Corrections	1-111

LIST OF PLATES.

No	1 Pendrabandh Plates of Pra'apamalla the Kalachuri Year 965	between pages 4 & 5
„	2 Anjanavati Plates of Govinda III, Saka Year 722	to face page 16
„	3 Arang Plates of Mahasudevaraja	between pages 20 & 21
„	4 Kolhapur Copper plates of Gandaradityadeva, Saka 1048	„ „ 30 & 31
„	5 Hidda Inscription of the Year 28	to face page 42
„	6 Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yupas Krita Year 295	between pages 52 & 53
„	7 Nandapur Copper plate of the Gupta Year 169	to face page 54
„	8 Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga	between pages 60 & 61
„	9 Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarman, the Year 79	„ „ 66 & 67
„	10 Ganjam Copper plates of Vajrabhata III, Saka Samvat 991	to face page 72
„	11 Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Devendrarvarman, the Year 308	between pages 76 & 77
„	12 Badakhmedhi Copper plates of Indravarmān	„ „ 80 & 81
„	13 Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II 1 to iv, a	„ „ 86 & 87
„	14 Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II iv, b to v	to face page 88
„	15 Tandivada Grant of Prithivi Maharaja, 46th Year	between pages 96 & 97
„	16 Three Copper plate Inscriptions from Gaonri— A —Fragmentary Grant of the Rashtrakuta Suvarnnavarsha (Govinda IV), Saka 851	to face page 106
„	17 B —Plates of Vakpati Munja V S 1038	between pages 108 & 109
„	18 B —Plates of Vakpati Munja V S 1038 (II)	to face page 111
„	19 C —Plates of Vakpati Munja V S 1043	between pages 112 & 113
„	20 Mallar Plates of Maha Sivagupta	„ „ 120 & 121
„	21 Puri Plates of Madhavayarmān Samyabhatta	„ „ 128 & 129
„	22 Upplada Plates of Ranaka Ramadeva	to face page 142
„	23 Melpratti Inscription of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman	„ „ 147
„	24 A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhata III [Kalachuri] Year 486	between pages 150 & 151
„	25 Mallasarui Copper plate of Vijayasena	„ „ 160 & 161
„	26 Tandikonda Grant of Ammaraja II	„ „ 168 & 169
„	27 The Vailur Inscription of Kopperunjungadeva	to face page 180
„	28 Four Copper plates from Soro— A —Plate of Maharaja Sambhuyasas, the Year 260	to face page 200
	B —Plate of Somadatta the Year 15	„ „ 201
„	29 C —Another plate of Somadatta, the Year 15	„ „ 202
	D —Plate of Maharaja Bhanudatta, the Year 5	„ „ 203
„	30 Two Copper plate Inscriptions from Berar— A —Sisava Grant of Govinda III, Saka Year 729	between pages 210 & 211
„	31 B —Lohara Grant of Govinda III, Saka Year 734	„ „ 220 & 221
„	32 Sone East-Bank Copper plate of Indradeva and Udayaraja	to face page 228
„	33 Sringi Rishi Inscription of Prince Mokaja	„ „ 236
„	34 Allahabad Museum Inscriptions of the Year 87	„ „ 248
„	35 Sonepur Plates of Maha Bhavagupta (II) Janamejaya, the Year 17	„ „ 252
„	36 Karitalai Stone Inscription of Lakshmanaraja [Kalachuri] Samvat 593	„ „ 260
„	37 Four Ganga Copper plate Grants — A —Plates of Maharaja Jayavarmadeva	between pages 262 & 263
„	38 B —Plates of Danarnavadeva	„ „ 264 & 265
„	39 C —Plates of Bhupendravarmadeva	to face page 267
„	40 D —Plates of Ranaka Jayavarmadeva	between pages 278 & 269
„	41 Four Pandya Records from Ukkirankottai	„ „ 286 & 287
„	42 Utmanzai Lamp Inscription in Kharoshthi	to face page 289

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- 14

- Page 2, last l —For *Karana* read *Śrīkarana*
 „ 4, text l 13 —For *शुद्धि* read *शुद्धि*
 „ 7, (V 15) —For *Brahmana* read *Brāhmana*
 „ 9, l 25 —For *nyukta* read *nyuktal-*
 „ 10, l 25 —Omit *I* in the beginning of the line
 „ 12, f n 2 —For n 4 read p 11, n 7
 „ 12, f n 6 —For *वह्मभनरुद* read *वह्मभेन्द्र*
 „ 12, f n 10 —For *Abhidhāna Chintāmanī* read *Abhidhānachintāmanī*
 „ 12, f n 11 —For *युक्ति* read *युक्ति*
 „ 15, text l 17 —For *हुत्त* read *हत्त*
 „ 16, f n 1 —For *Vaigaon* read *Waigaon*
 „ 26, l 14 —For *irukla* read *irukla*
 „ 27, l 37 —For *-Bhīm* read *-Bhīma*
 „ 27, last l —For *°iārīm* read *°vārīm*
 „ 37, l 9 —For *Khema* read *Kshema*
 „ 38, l 30 —Insert *In* before ‘*Vinaya Pīṭaka*’
 „ 41, para 5, last l —For *pacchaya* read *pachchaya*
 „ 46, l 27 —For *Hōtri* read *Hōtri*
 „ 53, l 26 —For 8 read 7 (N G M)
 „ 53, last l —For bounded on the south by and on read situated to the south of
 and to (N G M)
 „ 55, text l 15 —For *kā lam=* read *kālam=*
 „ 55, text l 19 —For 8 read 7 (N G M)
 „ 56, l 3 —For (bounded) on the south by and on read (. situated)
 to the south of and to (N G M)
 „ 56, l 13 —For 8th read 7th (N G M)
 „ 64, f n 1 —For *XVIII* read *XVII*
 „ 66, text l 13 —For *Ranabhītōday-* read *Ranabhītōday-*
 „ 67, f n 1, l 2 —For *Saka* read *Śaka*
 „ 71, last f n —For 36 read 26
 „ 75, top l —For 398 read 308
 „ 77, f n 14 —For *danda* read *danda*
 „ 78, text l 37 —For *khandimāla* read *Khandimāla*
 „ 82, f n 5 —For *Pōdāgad* read *Podāgadh*
 „ 84, last f n —Insert the figure 8 before *See*
 „ 86, f n 9 —For *°kritya* read *°kritya*
 „ 87, text l 44 —For *सेनपति* read *सेनापति*
 „ 89, f n 7 —For *Brihatprōshtha* inscription of *Umāvarman* read *Brihatprōshthā* grant of
Umavarman
 „ 90, f n 5 —For *Sōmavamsī* read *Sōmavamsī*
 „ 101, f n 2 —For *vyāghatē* read *vyāghātē*, and for *karṭṭavyā* read *karṭṭavyān.*
 „ 116, f n 5 —For *Pēnthāma* read *Pēnthāma*

- Page 141, text l 14 —For कृडयक read कृडयक
 „ 144, l 11 —For Miyāru- read Miyāru-
 „ 147, l 6 —For Miyāru read Miyāru
 „ 156, f n 5 —For *Indian Historical Quarterly* read Above
 „ 165, l 28 —For Lakulisa- read Lakulīśa
 „ 166, l 26 —For Kandēruvati read Kandēruvātī
 „ 168, text l 29 —For °रिवनीम read °रवनीम
 „ 174, f n 8 —For Rajasimha read Rājasimha
 „ 175, l 4 —For verses read metres
 „ 190 l 3 —For Chāvundarasa read Chaudarasa
 „ 190, l 9 —For Changūr read Changūra
 „ 192, last para l 4 —For Arjunvād read Arjunavāda
 „ 194, l 2 —For Bāsura read Bāsūra and for Chanjūru read Changūra
 „ 194, l 7 —For Bāsura read Bāsūra
 „ 194, l 9 —For Changuru read Changūra
 „ 195, last l —For Bāsura read Bāsūra
 „ 204, para 3, l 13 —For -āśā vadhayah read āś āvadhayah
 „ 206, f n 4 —For Tungabhadra read Tungabhadrā
 „ 214, f n 2 —For Annasāvi read Annasāvi and for Sannasāvi read Sannasāvi
 „ 216, l 4 —For Śrīvardhana read Śrībhavana
 „ 220, f n 3 —For मौलिक read मौलिक
 „ 221, f n 9 —For °शदधिकेषु read चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकेषु
 „ 223, para 5, l 5 —For nipa read nripa
 „ 224, l 2 —For Śrīdhara read Śrīdhara
 „ 225, f n 4 —Insert 223 after p and l after n
 „ 226, l 6 —For Mahāmanda- read Mahāmanda-
 „ 226, l 11 —For Jayvijaya read Jayavijaya
 „ 227, l 25 —For Chalukya read Chālukya
 „ 227, l 32 —For Śikhariṃ read Śikhariṃ
 „ 229, text l 23 —For म्वादेना° read म्वादेना°
 „ 242, l 4 from below —For p 15 read p 16 and delete the first inverted comma
 „ 242, f n 2 —For *Ibid* read C I I Vol III
 „ 248, No 40, para 1, l 4 —For Khambēsvaraī read Khambēsvari
 „ 250, f n 14, l 2 —For śakala- read śakala
 „ 252, text l 32 —For (स्नेय) read (स्नेय)
 „ 262, f n 8 —For Jēda(gatā)śringa read Jēda(Jatā)śringa
 „ 263, f n 1, l 2 —For Rā aha read Rūnala
 „ 276, text l 9 —For अमसि(श)व read अमसि(शिव)
 „ 280, l 7 —For Chamdiye read Chamdiye
 „ 280, l 13 —For Chanja read Chanje

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIII

No 1 —PENDRABANDH PLATES OF PRATAPAMALLA THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 965

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

These plates were first brought to my notice in February 1934 by Pandit Lochana Prasada Pandeya, Honorary Secretary, Mahākosala Historical Society, who desired me to edit them I requested the Curator of the Nagpur Museum to procure the plates for my examination, which he kindly did through the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur The plates are in the possession of Thākur Gokul Singh, Mālguzār of Pēndrābandh, a village (N Lat 21 39, E Long 83) in the Balōdā Bazār *tahsil* of the Raipur District, C P, and it is said that they have been in his family for some generations

They are two massive copper-plates measuring from $11\frac{1}{2}$ " to 12" in length and from $7\frac{1}{2}$ " to 8" in breadth and about 1" in thickness The first plate weighs 155 *tolas* and the second 133 *tolas* At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for a ring to connect it with the other plate This ring, which is also of copper, is circular in shape and about 4" in diameter, with a round seal 2 6" in diameter About one third portion of the ring was broken off when the plates reached me The plates were not, therefore, connected by the ring, but there is no reason to doubt that the latter actually belongs to the plates The weight of the broken ring with the seal is 16 *tolas* The edges of the plates have been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims Still the inscription is very well preserved and there is no uncertainty about its reading The plates are inscribed on the inner side only There are 35 lines in all, 17 being inscribed on the first plate and the remaining 18 on the second The average size of letters is 3" except in the last two lines where it is reduced to 2" On the seal is inscribed in the centre a crudely executed figure of Lakshmi, seated cross legged on a lotus seat, flanked on either side by an elephant with a jar in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess In the lower part of the seal there is the legend *Rāja-śrīmat-Pratāpamalladēvāh* in a horizontal line and below it appears a sheathed sword lying parallel to it The characters are Nāgarī The letters are deeply cut but not well formed Besides the usual form of *ḷ*, there appears another in the conjunct *ḷśh* and occasionally in *ḷr*, see *di(vi)ḷramēna*, l 9 and *samḷrānta*, l 10 In writing conjunct letters the engraver has not distinguished between *pa* and *ya* and *la* and *na*, in some cases he has also incised *pa* for *ma*, see *lasya*, l 6, *Gōḷarṇmau*, l 12 and *Suvarṇna*-, l 21, and *nirṇpita* for *nirṇmīta*, l 9 A final consonant is shown by a slanting stroke at the foot of the vertical only in one case, viz, *vasēḷ*, l 32, but contrast *vandhūna* for *bandhūn*, l 6, *śatrūna* for *śatrūn*, l 9, etc The signs for the superscript *r* and *anusāra* are, in some cases, added before the sign for medial *ī*, cf *-r=dīnē*, l 19 and *mahatīm* l 19 The sign for *avagraha* in l 2 differs from that in l 26 A superfluous syllable is scored off by two short vertical strokes at the top, see *nri* in l 32 The *visarga* which was wrongly omitted after *khamdāna* in l 14 is written immediately below the line In two other cases the omission is indicated by a *kākapada*, whose position and

form indicate whether the addenda are given at the top or at the bottom of the plate. A figure following the addendum indicates the line where the omitted syllable or word is to be supplied. Thus *suṛṭṭaḥ* and *ga* which were omitted in ll 11 and 14 are supplied with the figures 11 and 14 respectively at the bottom on the first plate. Similarly *nē*, which was omitted in the second line on the second plate, is incised with the figure 2 at the top of the plate.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the customary salutation to Brahman in the first line and mention of the date and the place of issue in the last, the whole record is in verse. The verses, of which there are twenty-nine, are all numbered except the last one. As regards orthography we may note that *v* is generally written for *b* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (cf. *Vrahmanē* and *Svām* in l 1) and *vice versā*, e.g., in *āsīd=āsīma-* for *āsīd=āsīma-*, l 16, *y* is used for *j* in *Vāyapēya*, l 31. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated only in a few cases, cf. *Kārtavīryah*, ll 2 3, *mārgganē*, l 4, etc.

The object of the plates is to record a grant made by Pratāpamalla, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur. After the usual salutation to Brahman in the first verse, comes the description of the genealogy of the donor. In the family of Manu, the primeval king, who was descended from the Sun, was born Kārtavīrya. From him were descended the Haihayas. Their descendants became well known as Kalachuris in the Chēdi country. In their family was born Kōkalla who had eighteen very brave sons. The eldest of them became the lord of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *mandalas*. In the family of their younger brother was born Kalingarāja. The engraver has, inadvertently, omitted here one complete verse which occurs in cognate records¹ and mentions Kamalarāja, the son of Kalingarāja. The present record, as it stands, makes Ratnarāja(I) the son and successor of Kalingarāja. From Ratnarāja(I) was born Prithvidēva(I), the father of Jājalladēva(I). The latter's son was Ratnadēva(II), of matchless valour who routed Chōdaganga and Gōkarnna in battle. From Ratnadēva(II) was born Prithvidēva(II), his son was Jagaddēva, the father of Ratnarāja(III). From the latter was born Pratāpamalla the donor of the present plates. From the description in the plates that, though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that Pratāpamalla came to the throne while quite young. The only important point in the otherwise conventional description of these princes is the mention of Gōkarnna as an associate of Chōdaganga in the fight with Ratnadēva II. I have, elsewhere,² discussed in detail the bearing of this on the date of the fight. Again, it is noteworthy that the present inscription has corroborated what Dr N P Chakravarti had already shown from the damaged Kharōḍ inscription³, viz, that Jājalladēva II had a brother named Jagaddēva,⁴ the father of Ratnadēva III. Our inscription has omitted Jājalladēva II's name probably because he was a collateral

The next four verses (15-18) give the genealogy and description of the donee and state the occasion of the grant. There was a Brāhmana named Suvarnnakara of the Pārāśara *gōtra* and three *pravaras*, viz, Vasishtha, Śakti, and Pārāśara. He had a son named Divākara, who was proficient in the Vēdas. From him was born Sādhāra⁵ who was honoured by the Kalachuris. To him Pratāpamalla gave a village named Kāyathā situated in the Anargha *mandala* on the day of the Makara *sankrānti*. Then follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last verse states that Pratirāja, who was born in a Gauda family and was the light (i.e. the chief) of the *Karana* or Record Office, wrote on the plates with clear letters. The last line states

¹ See e.g. the Amodā plates of Prithvidēva I, above, Vol XIX, p 79, the Amodā plates of Jājalladēva II, *ibid*, pp 211-212, etc.

² Cf. the Sakhō plates of Ratnadēva II, above, Vol XXII, pp 161f.

³ Above, Vol XXI, pp 160 and 162.

⁴ This king may be identical with king Jagaddēva glorified in c. 1261 of the *Sārngadhara paddhati* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1888, p 207).

⁵ See below, p 8, footnote 1.

that the plates were issued from the victorious camp at Palasadā on Tuesday the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in Samvat 965 The *tithi* and the year are expressed in decimal figures only

As in the case of most other records of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era Till now Ratnadēva III, whose Kharōd inscription is dated Chēdi Samvat 933, was the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris The present plates give us one more name, *viz*, that of Pratāpamalla, in this line As a matter of fact the name of this prince was already known from some copper coins, round or hexagonal in shape, found in the vicinity of Bālpur on the Mahānadī Mr Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king¹ has been corroborated by the discovery of the present plates It may be noted in this connection that like the seal of the present plates, these coins also bear the figure of a sword on the reverse² and can, therefore, be undoubtedly assigned to the donor of the present plates

The date of our record appears to be irregular, for according to R B S K Pillar's *Indian Ephemeris*, the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in the Chēdi year 965 (taking it to be an expired year as in the case of most other dates in the Chēdi era) fell on Thursday, 23rd January, A.D 1214 and not on Tuesday as stated in our plates³ If we take the year to be current, the *tithi* falls on Saturday, 2nd February, A.D 1213 The discrepancy can, however, be explained as follows —Though the grant was made on the day of the Makara-sankrānti, the plates were actually issued a few days later as in the case of the Kāvī grant⁴ of Jayabhata III. Now the Makara-sankrānti in the expired Chēdi year 965 fell on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa (25th December, A.D 1213) The plates were, however, actually incised after about a fortnight on the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, which (taking the month to be pūrṇimānta as in the case of other Chēdi dates) fell on a Tuesday The engraver may have, by mistake, incised *sudi* for *vadi* The corresponding English date is, therefore, Tuesday, 7th January, A.D 1214

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present plates, Anarghava⁵, as stated elsewhere⁶, roughly corresponds to the modern Jānjgir *tahsil* of the Bilāspur District The village named Kāyathā is still extant in the form Kartā about 14 miles almost due west of Pēndrābandh and about 4 miles beyond the southern limit of the Jānjgir *tahsil* About Palasadā I may mention that there are several villages named Parsadā or Parsadi in the Balodā Bazār *tahsil*, but the village, where Pratāpamalla's camp was pitched, may be Parsodi about a mile to the north of Kartā

I edit the inscription from the original plates

TEXT

[Metres 'Vv 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16 and 19-28 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 5 and 14, *Upajātī*, vv 3 and 12 *Sragdharā*, v 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 8 and 18 *Mālinī*, v 10 *Śikharinī*, vv 4, 6 and 17 *Vasantatilakā*, v 29 *Indravajrā*]

First Plate

1 ओ^७ ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥ निगुं(गुं)ष व्यापक नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) ।

भावग्राह्य पर ज्योतिस्त्वस्मै सद्र(द्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥

¹ *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol III, p 175

² I owe this information to Mr L P Pandeya who has kindly sent me some coins of this type

³ [The date may be Wednesday, 22nd January, as on this day the tenth *tithi* commenced 1 hour 45 minutes after mean sunrise —Ff]

⁴ *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XVII, pp. 220-21

⁵ Above, Vol XXII, p 163

⁶ Expressed by the letter च with a dot on it.

- 2 यदेतदेतद्रेसमवे(व)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरपः पुराणः । अयास्य पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्त-
- 3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्माच्छ्रुतिर्कोर्त्तः सकलगुणधरा हेहया नेकस¹ को जाता,
प्रत्यर्थिपृष्ठोपतिकरिह-
- 4 रयो मार्गणे कल्पवृक्षाः । तदंसा(शा)चेदिदेसे(शे) कलत्रुगिरिति च ख्याति-
मीयुर्ण²रेन्द्रा जातः क्रोवास्तदेवो न-
- 5 पतिररिक्कुलस्माभुजा धूमकेतुः ॥३॥ अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकुंभविभग्न³सिंहाः पुत्रा
व(व)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यप-
- 6 राय तस्य । तनाग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श) आशो(सी)त्यास्त्रे(श्र्यं) च मंडल-
पतीन्स चकार वं(व)धून(न्) ॥४॥ तेषामनू⁴जस्तु
- 7 कलिगराजः प्रतापवन्दि(ह्नि)चपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये [टु]⁵ट्रिपुप्रवीरप्रियानना-
क्षोरुहपावणे-
- 8 न्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनीजनि रत्नराजो विस्त्रो(श्री)पकारक⁶ण्ण⁷जितपुत्रभारः ।
येन स्ववा(वा)हुयु-
- 9 गनिर्मि(र्मि)तदि(वि)क्रमेण नीत यस(श)स्त्रि(स्त्रि)भुवने विनिहत्य स(श)नून(न्) ॥६॥
पृष्ठीदेवोभवत्तस्मान्नृपः सा(शा)दूल-
- 10 विक्रमः । नखद⁸र्पणसंक्रान्तमभूपालमडलः ॥७॥ अयं रुचिररुचिसौ(यी)राययः
सत्वालोना-
- 11 मनुपठितकलवीनर्धसूक्तिः सहतः⁹ [1*] सकल[गु]णसम्पूः श्री(यी)मतस्तस्य
सुतुर्विधुरिव सुकृतानारधा(न्या)म जाजस्तदेव-
- 12 : ॥८॥ रत्नदेवीभवत्तस्मादभूतोपमविक्रमः । यद्योडगंगगोकर्णै युधि चक्रे पराङ्मुखौ¹⁰
॥९॥ ततोभूदासीम-
- 13 चित्तिवलयविक्रान्त¹¹महिमा हिमानीवत्कान्तैर्जगदपि यशोभिर्ध्व(र्ध्व)वलयन(न्) ।
रणे क्रद्धा(ह)हेपिहिप्रदलनदीक्षाहरिसमः

¹ Read नेकस

² The intended change of नृ to रु here, is ungrammatical. See Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 1. Read -नरेन्द्रा

³ Read -विभग्न-

⁴ The vowel of नू is lengthened for the sake of metre. Many other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur read अनूनस्त which seems to be proper; since such a word is required to be connected with अनन्वये. See Sarkhō plates (above, Vol XXII, p 165, footnote 1)

⁵ Other cognate plates read दिट्.

⁶ This word which was omitted here is supplied with the figure 11 at the bottom of the plate

⁷ The engraver had first incised the conjunct क्ण but afterwards cancelled it and incised only the letter ण at the top of सु

⁸ The vertical stroke of त् is not engraved

34
32
30
28
26
24
22
20
18

34
32
30
28
26
24
22
20
18

22

16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2

16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2

2

- 14 सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपतेः¹ ॥१०॥ प्रचडाखडभूपालयु²ङ्कडूतिखडन.³
[1*] जग⁴देवोभवत्सामृप⁵ स(श)र्दल-
- 15 विक्रमः ॥११॥ तत्पुत्रश्चित्रकोर्त्तिः सकलकलसुरिस्त्राभुजा भूषणश्रीः श्रीमानुत्फुल्ल-
मल्लीनि-
- 16 कारनिभयसो(शो)रासि(शि)भिव्यासविस्त्रः(श्वः) । आशी(सी)दाशी(सी)मभूमौत्रलयपरिह-
दप्रौढदो'काडलीला-
- 17 निर्धृतासे(शे)पवैरिचितिपतिनिवहो भूपती⁵ रत्नराजः ॥१२॥ पुत्रस्तस्य यसो(शो)-
व्त्रि(व्त्रि)लो-

Second Plate

- 18 ललहरीनिर्धृतदिग्मंडलो भूर्त्त्या निर्जितमन्त्रयः समभवत्श्री(श्री)मन्त्रतापो नृपः ।
भूपाला⁶वसो(शो)पणे
- 19 सुनिरसौ स्त्रापालचूडामणिर्दिने वदिजने⁶ द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्तामणिः
॥१३॥ मत्या मद्यत्या मद्यती म-
- 20 ह्रीस(श) प्रतापमल्ली जगदेकमलः । पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(व)लेन
वा(वा)लोपि व(व)लिर्द्वितीयः ॥१४॥
- 21 वसिष्ठस(श)क्तिपारास(श)र इति प्रवरत्रयः । सुवर्ण⁷करनामाभूजोत्रे पारास(श)रे
द्विजः ॥१५॥ दिवाकरश(स)मो लोके
- 22 तेनाजनि दिवाकरः । येनाज्ञानतमो नष्ट⁷ वेदतत्त्व(त्त्व)विदा भुवि ॥१६॥ तस्माद-
जायत गुणी गुणिना गणे-
- 23 पु दान ददत्सु कृपयार्थिजते(ने) वदान्यः । भूर्त्त्या मनोभवसमो महिलामनसु
साधार इत्यमवनीत-
- 24 लसुप्रसिद्धः ॥१७॥ अखिलजनवरिष्टो(ष्टो) धर्मकौर्त्तिप्रतिष्टो(ष्टो) जनिनजनविस्तु(शु)-
द्विर्त्या(न्यर्त्या)यनिस्त्रा⁸(प्रा)तनु(नु)द्विः । सकलगु-
- 25 णसभूहः सत्यसाधारनामा कलसुरिखुलमान्यो योभवत्तस्य पुत्रः ॥१८॥ तस्मै
प्रतापमल्लेन कायठा-

¹ The engraver first incised नृ and then corrected it into नृ

² The vowel of यु was first incised as long and then shortened

³ The visarga after नृ which was omitted at first is incised below the line

⁴ The syllable नृ which was omitted here is incised with the figure 14 at the bottom of the plate There are superfluous marks of *rēpha* on both दे and दी

⁵ The curvo of the medial दृ here is not clearly formed

⁶ The syllable ने which was omitted here is incised with the figure 2 at the top

⁷ The sense requires the form नाशित here

- 26 अनर्घमडले । ग्रामो मकरमकान्ता दत्त¹ सदात्पर्वक ॥१८॥ म(ग)म भद्रामन
च(क)न गजास्त्र(ग) वरवाहन(नम्) । भूमिदानम्(स्य) चि-
- 27 क्ता(का)नि फल स्वर्ग पुरंदर ॥२०॥ उ(व)र्धुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता गजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य।²
- 28 तदा फलम(म्) ॥२१॥ भूमि य प्रतिगन्ता(ला)ति यद्य भूमि प्रयच्छति ।
उभो तो पुण्यकर्माणि नियतो स्वर्गगा-
- 29 भिनो ॥२२॥ पूर्वदत्ता दित्यातिथ्यो यदादध पुरंदर । मर्त्यो मर्त्यभृता
से(त्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालन(नम्) ॥२३॥
- 30 स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत्(त व)सुधरा(गम्) । म पि[छा]या कृमिर्मत्वा
पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२४॥ तज्जगाना सहस्रे(से)ण
- 31 वाय(क्व)पिद्यस(ग)तिन च । गवा कौटिलदानेन भूमिर्हता न सु(ग)ध्यति ॥२५॥
षष्टिवर्षमजसाणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
- 32 आच्छेत्ता चातुसत्ता(न्ता) च तान्येष नरकं वसेत् ॥२६॥ षष्ट्युत्त(त्ति) हुत चैव ।
यत्किंचिदमीमचित(तम्) । अर्धगुणैर्न मीमाया³
- 33 हरणेन भ्रास्य(ग्य)ति ॥२७॥ यदास पतित स(ग)क तेनयि(वि)दुष्यिंसर्पति ।
एवं भूमिदत्त दान सस्ये सस्ये प्ररोदति ॥२८॥
- 34 गौडान्वयोय प्रतिराजसा(ना)सा विद्याः स्तु धिः सी(त्री)करणप्रदीप । स्वप्ना-
स(ग)य सर्वजनप्रसिद्धताम्र(स्तामे) विविण प्रकटंस्तु वा⁴ ॥२९॥⁵
- 35 सवत(त्)६६५ द⁶ पलसुदानमात्रासिद्धि(तवि)जयकाटके ॥ माघशुदि १० मंगलदिने ॥

TRANSLATION

Om! Obedience to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Obedience to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light, conceivable by the mind

(V 2) This foremost luminary of the firmament that is the Sun the primeval Being. Then was (born) his son, Manu, the first of kings. In his dynasty was (born) Kārtavīrya on the earth.

(V 3) From him who surpassed the fame of Indra were born on the earth many Hariharyas, endowed with all merits, who were harnessed to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and wish-

¹ The engraver first inscribed द and then corrected it into त

² च which was first inscribed is corrected into य

³ Thus *janā* is superfluous

⁴ There is a syllable *ny* after *u* but the engraver has indicated by two vertical strokes on it that the syllable was inserted by mistake and is to be omitted

⁵ Read सीमाया

⁶ This syllable is superfluous. In the present case it can hardly be taken as the Kanarese genitive affix. [The portion in this line beginning with *Palasada* and ending with the *danjā* after *Paṭāl* should perhaps have come at the beginning. It may be that the engraver finding out his mistake used this sign to indicate that this portion is not connected with the date.—Ed.]

fulfilling trees to the suppliant The kings, who were (*born*) in their family, became famous as Kālachuris in the Chēdi country (*In their family*) was born king Kōkalladēva, who was a comet to the kings of the families of his enemies¹

(V 4) To him were born eighteen, very valorous sons, (*who were*) hons in breaking open the temples of elephants in the form of his enemies The eldest of them was the lord of Tripurī, and he made his brothers the lords of *mandalas* by his side

(V 5) In (*that*) family was born their younger brother, Kalimgarāja, who exterminated the hostile kings by the fire of his valour, and who was the full moon to the day-lotuses in the form of the faces of the beloveds of the mighty warriors of (*his*) wicked enemies

(V 6) He begat the moon-faced Ratnarāja, who had acquired a mass of religious merit by showing compassion to and conferring obligation on the (*whole*) world (*and*) who, destroying his enemies by the valour of both his arms, spread his fame in the three worlds

(V 7) From him was born king Prithvidēva whose prowess was like that of a tiger (*and*) in the mirrors of whose nails was reflected a host of princes who bowed to him

(V 8) Then that glorious king's son was Jājalladēva who was, like the moon, without any spots, who was of radiant complexion and majesty, was the repository of good arts (as the moon contains the *kalās*), was endowed with an inestimable form, was virtuous (as the moon has a well rounded form), who possessed all the qualities and who was an abode of all merits

(V 9) From him was born Ratnadēva of incomparable valour, who, in battle, vanquished Chōdaganga and Gōkarnna (*lit* made them turn their faces away)

(V 10) Then was born to that king a son named Prithvidēva, whose power extended to the bounds of the circle of the earth, who whitened the world with his lovely glory, like a mass of snow, who devoted himself to the extermination of his wrathful foes in battle, as a lion does (*in the case of*) infuriated elephants and who was a destroyer of demons (*i e*, wicked people)

(V 11) From him was born king Jagaddēva, who possessed the prowess of a tiger and who destroyed the itch of fighting of all powerful kings

(V 12) His son was the glorious king Ratnarāja, of wonderful fame, who was the excellent ornament of all Kalachuri kings, who filled the universe with the mass of his fame resembling a heap of blooming jasmine flowers, who destroyed all the hosts of hostile kings by the play of his massive arms, which were the masters of the circle of the earth to the (*extreme*) boundaries

(V 13) Then was born his son, the glorious king Pratāpa, who has cleaned the circle of quarters with the rolling waves of the ocean of his fame, who has surpassed Cupid by his form, who is the sago (*Agastya*) in drying up the ocean in the form of (*hostile*) kings, (*who is*) the crest-jewel of kings and who is always the philosopher's stone to the poor, the panegyrist, the Brāhmanas and the meritorious

(V 14) Pratāpamalla, of great intellect, who is the lord of the earth, (*and*) the pre-eminent warrior of the world, and who, though a boy, is a second Bali in strength and has made, by his arms, this wide earth (*look*) small

(V 15) There was a Brahmana named Suvarnakara in the Pārāsara *gōtra*, with three *paras*—viz, Vasishtha, Śakti and Pārāsara

(V 16) He begat Divākara, who was like the sun in this world, who knowing the essence of the Vedas, dispelled the darkness of ignorance on the earth

(V 17) From him was born a meritorious (*son*), who has become well known by the name of Sādhāra, who, is (*reckoned as*) the (*most*) meritorious among multitudes of meritorious persons (*and as*) beneficent among those who make gifts out of compassion (*and*) who in form appears like the mind-born (Cupid) to the minds of ladies

¹ *I e*, he caused their destruction

(V 18) Who was his (i.e., Divākara's)¹ son, the foremost among all people, who is famed for religious merit, who has caused the purification of the people, whose intellect is proficient in Nyāya (logic), who, being possessed of the whole multitude of merits, is truly called Sādhārī and who is honoured by the Kalachuri family

(V 19) To him Pratāpamalla gave, with a solemn declaration, on the Makura sankrānti, a village named Kāyathā (situated) in Anargha mandala

(Here follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses)

This ocean of learning named Pratirāja of the Gauda family, the light (i.e., chief) of *Śrī Varana* (Record Office), who entertains pure thoughts and is famous among all people has written (on this) copper (charter) with clear letters

At the victorious camp pitched at Palasrādā, on Tuesday the tenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year 965

NO. 2—ANJANAVATI PLATES OF GOVINDA III, SAKA YEAR 722

By PROF. V. V. BHASINI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR

The copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were found in May 1935, in the possession of Mr. Naray in Tukaram Pande of Añjanavati or Añjati, a village (Lat. 20° 55' N, Long. 78° 6' W) in the Chaudur Taluq. about 22 miles almost due east of Amraoti in Berar. We obtained them for editing from Mr. N. R. Purand of Nibhangwān through the good offices of Dr. K. B. Hegdekar of Nagpur. The plates when first found, were covered with verdigris in some places but they have since been cleaned by the Government Epigraphist who has also kindly supplied us with rubbings.

They are three copper-plates each measuring 10.3" in length, from 6.5" to 6.9" in breadth and about $\frac{1}{8}$ " in thickness. The middle plate is slightly thicker than the others. Their ends are raised to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right side, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " from the end, each plate has a circular hole about 6" in diameter for the ring which is connected it with other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about 1" in thickness and 3.1" in diameter, were soldered into the socket of a scroll. The latter is circular, 1.6" in diameter, and contains on a countersunk surface a representation of Gaṇeś, sitting crolegged on a lotus and facing full front. The scroll does not contain any legend. The ring was not cut when the plates came to our hands. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 228 $\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letter here and there are damaged by verdigris, but in almost all cases they can either be read from the traces left on the plates or easily supplied from other records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, with which the present plates have a considerable portion in common. The names of the donces and localities are difficult of deciphering due to the careless manner in which the record is inscribed. The repetition of the names of most of the donces in ll. 55-58 where their *gotras* as well as the shares assigned to each are recorded, has, however, helped us in the correct decipherment of some doubtful letters. There are 58 lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, thirteen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate, and the remaining sixteen on the third plate. The last line

¹ This verse *pramāṇa* seems to describe a person named Satyaśīdhārī who was a son of Sādhārī mentioned in the preceding verse. But in that case, Satyaśīdhārī would be a queer name though the title 'Dulśināpāthī Sādhārī' of Avamijanaśravī Pūṣṭiśālin may be cited in support of it. I think the poet shows in this verse how the name Sādhārī was truly significant. He was so called because he was the support (*udhara*) of all virtues. There are thus two verses in praise of Sādhārī. An analogous instance is furnished by the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman. See verses 17-18 (above, Vol. XII, p. 74) and footnote 11 (*ibid.*, p. 77). [But cf. names like Vijayaśādhārī and Sumatīśīdhārī in the Arhūnā inscription of the Paramāra Mandanāditya (above, Vol. XIV, p. 303). On this analogy Sādhārī and Satyaśādhārī of the present inscription may be the names of the father and the son respectively.—Ed.]

e g, *Dantidurgga*, l 7 and *pād ānuddhyāta*, l 29 (2) A class nasal is only rarely used for *anusāra*, e g, *aśānta*, l 10, *paścha*, l 36, etc (3) *l* is used for *ḷ* throughout, cf *cala* for *bala*, l 8, *-vādha* for *-bādha*, l 11, etc; (4) *Ri* is wrongly inserted for *ri* in *hanal āldri*, l 6, *krīyā sarppa*, l 36, etc (5) *anusāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *ānsa pīthah*, l 5 and *niśāra* in *mahattar-ādim*, l 31, etc (6) The palatal *ś* and the lingual *ṣ* are wrongly inserted for the dental *s* in *vajaya Janahāga(vā)r*, l 12 and *Chhathul umarashya*, l 57 respectively

Besides these, there are several mistakes due to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, e g, the use of the unspirate *t* for the aspirate *tha* in *Itiyā*, l 13; the omission of *evarga* before *s* in *samyulṭa sūd*, l 17, the use of *anusāra* to denote length in *maham dīyā*, l 51 and *Hamridra*, l 55 In the formal part of the grant there are some wrong *andhās*, e g, *pralshī paṇīyō ā chandr ārl*, l 10, *parianyudala*, l 12, etc

The plates were issued by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III from his victorious capital at Mayūradhanī on the occasion of a *tulā parusha*¹ gift at the time of a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year seven hundred and twenty two The date cannot be verified for want of the necessary details There was only one solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 722, viz, that which occurred on the New Moon day of the month of Āshādhā, the corresponding Christian date being Thur day, 25th June A D 800 This date falls in the reign of Gōvinda III, who ruled from circa A D 791 to A D 814

Like the earlier Puthan plate the present inscription incorporates many old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the older records of Dantidurga, Krishna I and Dhruva The eulogistic part of the present plate is, however, shorter than that of the Puthan plates, as eleven verses, viz, 3, 4, 10, 12, 17, 20, 22, 25, 27, which occur in the latter are not included here

The genealogy of Gōvinda III is given here as in the other plate commencing from Gōvinda I, viz, Gōvinda (I), his son Kikī (I), his son Indra (II) his son Dantidurga, who defeated the innumerable forces of the Karmātas which were chief in defeating the lord of Kūchī, the king of Kēraḷa, the Chōḷa, the Pāṇḍya the illustrious Harsha and Vajrata and who attained the position of *Rājādhirāja Paramīśvara* by easily defeating Valubha, (his uncle) Krishna Subhātunga Akilavarha, the son of Kallā I, who defeated Rahappa and assumed the titles *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, his son Gōvinda (II), his younger brother Dhruva, his son Gōvinda (III), who was crowned king by his father in supercession of his other sons Gōvinda III is here said to have assumed the *brudās* of *Prithvīrallabha*, *Prabhūnavarāṇa* and *Śrīvaṇḍa* There is nothing new in the eulogistic verses, which, as stated above are copied from earlier records As in the Puthan plates there is here no reference to any of Gōvinda's campaigns in the north or the south

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Amjanavāṁṭi on the occasion of a solar eclipse to the following thirteen Brahmanas —(1) Ruddappa Dikshita, son of Gōvanka bhṛta of Vāsathī *gōṛa*, who was a religious student of the Rīgvid, and a resident of Vāyaghana, (2) Durgappa of Kramāṭṭa *gōṛa* who was a resident of Talvātaka, (3) Dēvadatta of Hāndra-*gōṛa*², (4) Nārāyaṇa³ of Kutimūcha (Kulmīsha⁴) *gōṛa*, (5) Mangappa,

¹ Gōvinda III seems to have weighed himself against gold before making the gift of The Cambray Plates of Gōvinda IV, ll 36, 17 and 50, 53 above Vol VII, p 30 A similar expression *tulā parusha sthūṭ* occurs in the Sāmāṅgal plates of Dantidurga which I lect was inclined to take as an astronomical expression (*Ind Ant* Vol XI, p 114)¹ but the expression probably qualifies the word *mayi* which seems to have been omitted inadvertently

² Above, Vol III, p 163

³ The *gōṛas* of nos 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10, 12 which were at first omitted, are supplied in ll 55, 57

⁴ This name appears wrongly as Narana in l 56

(6) Vōppana of Hāndra-gōtra, (7) Aiyani¹ of Mōggala gōtra, (8) Gantiyamma of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, (9) Lavvaya, (10) Kasamana² of Kāśyapa gōtra, (11) Chhathikumara of Vājrasanē(ya)-gōtra³ (?), (12) Nārauka of Sīgula (Sāṅgula ?) gōtra and (13) Vādi. The revenue of the village was divided into eighteen (equal) shares of which the Dikṣita Ruddappa was given five, Dēva-datta two and the remaining eleven one each. The donated village was situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Achalapura and was bounded on the east by the village Rangalachhyi and the river Mari, on the south by the village Gōhasōdvā, on the west by the village Sallaimāla and the hill Timisa, and on the north by the village Kurē and Vatapura. The charter was written by Kukkaika, the minister in charge of peace and war, and the son of the military officer *Sāmanta* arī-Gauta, by the order of the Emperor (Gōvinda III), and with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*). The *dūtaka* was the illustrious Chāṅkārāja.

The present plates do not add anything to our knowledge of Gōvinda III's reign, but the mention of Chāṅkārāja as the *dūtaka* of the present grant is interesting. He evidently occupied a high position at Gōvinda's court and is probably identical with the illustrious Chāṅkārāja, the lord (*adhīrāja*) of the entire Ganga-mandala, who made a request to Gōvinda III to grant a village to the Jain aśeṭṭi Arkakīrti to avert the adverse influence of Saturn from his sister's son Vimalāditya as recorded in the Kadaba plates of the reign of Gōvinda-III⁴. The circumstances which led to the elevation of Chāṅkārāja, who was at first an officer at the court of Gōvinda III, to the position of the ruler of the entire Ganga province can now be clearly stated. The Ganga king was one of those princes who had come to the help of Gōvinda II, when his brother Dhruva rebelled against him. He was imprisoned by the latter who placed his son Stambha in charge of the conquered Ganga province. The Ganga prince was released by Gōvinda III after his accession, probably to create a rival to his brother who had become hostile to him⁵. He ungratefully joined Stambha but was speedily defeated along with the latter. Though Gōvinda III magnanimously pardoned Stambha as implied in the Sanjān plates⁶, he is not likely to have reinstated him as a ruler of the *whole* of the Ganga province. He must have placed some trusted officer of his, like Chāṅkārāja, in charge of some portion of the Ganga mandala to serve as a check on his brother. Later on, when the whole Ganga country was annexed consequent on a second revolt or, perhaps, the death of Stambha, Chāṅkārāja must have been put in charge of the *entire* Ganga province as stated in the Kadaba plates. If the above reasoning is correct, Stambha's revolt and defeat must be placed between A.D. 800, the date of the present grant and A.D. 805, the date of the Nēsa plates, in which the defeat of the Ganga king is mentioned for the first time⁷.

¹ This name is written as Aīya[ni] in l. 56.

² The name appears as Kaṣamana in l. 56.

³ The name of the *śālā* is here wrongly mentioned as *gōtra*.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 332.

⁵ Altekar—*The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 61 f.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 244 f. verso 18.

⁷ [In this connection attention may be drawn to the following note of Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao —

Though it is known from inscriptions that Gōvinda III put down the rebellion headed by his elder brother Stambha, it is nowhere stated that Gōvinda pardoned him. But from the Manne plates (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, No. 61) of A.D. 802 and the Bhādanagappa plates (*Mys. Arch. Report* 1927, p. 112) of A.D. 808, both issued by Khambhādēva (i.e., Stambha), we learn that he was a subordinate of Gōvinda. The former of these records states that Khambha made the grant specified in it with the permission of his younger brother while in the latter he acknowledges the suzerainty of Gōvinda. There is no reason to suppose that he was placed in charge of only a portion of the Ganga mandala, since the two grants referred to above were issued respectively from Mān yapura (Manne in Mysore State) and Talavanaganagara (Talakhāḍ in Mysore), the two important capitals of the

While editing the Kadaba plates Dr Luders has enumerated in detail the several circumstances which, in his opinion, create a suspicion about the genuineness of those plates¹. The occurrence of Chākīrāja's name in the present plates², though it cannot decide the question, may still be adduced as a point in favour of the genuineness of the Kadaba grant.

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, Mayūrakhandī where the King's victorious capital was situated is mentioned as the place of issue in four other published records, viz — Vanī Dindorī³, Rādhānpur⁴, Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Mandala⁵ and Kadaba⁶ plates. In the first three of these the word '*viṣayaśandhāvāra*' does not occur. Our plates⁷, however, have it in common with the Kadaba plates. Dr Buhler first identified Mayūrakhandī with Morkhand⁸, a hill fort in the Sātmālā or Ajantā range, close to Saptasringī and north of Vanī in the Nāsik District and this identification has, since then, been accepted without question. As Mayūrakhandī has been mentioned as a place of royal residence in as many as five records⁹, it could not have been only a temporary site of the royal camp. Besides in the present plates the charter is said to have been written with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*), who was, thus, probably present at Mayūrakhandī at the time of the solar eclipse. The place may, therefore, have been the Rāshtrakūṭa capital in the time of Gōvinda III. No other place has been mentioned as the capital in any of his plates. We may, again, note in this connection that *śandhāvāra* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of a royal capital¹⁰ also and the word *viṣaya* (victorious) is not unknown as a prefix of its name¹¹. As for Buhler's observation that Mayūrakhandī does not seem to have been Gōvinda III's capital, 'though it may have been an occasional place of residence' because 'Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts', we may point out that the difficulty pointed out

Ganga mandala. Further neither in the record under publication, which contains the earliest mention of Chākīrāja, nor in another set of Manne plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732 (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 88), is he called *Ganga mandal ādhirāja*, which epithet is applied to him for the first time in the Kadaba plates of A. D. 812. It is therefore likely that he was appointed to govern the Ganga mandala only after the death of Khambha, which must have taken place subsequent to the date of his Badāmaguppe plates, viz., A. D. 808, and probably after A. D. 810, the date of the second set of Manne plates which does not style him 'the ruler of Ganga mandala'. So, the mention of Chākīrāja—without even an official designation or title—in the Añjanavati plates cannot help us in fixing the date of Stambha's revolt or defeat. All that can be said is that Stambha must have submitted to Gōvinda before A. D. 802, the date of the first set of Manne plates where also we find the earliest mention of the defeat and re-imprisonment of the Ganga king—and not in the Nēsaṇi plates of A. D. 805 as stated by Prof. Mirashi.—Ed.]

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 333 f.

² [Chālīrāja's name is found also in the Manne plates of A. D. 810, see n. 4 above.—Ed.]

³ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 159.

⁴ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc. Above, Vol. VI, p. 245.

⁵ श्रीमयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27f. (pub. by B. I. S. Mandala, Poona).

⁶ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 245.

⁷ सदा मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc. below p. 17.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 64. The expression '*viṣayaśandhāvārāśhita*' occurs also in two more sets of Gōvinda III's plates recently found in Berār, which record donations of villages in Berār.

⁹ See the above foot notes.

¹⁰ The word is used in the sense of capital in the *Mahābhārata*, *Adiparvan*, Adhyāya 185, verse 6, (Bombay Recension) and Bāna's *Harsha charita*, p. 153 (Nirnaya Sāgar ed.). Cf. Hēmachandra's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* (ed. by N. C. Bhattacharya) p. 25. Note also in this connection the expression श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानि कानि हरष्यवर-

ग्रामाणि सदा, which occurs in many plates of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Mahōdaya was the capital of the Pratihāras. Cf. The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, v. 19 (above, Vol. VII, p. 38).

¹¹ Cf. विजयविशयपुरातन in the Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna.

by Buhler is of his own creation. For we need not identify Mayūrakhandī with Morkhand, the hillfort in the Nāsik District, where no early remains of any kind are found. There is a village called Markandī on the bank of the Waingangā, 56 miles south east of Chāndā in the Central Provinces. It contains some twenty elaborately carved temples which have been described and enthusiastically praised by Cunningham¹ whose opinion Bloch² has endorsed. As Cunningham says, it was once a large place, but frequent inundations have driven most of the people away. The principal temple is called after Mārkaṇḍēya Rishi, there is another, named after his brother Murkaṇḍ Rishi. Both of these are dedicated to Śiva and assigned to the 10th or 11th century A D by Cunningham. There is another temple called Daśāvatīra dedicated to Viṣṇu to which Cunningham assigned a period two or three centuries earlier. There are, besides, inscriptions on square monolith pillars which, on palæographic grounds, can be referred to the 6th or 7th century A D. It is clear, therefore, that Markandī was a flourishing place in the time of the Rāshtrakūtas and may have been the ancient Mayūrakhandī mentioned as a place of royal residence in several grants of Gōvinda III. In later times, when its ancient name was forgotten, it seems to have been conjecturally connected with Mārkaṇḍēya Rishi. *Amjanavamti* the donated village still retains its name practically unchanged. *Achalapura*, which gave its name to the district in which the above village was situated is identical with modern Ellichpur in Berār³. Most of the boundary villages can also be definitely identified in the vicinity of *Añjanavatī*. Thus, *Gōhasōdvā* is Gahvā, 1½ miles to the south, the village *Sallamāla* is now represented by two villages—*Salōra*, 2½ miles to the west and *Amlā* which lies about 5 miles to the south west, *Kurō* is undoubtedly modern *Kurhā*, 3 miles to the north-west and *Vatapura* is *Vadur* about a mile east of *Kurhā*. *Ramgalachhyi* cannot be identified. *Tīmisa* may have been the ancient name of the hills west of *Añjanavatī* and *Marī* that of a *nālā* flowing near by, which have no particular names now. *Vēyaghana* and *Talōvātaka* where the donees resided are now represented by *Waigaon* 3 miles south and *Talegaon* about 10 miles south by west of *Añjanavatī*.

TEXT ⁴

[Metres Vv 1, 18 and 20 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15 and 16 *Vasantatilakā*, v 5 *Gīt*, vv 8-10 and 17 *Āryā*, vv 12 and 13 *Sragdharā*, v 14 *Upajāti*, v 19 *Indravajrā*, v 21 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

- 1 ओ⁵ [1*] स वोव्यादेवसा [घ]स यनामिकमलं सत [1*] हस्व - यस्य
का[न्ते]दुकायया कमलंल[तं] ॥[१*] आसीदि(द्वि)ष-
2 तिमिरमुच्यतमंडलाग्रो [घ]स्तिन्नयन्नमिसुखो रणशर्वरीषु [1*] भूपः भूपः⁶ शुचि⁷[रि]वा-
स्त⁸दिगन्तकी-

¹ Cunningham, *A S R*, Vol IX, pp 142 ff

² *PRAS*, E C, for 1907 1908

³ This name is a corrupt form of *Alachapura* which is derived from *Achalapura* by metathesis. Hōmachandra has actually cited the present name to illustrate metathesis (*Achalapurē chaldh*) in his *Prakrit Grammar* (*Siddha Hēmachandra*, VIII, 2, 118). *Achalapura* is mentioned as the place of issue in the *Tivarkhēd* plates of the Rāshtrakūta Nannarāja, Śaka 553 (above, Vol XI, pp 276 ff)

⁴ From the original plates and ink impressions

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ This word is superfluous

⁷ Read ०र्विषु after शुचि.

⁸ Read ०रिवा The *Alās* plates of *Yuvarāja Gōvinda II* read भूपश्चक्रावदवाह.

- 3 त्तिर्गोविंदराज इति राजसुः राजसिंहः ॥[२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदौर्ध्व-
कीर्तिरा[र्त्ता]र्त्तिहारिहरिवि-
- 4 क्रमधाम[ध]ाम[रो] [1*] [भू]पस्तृ^३विष्टपट्टपा[नु]कृतिः क्षातज्ञः श्रीक^४कराज इति
गोचमण्विर्व[र्व]भूव ॥[३*] त-
- 5 स्य प्र[भिन्न]करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहाररश्चिरोल्लिखितान्स^५ पीठः [1*] क्षमाप^६ चितौ
क्षपित[श]चुरभू-
- 6 तनूजः सद्राक्षकूटकेनकाट्ट^७ रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[४*] तस्योपार्जितमहसः^७ तनयश्चतुर्दधि-
- 7 वल[यम]लिन्या [1*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृश^८ श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[५*]
काञ्चीशक(के)रल-
- 8 नराधिपचौल^९पागधश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदत्तं [1*] काण्ण्टकं व(व)लम[न]न्त-
- 9 सजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्विरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[६*] अभ्रूविमगमगृहीत-
- 10 निशातशस्त्रमश्र^{१०}न्तमप्रतिहताग्रमपेतयत्नं [1*] यो वल्लभः सपदि दण्डव(व)लेन
जित्वा ।
- 11 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[७*] तस्मि^{११} दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे चतप्रज्ञा-
वा(वा)धः [1*]
- 12 श्रीककराजसूनुर्महीपतिः, क्षाणराजोभूत् ॥[८*] शुभतुगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणू-
- 13 द्वै(द्वै)ण्डरविकिरणं [1*] श्रीशेषि^{१२} नभो^{१३} निखिलं प्रावृद्धालायते स्पष्ट ॥[९*]
दीनानाथप्रण-
- 14 यिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [1*] तल्लणमकालवर्षो^{१४} वर्षति सर्वाङ्गिनिन-
र्वपण^{१५} ॥[१०*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 15 राष्ट्रपमात्ममुजजातव(व)लावले[पमा]जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारेः [1*]
[पा]लि-

^१ The Alās plates read दीमकीति

^२ This word is superfluous

^३ Read- स्त्रिविष्टप-

^४ This name generally appears as here The Paithan plates, however, gave श्रीकर्कराज इति

^५ Read- लिखितासपीठ

^६ Read- क्षमापादि-

^७ The Alās plates read सशस्त्र and the Telagaon plates of Kṛṣṇamarūpa (above, Vol XLII, pp-279 ff) 'तपस,

^८ Read सद्राक्ष श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग

^९ Read चोल as in the Paithan and many other plates

^{१०} The Alās and Telagaon plates read अज्ञातमप्रविष्टिवाग्र

^{११} Read तस्मिन्दि

^{१२} The Alās and Telagaon plates read सर्वाङ्गिनिर्मगने,

- 16 घञावलिषुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपेरमेश्वरता ततान ॥[११*] श्री-
[धादु]त्वातख-
- 17 इप्रभृतरुचिचयैर्भासमान समतादाजाबुद्धतैरिप्रकर्तगजघटाटोपसंशोभ-
- 18 दत्तं [1*] शौर्यं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा)रिवर्गो भयचकितवपुः कापि दृष्टेव^१ सद्यो दप्यो-
भातारिचक्रचयका-
- 19 रमंगमद्यस्य दोर्दण्डरूपं ॥[१२*] येन शे(श्वे)तातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापावलील
जग्मे [ना]-
- 20 सीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्या(स्थ.) सदाजौ [1*] स श्रीगोविंदराजो जित-
जगदहि[तस्त्रे]-
- 21 एवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासी[त्*] स्रुतरेकचण्णदलितारातिभत्तेभकुंभः ॥[१३*] तस्यानु-
- 22 ^१जश्रीधुवराजनामा महागुभावो विततप्रतापः[1*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रच[क्रः*]
क्रमेण
- 23 व^१ वा(वा)लार्कवपुर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥[१४*] तस्याप्यभूद्वनभारभृती समर्थः पार्थोपमः
पृथु[स]मा-
- 24 नगुणो गुणत्र^२ [1*] दुर्व्वारवैरिवनितातुलतापहेतुर्गोविंदराज इति स्रुतिप्रता-
- 25 प ॥[१५*] यच्च प्रभुश्चतुर^३रदारकीर्त्तैरासेदिवान्निरुपमस्य पितुः सकाशात्-
(त् । से)त्स्वप्यने-
- 26 कतनयेषु गुणातिरेकाभूद्वाभिषिक्तनृपसम्मतमाशु राज्यं -॥[१६*] तेनेदमनि-
- 27 सवित्युच्चचलमवलोक्य जीवितसंसार [1*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 28 ब्र(त्र)ह्मदायोयं ॥[१७*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[पे]रमेश्वरश्रीमध्वारावधे-
- 29 देवपादानुज्झातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभप्रभूतव-
- 30 र्धेश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः शुशली ॥ सर्वानिव यथासंव(व)ध्यमानकौन्तराद्रपतिविषय[प]-
तिग्राम-
- 31 कृटायुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहतरादी^४ समाज्ञापयत्यसु वः संबिदितं यथा मया
भातापि-

^१ Read दृष्टेव

^२ Read ०ज

^३ The Pathan plates read महागुभावोप्रहृतप्रताप

^४ This syllable is redundant

^५ Read -चतुरचारदार- as in the Pathan plates.

^६ Read महतरादीन्

- 32 नीरात्मनश्चैहिकामुभिकपुण्यशोभिहृदये [वि]यघन¹वास्तव्य वसिष्ठसगोत्रव(व)हृच-
सम्र(त्र)-
- 33 छचरिमिन्नकगोवैक्रमद्व्युत्तरद्व्यदीक्षित । तथा तलेवाटकवास्तव्यदुर्गपक्रमद्वत् । गो-
- 34 त² । देवदत्त । नारायण । मगप्य । वोपण³ । ऐयनि⁴ । गंतियन्म ।
लब्धे[व्य]⁵ । कंसमण । छठि-
- 35 सुमर । नारीक । वादि । एवभावटादशसंख्याभागविभक्तस्य⁶ म[हा]जनस्य
[व(व)लि]-
- 36 चरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक(क्ति)योत्सर्गणार्थं श्रीमदचलपुरवि[पया]न्तर्गत-
- 37 'अंजु(ज)णवत्यभिधानो ग्रामः यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो रगलब्धि - ग्रामः [नदी]
मरि[च] द[क्षिणतः] [गो]हसो
- 38 [द्वा]⁸ग्रामः पञ्चि[म]तः सल्लैभालग्रामस्तिमिसगिरिश्च उत्तरतः सुरेया[म.] वट-
[पु]र च एवम-
- 39 य [चतु]राघाटनोपलक्षितः सोद्रगः ⁹सपरिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यदेय[*] सोद्रगः¹⁰
सपरिकरः
- 40 समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो¹¹ आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व(र्व)तसमकालीन[*]
पुत्रपौत्रान्व-
- 41 यज्ञमोपभोग्योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकटपकालातीतसवत्सरशे(श)तेषु म(स)ससु द्वाविश-
त्यधिकेषु सधूर-

¹ The first letter of this place name can also be read as छे or छे and the third letter is damaged by rust, but the reading given above appears probable, as it corresponds to Vaigaon in the vicinity of Añjanavati

² Read कंसदत्तगोत्र । It may be noted in this connection that the enumeration of the *gōtras* in ll 55 57 starts with देवदत्त The *gōtra* of दुर्गाप्य must, therefore, have been mentioned before Besides, the number of the Brahmin donees was only thirteen So *gōmta* cannot be taken as a *namo* [*Kramavitta* probably stands for Skt *Kramavit* and not *Kramāditya* as suggested by Prof Mirashi *Kramāditya* as a *gōtra* name does not find place in the *Gotra Pravara nibandha* *Adamba* It may be that the *gōtra* of Durgappa who was a *kramavit*, was omitted through inadvertence —Ed]

³ With the first letter of this, compare वो in महासुभावी in l 22 The name occurs again in l 56 where the first letter is clearly वो

⁴ That the first letter of this name is ऐ is clear from the form [ऐ]यने which occurs in l 55

⁵ [Or probably Lachcharya —Ed]

⁶ This expression should properly qualify ग्राम in l 37 Read, therefore, विभक्त

⁷ The *anusvara* on अ is clear on the original plate The engraver first incised the medial ञ of अ and then cancelled it Read 'मता(जनवत्यभिधानो) [The fourth letter here looks more like *pam* than *ram* —Ed]

⁸ This syllable can also be read as द्वा, but the reading given above is probable, since the *namo* corresponds to Gahvā near Añjanavati

⁹ This word appears as here in the Paṭṭhaṇ plates also Read सोपरिकर as in many other plates.

¹⁰ This and the next word are unnecessarily repeated here

¹¹ Read मक्षेपणीय आचन्द्रा

116

28

30

32

34

36

38

40

42

28

30

32

34

36

38

40

42

117

44

46

48

50

52

54

56

44

46

48

50

52

54

56

58

- 42 [ख]ण्डीसमावासितविजयशकन्धागरावस्थितेन¹ सूर्यग्रहणे . तुलापुरुषप्रदानप[र्व]स्थि²दका-
तिसर्ग-

Third Plate

- 43 ए प्रतिपादितो महाजनस्य [1*] यतोऽस्योचितया व्र(त्र)ह्मदायस्ति(स्थि)[त्या]
क्षपतः क[पे]यत. भुजतो भोजयतः
- 44 प्रतिदिशतो³र्वा न केनचिद्ग्रासेधे प्रवर्तितव्य [1'] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्त्रव-
श्वे(न्यै)र्वा सामान्य
- 45 भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि वृ[णा]ग्रलग्नजलविं(वि)दुर(च)चलं
च जीवितमाकल-
- 46 व्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुसृतव्यः रा(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतिसिरपट-
लाहत-
- 47 मतिराक्षि(च्छि)द्यादाक्षि(च्छि)द्यमानं वानुभा(मो)देत स पंचभिर्महापातकैः शोप-
पातकैश्च सयुक्त[:*] स्यादित्यु-⁴
- 48 क्त च त(म)गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्ष(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गो
तिष्ठति भूमिद' [1*] आच्छेत्ता चा-
- 49 नुमंताच्च⁵ तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[१८*] अग्नेरपव्य(त्य) प्रप्र(य)म सुवर्ण
भूर्व्यणावी सूर्यसुताश्च ग(गा)-
- 50 वः [1*] लोकास्तय ते[न] भवेद्वि दत्त(त्तं) य. काश्चन गा च महीं च दद्यात्
॥[१९*] व(व)हुमिर्वसुधा
- 51 भुक्ता राजभि. सगरादिभ(भिः) [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फ[लं] ॥[२०*] इति
- 52 कमलदलाम्बुविदुल्लोली⁶ त्रियप्र(म)नुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] सकलमिदमशाश्व-
53 त च वृ(वृ)ह्मा न हि पुरपैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[२१*] लिखित
चेतन्मया धर[मि]श्वराश्रया
- 54 श्रीमहं(ह्मा)देव्यानुभतेन श्रीचाकिराजदूतकं सामन्तश्रीगोतव(व)लाधिकतस्त्रुना महासा-

¹ Pead विजयशकन्धागरावस्थितेन.

² The writer first wrote पर्वणि and then thought of joining the last syllable with the initial उ of उदक

Read पर्वणुदक⁰-

³ Read प्रतिदिशतो वा

⁴ Pead तदिति ।

⁵ Read नुमन्ता च

⁶ Read दलाम्बुविदुलीला

- 55 श्विविज्ञाधिकृतयोक्कु[क्वै]केनेति । देवदत्तस्य हं(हा)ग्दिगोत्त । मोग्गनगो[त्त]
[अ]इयने: [1] [ग]-¹
- 56 तियम्मस्य भ(भा)रद्वाजगा(गी)त्त । नारयस्य² कुतिमापगोत्त । वोप्पणस्य हारिदं
गोत्त । कसमनस्य का[श्श]प-
- 57 गोत्त । नारौकस्य³ मोगुलि [1⁴] कुटिकुमरय्य⁵ वाजसने⁶गोत्त(त्त) [1⁷] दीक्षितस्य
भागा: पर(च) देवदत्तस्य [हौ भागौ⁸]
- 58 शेषा एकादश [1⁹] पवमष्टादश भा[गा: 1⁹]⁷

No 3—ARANG PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA

By PANDIT L P PANDEYA

The charter which is edited below consists of three copper-plates and was first brought to light by me in March, 1929. I published a short notice of it in the English paper "The Hita-vada" of Nāgpur in its issue of April 11, 1929⁸. The plates⁹ were in the possession of a cultivator named Bhagirathi Sonkar of Arang in the Raipur District of the C P. Nothing definite is known about the provenance of the grant except that it had been lying in the house of the owner for over fifty years—since the time of his father.

Arang has all the appearance of having once been a large and important city. Here and there are many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures, both Jain and Brahmanical. The only temple that is now standing is of Jain origin. It is popularly known as Bhanddewal from the fact that it contains three colossal naked Jain figures. The temple is richly carved and adorned with a profusion of sculptured statues on the outside, many of which are highly indecent. To the west of the town on the bank of a tank there is a small temple dedicated to Mahāmīyā. A description of this temple and also that of the other antiquarian remains at Arang has been given by Cunningham¹⁰. Besides the present set, two other sets of copper plates were discovered at the place in addition to a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription¹¹.

The plates are held together by a ring the ends of which are secured in a circular seal about 3½" in diameter. The seal is identical with that described by Fleet in *C I I*, Vol III, p 196. Its upper part shows the representation of a standing Lakṣmī facing full front, on each side of her

¹ The vertical stroke of the superscript *l* of क् is not incised.

² Read नारयस्य

³ This name is evidently identical with नारौक in I 35 above, though here the medial stroke of क् is not incised.

⁴ Read कुटिकुमरय्य. The vertical stroke of क् in कु is not incised.

⁵ Read वाजसनेय

⁶ These letters are damaged by rust, but traces of the first and the last can be marked on the plate.

⁷ Traces of ग् are visible on the plate.

⁸ Hiralal also has noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (2nd ed.), p 106 A.

⁹ Since writing this the plates have been acquired by the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *A S R*, Vol XVII, pp 20 ff., see also *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp 257 ff.

¹¹ See above, Vol LX, pp 342 ff., *C I I*, Vol III, pp 191 ff. and Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C, P and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp 94, 105 and 110.

an elephant is standing on a water-lily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is a figure of an expanded water lily and in the proper left that of a conch (*śaṅkha*). Below is the legend in two lines. The rims of the plates are not raised. The plates measure 6 4" in length and 3 2" in breadth. The weight of the plates is 48½ *tolas* and that of the seal 45 *tolas*. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially in the case of the last plate which was too thin and was, therefore, cut while incising the second and third letters of l 21. The engraver has, therefore, left 1" of the breadth on the back of the last plate unincised. The first plate contains five lines of writing on its second side and the second plate has the same number of lines on its first side. The second side of the second plate and the first side of the third contain each six lines of writing, while the second side of the third plate has only four lines.

The characters belong to the box-headed type in which the inscriptions of the Vākātakas and the Rājūm and Balodā plates of Mahāśīva Tivararāja, are written¹. The sign of the *upa-dhmanīya* occurs in ll 3, 8 and 17, and that of the *ṇhāmūliya* in l 21. The numerical symbols for 8,² 9 and 20 occur in l 26. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting the five benedictory and imprecatory verses at the close, the whole record is in prose.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *ri* for *ri* in *tridāśapati*, l 6, of *n* for *anusvāra* in *adhyarddhānsēna*, l 10 and of *gna* for *ṇa* in *svamulh āghayā*, ll 25 26. In *bhavamnti*, l 21, the *anusvāra* is wrongly retained after its change to the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs.

The engraver was Drōnasimgha, who also engraved the Khanyār Plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and the Raipur Plates of the same king, both of which records were issued from Śarabhapura.

The record is dated in the 8th regnal year³ of the donor Mahā-Sudēvarāja on the 29th day of Vaisākha. The place of issue was Śarabhapura, which town or city has not yet been definitely identified. Sambalpur town in Orissa, Sirpur (old Śrīpura) the ancient capital of Mahākōśala on the bank of the Mahānadī, in the Raipur District, Sarabhavaram in the Godāvarī District, Sarappgarh or Sarabpur in the Gangpur Feudatory State in the E S A and Sarawā, a village near Sheorinarayan town in the Bilāspur District have been suggested by different scholars as the probable site of the ancient Śarabhapura. These suggestions have been made on the similarity of names only. No authentic evidence has yet been found to confirm the identification. But this seems certain that the dynasty held sway, at least over a part of Mahākōśala—present Chhattīsgarh Division in C P—where about seven charters of this family have been discovered. They belong to three different kings—viz, Mahā Sudēvarāja, Mahā Jayarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja.

Mahā-Pravararāja's charter was issued from Śrīpura, which is no other than the capital town of Mahākōśala referred to in the Rājūm and the Balodā Plates of Mahāśīva Tivararāja who is styled as the supreme lord of Kōśala (*Kōśalādhipati*). The other charters were issued from Śarabhapura. Whether Śarabhapura was also the capital of Prasannamātra and of his son Mānamātra is not known. No copper charters of either have yet been brought to light.

A silver coin of Śrī-Prasannamātra, the grandfather of Mahā Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja and the father of Mahā-Jayarāja, with the legend inscribed in beautiful box headed characters was recovered from the bed of the Mānā or Māndhā river near Salhepali, a village lying in the

¹ C I I, Vol III, pp 291 ff and above, Vol VII, pp 106 ff

² [See below p 22 n 4—Ed]

³ This river is a tributary of the Mahānadī—the great river of Mahākōśala—otherwise known as Chitrōtpalā

Raigarh Feudatory State, E S A and is in the possession of the Mahākōśala Historical Society at Balpur in the Bilāspur District

No materials are available to ascertain whether the town or city of Śarabhapura was situated on the Mahinadī and whether it was ever the royal capital of the lords of Kōśala. Not a single charter out of the seven sets of plates of this family known to us, mentions its donor as 'the lord of Kōśala'. Nor does any set describe the village granted to be situated in the Kōśala kingdom. The only reference to the name 'Śarabha' is found in the Eran Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Gōparīja, dated in the Gupta year 191 (A D 510-511), in which he is stated to be the daughter's son of one Śarabharāja.

The present charter records the royal confirmation of the grant of a village named Śivilinga-ka situated in the Tōsadda *bhukti*, by the Pratihāra Bhōgilla. The particulars of the donees and their shares in the village are as follows —

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (1) Yajñasvāmin of Kātyāyana <i>gōtra</i> , a student of the Madhyandina- <i>śākhā</i> of the white Yajurvēda, one share and a half | |
| (2) Kumāravatsa of Bhīradvāja <i>gōtra</i> | |
| (3) Yajñasvīrun of Ātrīya <i>gōtra</i> , a student of the Kāuva <i>śākhā</i> of the white Yajurvēda | } one share each |
| (4) Vīrikhasvāmin of Kātyāyana <i>gōtra</i> | |
| (5) Gōlasvāmin of Kauśika <i>gōtra</i> , a student of the Madhyandina <i>śākhā</i> | } ½ share each |
| (6) Dīmodrasvāmin, same as above | |
| (7) Dīmasvāmin, same as above | |
| (8) Pañchalasvāmin of Bhāradvāja <i>gōtra</i> | |
| (9) Dikshita Āyanīla of Bhīradvāja <i>gōtra</i> | |

Of the geographical names Tōsadda may be the Tōsarī village in the Patnā State, E S A. Prof V V Mirashi identifies Tōsadda with Tusdā near Dumarpalli about 30 miles to the south east of Arang. Śivilinga-ka is not traceable near about Arang and Sirpur (old Śrīpura).

I edit the inscription from the original plates¹

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति [I*] शरसपुरादिक्रमोपनतसामन्तमकुटचूडामण्डिप्रभाप्र-
- 2 सेकास्त्रुधौतपादयुगलो विपुविलासिनोसीमन्तोच्चरहेतु-
- 3 र्वसुवसुधागोप्रदरूप³समागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यात-
- 4 श्री⁴महासुदेवराजः तोसदु(डु)भुक्तोयशिविलिङ्गको प्रतिवासि-
- 5 कुटुम्बिनस्समाज्ञापयति ।⁵ विदितमस्तु वो यथायं ग्राम-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 स्तु(स्ति)दशपतिसदनसुखप्रतिष्ठा[क*]रो यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्रति-

¹ Ink impressions of this inscription were also kindly supplied to me by Mr M A Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum, through Prof V V Mirashi of the Nāgpur University. I am indebted to Prof Mirashi for very valuable suggestions towards the correct reading and interpretation of certain portions in the text.

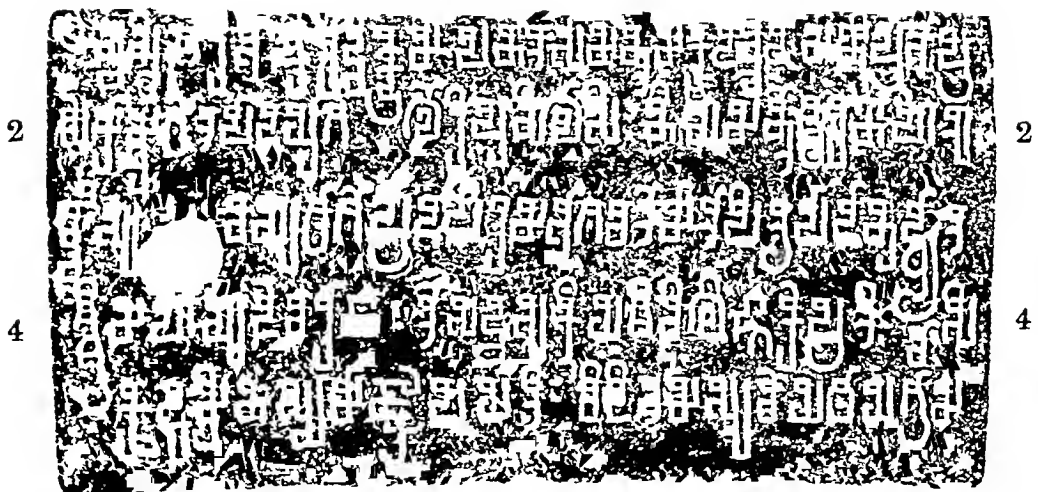
² Expressed by a symbol

³ The engraver had begun to misread *ma* after *pa*, but later on corrected it into *ra*.

⁴ The subscript *r* appears like the sign of medial *r*.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is shown by two dots.

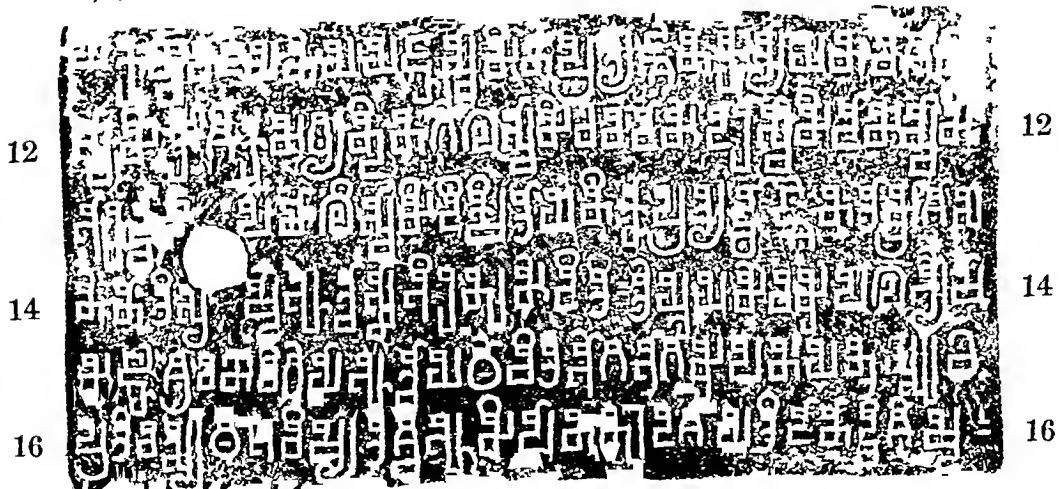
2

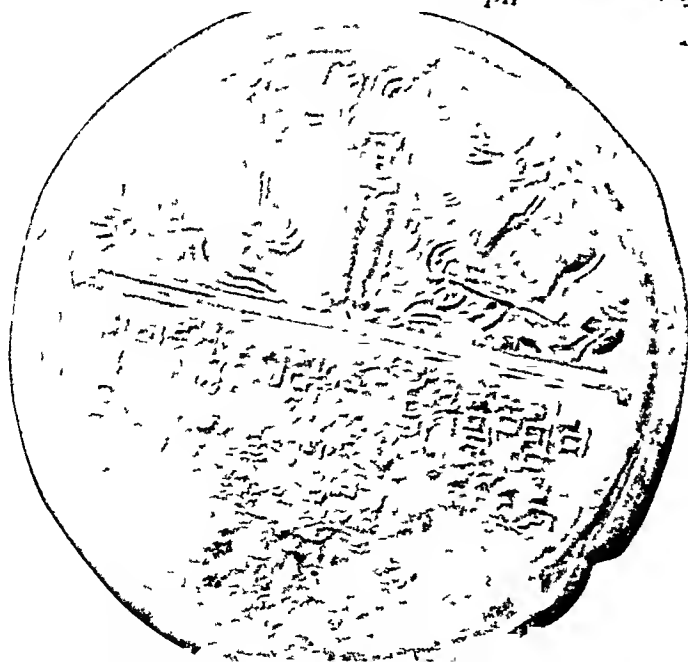
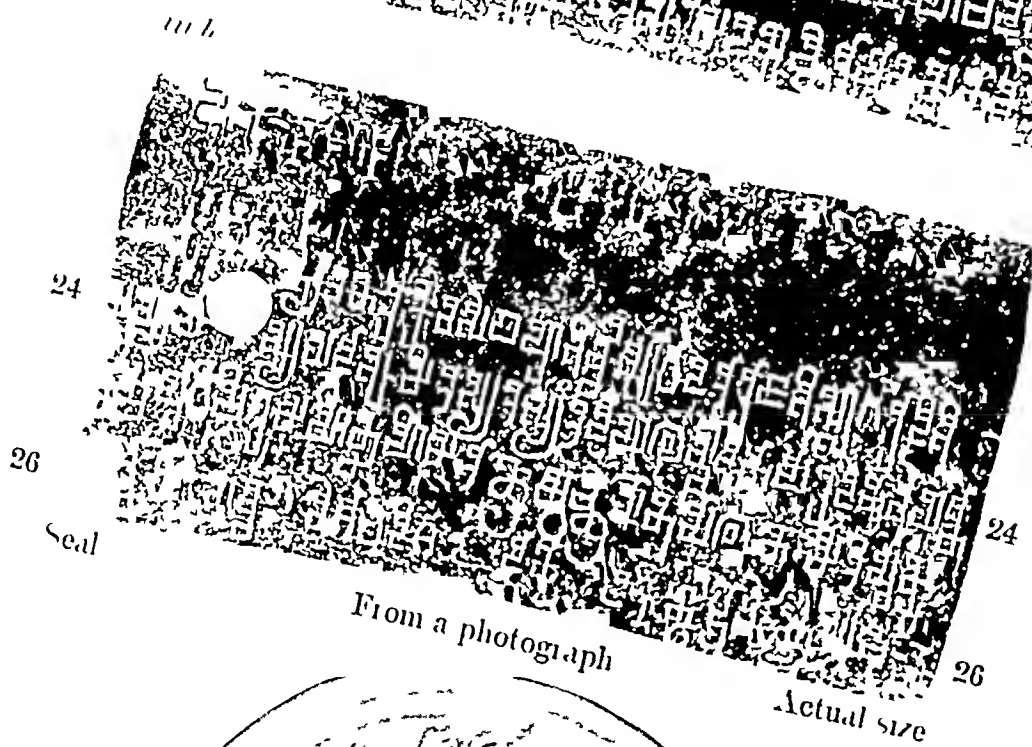
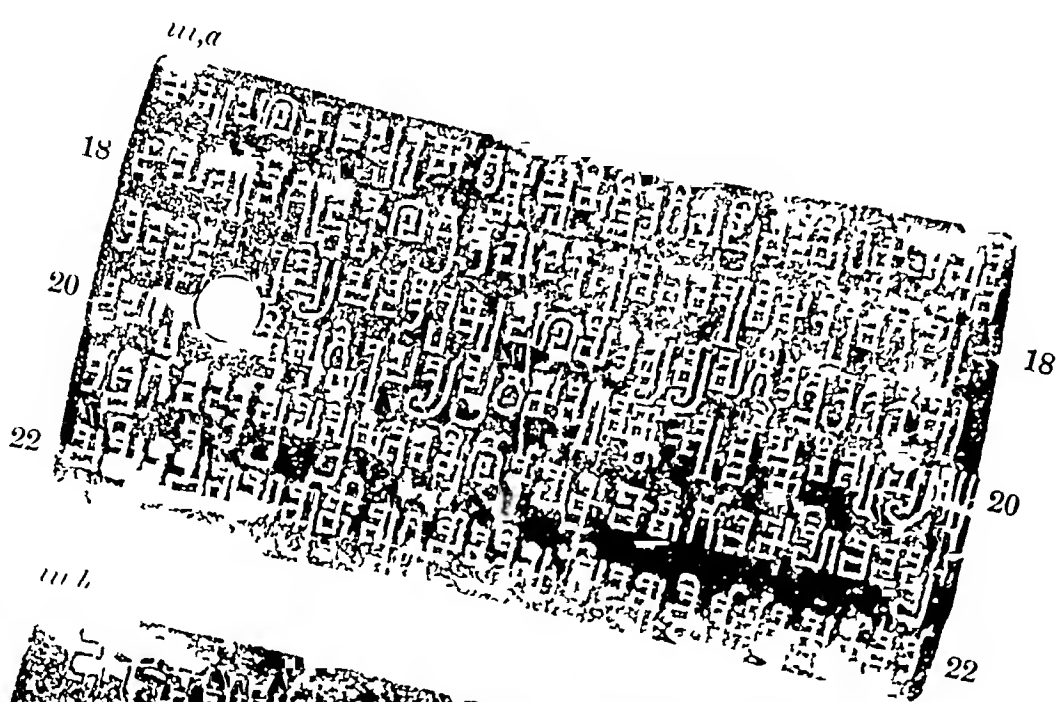


n, a



n, b.





- 7 हतघोरात्थका[रं]¹ जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यस्वनिधिसोपनिधि-
 8 रचाटभट² प्राविश्यस्वर्षकारविसर्जित⁴ प्रतिहारभोगिज्ञेन माता-
 9 पिचोरात्मनश्च पुण्यभिहृदये कात्यायनसगोत्रमाध्यन्दिनवाज-
 10 सनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(ने) अर्धर्षाङ्गेन⁵ भारद्वाजकुमारवत्स्रा(वत्सा)त्रे-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 यकाण्ववाजसनेययज्ञस्वामिन(नौ) प्रत्यङ्गेन⁶ कात्यायनविशा[ख]-
 12 स्वामिकौशिकम(भा)ध्यन्दिनगोलस्वामि एवं दामोदरस्वामि दामस्वामि
 13 भारद्वाजपञ्चालिस्वामि दीक्षितायनीका[न्*]⁷ प्रत्यर्धङ्गेन⁷ ताम्र(स्त्र)शास-
 14 नेनातिष्ठष्टौ भूत्वास्वामिरनुमोदितः⁸ [।*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्येषा-
 15 साज्ञाश्रवणविधेया भूत्वा यथोचित भोगभागमुपनयन्तस्सुखं
 16 प्रतिवत्स्यथ [।*] भविष्यत्तच्च भूमिपाननुदर्शयति [।*] दानादिशिष्ट⁹

Third Plate ; First Side

- 17 मनुपालनज(ज) पुराणा धर्मेषु निश्चितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्मं(र्मम्) ॥(।)
 तस्मादिदं(दि)-
 18 जाय सुविशुद्धकुश्रुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्त[म्] ॥¹⁰
 19 तद्भवद्भिरप्येषा दत्ति(त्ति)रनुपालयितव्या [।*] व्यासगोता(ता)द्याच लोकापु-
 20 दाहरन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्य) प्रथमं सुवर्णं ॥¹¹ भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसु-
 21 ताश्च गावः[।*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवं(व)न्ति लोका यक्षाश्चनं गां च मही-
 (ही) च दद्यात् [॥*]¹²

¹ The letter *ra* which was first omitted is written below *ja* of *jagad* with a *kakapada* sign and the *anusvāra* meant for *ra* is placed on /*ū*

² The cross on ज shows that a syllable was omitted

³ *Ta* is written below the line

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous

⁵ Read अर्धर्षाङ्गेन.

⁶ Read प्रत्यङ्गेन.

⁷ Read प्रत्यर्धङ्गेन

⁸ The medial : sign which was first engraved above *ta* by mistake has been cancelled

⁹ There are two small horizontal strokes here

¹⁰ Metre *Vasantatilālā*

¹¹ The sign of punctuation here is superfluous

¹² Metre *Indravagā*

22 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि सर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुम(म)न्ता च ता-

Third Plate, Second Side

23 न्येव नरके वने[त् ॥*]¹ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता(त्ता) राजभिन्नगरादिभि[१*]

24 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फल(नम्) [॥*]¹ स्वदन्ता(त्ता)
परदन्ता(त्ता) वा यदा-

25 द्रक्ष्युविष्टिर [१*] महोष्महिमताच्छ्रेष्ठदानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति [॥*]¹ भवसु-

26 क्षान्त(ज)या सव्व(वत्) द' वैशाख दि २० ८ उक्ती(त्ती)र्णा द्रोण[मित्रे]न ॥

The Seal

1 प्रस[न(राण)]वसम्भू[त]मा[न]मावेन्दुजन्मनः [१*]

2 श्रीमता . . . [शा]सन [॥*]

No 1—A NOTE ON THE PANCHAYATI COMMITTEE

By K V SUBRAMANIAM AMB, B A, Coimbatore

One of the principal duties of the village assemblies, of whatever description they may be, *sabhā, ūr* or *nagara*, was to secure to the king the taxes or incomes due by the village as a whole. These incomes seem to have been once for all determined and entered in the accounts of the State, the *nāḍu* and the village. The various assemblies mentioned above are given a latitude of free action in the general management of the lands in the village but are made primarily responsible for the realisation and payment to the State of the incomes due to it. Subject to this responsibility, they seem to have been empowered to dispose of lands according to circumstances, viz., to compound taxes on lands given away as *dāḍānās*, *brahmadāyās*, *pallichchandās*, *śālābhōgās*, etc., to afford facilities for making the waste lands arable, to authorise the opening of channels, tanks and the like for improving farms, and to regulate the supply of water both for drinking and for cultivation purposes. Besides this responsibility, their chief function appears to have been the management of endowments made to temples and charitable institutions in the villages under their jurisdiction, the well being of the subjects, local administration of justice, etc., for which they seem to have been vested with necessary powers. For carrying out these varying duties, the members of village assemblies appear to have formed themselves into different committees

¹ Metro *Anushtubh*

² The syllables *एता* which were omitted here have been incised below the line with a *lilapada* sign

³ Read *°palanam* ॥ ४८

⁴ [I am inclined to read this symbol as 7—Ed.]

⁵ Metro *Anushtubh*. Read the latter half of the verse as *Śrīmat Sudēvarājasya sūtrār jagatī dāḍānam(m)* following the other plates of this ruler

Of such committees, the *Pañchavāra-vāriyam*¹ is one. Beyond the mere mention of the name *Pañchavāra vāriyam* we have not as yet been able to understand the object for which it was formed. And this is the case with the other *vāriyams* as well. Neither does the designation of this committee give us a clue as to the probable sphere of its work. In the compound *Pañchavāra vāriyam*, the latter part, viz, *vāriyam*, has been understood to mean 'a committee' as in the case of the other groups², the first part, viz, *Pañchavāra*, like *tōllam*, *ēri*, *ludumbu*, *lalam*, with which the other committees were connected, may denote the object of prime concern of this body. *Pañchavāra*, however, is not a simple word like *tōllam*, *ēri*, etc., but is a compound in itself with a qualifying particle. Literally, it may be rendered into 'five shares' (*pañcha* five, *vāra*=share).

There are a few inscriptions which throw some light on the interpretation of the term *Pañchavāra vāriyam*. We give below extracts from these, with translations and short notes, from which it will be seen that it was a committee concerned in the realisation of the revenue in kind due to the king on certain class of lands amounting to five shares (*pañcha-vāra*) out of the six of the entire assessment.

EXTRACT I³

Ll 54 61 al[u]du araiy[cy]=oru mñ=checheyum olu[khavi]ppuramum=olukkuppuramum a[r*]chehanābhōgamum āga i-nu[m]la*]ttāl pañchavāramum echchōrum nēr[v]āyamum vetti-vedinaiyuū=chennīr podivī

TRANSLATION

For *olullavi*, *olukku*⁴ and *archanābhōga*, (the incomes from) this land, viz, *pañchavāram*, *echchōru*, *nērāyam*, *vetti*, *vedinai*, and *chennīr podivī*.

NOTE —The earliest use of the word *pañchavāra* occurs in this extract from an inscription dated in the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Nripatunga (circa A.D. 865), found at Tirukkandiyūr in the Tanjore District. Here, it will be noted that the word *pañchavāra* is used as the name of one of the dues on land, being grouped with *echchōru*, *nērāyam*, *vetti*, *vedinai* and others, all of which we know from numerous epigraphs to be the names of taxes or fees.

¹ Line 10 of the first Uttaramallūr inscription published in the *A. S. R.* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff., describes the method of selection of the members of the committees of *Pañchavāra vāriyam* and *Pon vāriyam* in the following words —

Pañchavāra vāriyattukkum pon vāriyattukkum muppadu kudu[m]b[i]lum mup[padu] kuda[vō]lai iṭṭu śrīyāl o[ru]ttarū=kl udav ōlai parit[tu] pūnirūndilum [a]ruvār pañcha[vāra] vāriyam avid(āvad) āgavum [i*] aruvār p[on] vāriyam=avid (āvad) āgavum [i*]*

This means "for the *Pañchavāra* committee and the gold committee, thirty pot tickets shall be put in for the thirty *ludumbu* and one man for each *chēri* shall be taken and of the twelve persons (so taken), six shall constitute the *Pañchavāra* committee and (the other) six shall constitute the gold committee." The second Uttaramallūr inscription describes more clearly how the members for these two committees were selected. Lines 13 and 14 of its text run as under —

Pañchavāra v[āriya]t[tukkum] pon vā[r]iṭṭattukku muppadu (k)kudumbilum kudav ōlaikku pēr tiṭṭi mupadu vā[yō]lai kattum puga [iṭ]ṭu mup[padu] kudav ō[ai] parittu muppadilum [paṇṇ]irandu pēr [pa]rittu-kkol- vad āgavum [i] paritta pūnirandilum aruvār pon vāriyam aruvār pañchavāra vāriyamum āvaṇavāgavum [i*]* The passage means "for the *Pañchavāra* committee and the gold committee, names shall be written in the thirty *ludumbu* for pot tickets and thirty bundles with covering tickets shall be put in and thirty pot tickets shall be taken from (these) thirty, twelve persons shall be drawn. Of the twelve (so) taken, there shall be constituted six for gold committee and six for *Pañchavāra* committee."

² It will be unnatural to take *vāriyam* in *pañchavāra vāriyam* in a sense different from what it connotes (viz, committee) in other places in the same inscription.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 572.

⁴ *olukku* and *olullai* seem to be some kinds of oblations.

EXTRACT II ¹

I-nmilattāl vanda pū pponnū pañchavāramū vāhkkāśum nīrvilayum ullittā antarāyagan-
galum vetti muttayāl echchōru kūrūnel ullittā kudimāgaḷ eppōrpattadum enḡal ūrḡal mēlō
ūrḡa i nmilattāl vanda iḡay iḡichchō

TRANSLATION

All the internal taxes (*antarāya*) inclusive of *pū ppon* (gold due at harvest) *pañchavāram*,
vāhkkāśu (the *lāśu* due on *vāh*), and *nīrvilay* (water rate), as well as all *kudimāgaḷ* inclusive of
vetti, *muttayāl*, *echchōru* and *kūrūnel*, accruing from this land, shall (*hereafter*) be imposed on
our village and this land shall be enjoyed free of taxes

NOTE —From this extract it is made plain that *pañchavāra* is one of the internal taxes or
fees (*antarāya*) accruing from lands such as *pū ppon*, *vāhkkāśu* and *nīrvilay*, which incomes, we
know from other inscriptions, were due to the king from lands. The fees forming the *antarāya*
are, in this inscription, differentiated from another kind of fees named *kudimāgaḷ*

EXTRACT III ²

L 8 kōv Irājākṣarippanmar āpa udaiyār śrī Rājādih[ī*]rājadvāraku yāndu 28-
vadu Jyāugondaśōḷa mandalattu

9 Ōymā nittu=kKīthkay nāttu=l Kidāngil āna Mummadiśōḷanallūr [ūrōm] māla
vilay-āvanam [ī*] enḡalūr=tTiruttin[dīśvarāmu]daiya mādēv[ar]

10 kōyihl śrī Irājādih[ī*]rājadvāraku Sandēśvaradvār palḡal kōnda kāśu 100 i k[āśu]
nūḡum=kōndu nīḡalēy=enrum śrīnīrādittavar siddhāya=pañchavāram ut-

11 p[ar]ā=chellukaruyum peruvaiyūm ellām iḡukka ittēvar-iḡayihl anubavikkā=kāda-
vārga viḡrukkuḍutta mālam vādu [ī*]

18 śrī Rājādih[ī*]rājadvāraku nīḡal=iḡayihl dēvadānamāga viḡrukkuḍutta

19 p[ar]āśvādu [ī*] nīrūḡum ēri vāndum siddhāya pañchavāram śivariḡal[u[m]*] māyrum
eppōrpatta irai k[ā]ḷippittu=tTiruttindīśvar amudaiy iḡkēy=iḡayihl dēvadāna

20 māga anubavikkā=kādavārgaḷāga viḡrukkuḍutta mlattil ulūdu k[ā]ḷiḡal[ar] eppōr-
pattā iḡaimarra k[ā]ttapperādōnāḡavum=pparāśu viḡḡu vilai k[ā]śum Śrī

21 n[ā]dēśvaradvār palḡal vilai pporulum=iḡai pporulunnāga=kōndu ivv-ūrum ēriyum=
iḡayihl dēvadānam=ūkk[ā] [vī]rru vilay-āvanam ēydu kuḍuttōm

22 Tiruttindīśvaratt=elundarūlvitta Irājādih[ī*]rājadvār Sandēśvaradvār[ī*]ku
Kidāngil āna Mummadiśōḷanallūr=ūrōm

TRANSLATION

In the 28th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājākṣarippanmar *alias* Udayār Rājādih[ī]rājadvāra, we,
the village (*assembly*) of Kidāngil *alias* Mummadiśōḷanallūr in Kīthai nādu, a sub division of Ōymā
nādu, (*which was a district*) of Jyāugondaśōḷa mandalam, made the following sale deed of land
(*We*) received from Rājādih[ī]rājadvāraku Sandēśvaradvār of the temple of Tiruttindīśvarāmu-
daiya Mahādēva of our village 100 *kāśu*. Having received (*this amount of*) one hundred *kāśu*, we
sold the (*following*) land, ourselves paying for it, as long as the moon and the sun last, all (*the dues*
of) *śivari* and *peruvai* including *siddhāyam*, *pañchavāram*, etc., and the god enjoying it free of
taxes

¹ S I I, Vol. III, No. 64 unpublished portion

² S I I, Vol. VII, No. 842

In this wise, we sold (*the land*) as a tax free *dēvadāna* to the god Rājādhirājavitanṅkar. Causing the deduction of all kinds of dues such as *siddhāyam*, *pañchavāram* and *śilari* required (*to be paid*) to the *ūr* and the tank, we sold and gave the land to (*the god*) Tiruttundiśvaramudaiyāi to be enjoyed as a tax free *dēvadāna*. We shall not (*let*) this land for cultivation or receive any kind of dues thereon. We, the village (*assembly*), of Kidangil alias Mummadiśōlanallūr, having sold the land in this wise, and having received from Śandēśvaradēvar the sale amount and tax amount, made this village and the tank a tax-free *dēvadāna*, drew up the sale deed and gave it to Rājādhirājavitaṅkar Śandēśvaradēvar set up in (*the temple of*) Tiruttundiśvaram.

NOTE—The above extract is from an inscription of the time of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja I, dated in the 28th year of his reign (=A D 1040), found at Kidangil in the South Arcot District. The inscription registers a sale of land—together with the right to three fourths of the tanks irrigating it (this is found in the unextracted portion of the inscription)—to the temple of Tiruttundiśvaramudaiyār at the place, by the *ūr*-assembly. In this, the assembly, after acknowledging receipt of the price of the land sold and the amount for making it tax free, states that it had caused the taxes due on the land to be deducted (from the accounts) and conveyed it to the temple to be enjoyed as a tax free *dēvadāna*, the *ūr* assembly meeting the taxes due on the land and the tank. Here also, as in the second extract *pañchavāram* is mentioned among the taxes due from lands, *e.g.*, *siddhāyam*, *śilari* and *peruvāri*.

EXTRACT IV¹

L 4 irandu tirunandāvilakk=enippadaṅkku pañchavāra kkalōd-okku[m*] nāhyāl
tingal

5 padin-arunāli urī ālāṅkku neyyum kōyilūklē kondu śenru

TRANSLATION

For burning the two perpetual lamps, sixteen *nāli*, (one) *urī* and one *ālāṅku* of ghee, as measured by the measure equal in capacity to the *pañchavāraḥkāl*, shall be taken monthly to the temple.

NOTE—The above extract is dated in the 14th year (=A D 983-4) of the reign of the Chōla king Parakēśarivarman Uttama Chōla and states that the quantity of ghee given to the temple must be measured by the *nāli* equal in capacity to the measure called *pañchavāraḥkāl*. Incidentally this inscription helps us to understand that *pañchavāra* is a payment in kind and that for measuring it a special measure was employed which derived its name *pañchavāraḥkāl* from the use which it was put to. From one of the Takkōlam inscriptions of Parāntaka I,² we get the information that the capacity of a *pañchavāra* measure (*marakkāl*) was 7 *nāli* and 1 *urī* as measured by the *Rājakēśari nāli*. Thus the *pañchavāra marakkāl* was less than the ordinary *marakkāl* only by 1 *urī*.

EXTRACT V³

L 27 Paḷan dēvadānamāna Pūngudi nīlam paṇṇiru-vēlyināl mun dēvarkku nīkki iṅukka-
kkadava pañchavāram nel-

28 lu arunūṅru-kkalamum Muśittaikkudi nīlam nāl-vēlyināl dēvarkku nīkki iṅukka-
kkadava pañchavāra-nell=1-

¹ S I I, Vol VII, No 114

² No 261 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921

³ S I I, Vol III, No 151

23 dāga.ittu variyilār eḷuttitta ulvariyyum nam ō[la]yun=tara=chchonnōm [l*] laikkondu
 ippadi cha[nḍrā]ḍityavat śelvadāga=kka[l*]lilum sembilum vet[ti]kkolgavepru tiruvāymo[h]n-
 darulinār [l*]

TRANSLATION

In respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands shall be measured by the rod Sundara-Pāndyan kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, for *antarāya* and *vinayōga*, for *achchu*, *lāriyavārāchchi*, *vetti-pāttam*, *pañchupīl*, *sandu(sandhi)vigrahappēru* and for all other payable dues, there shall be paid from this year one fourth *lāśu* and three *kalam* of paddy as measured by Vira-Pāndyan (-kāl) during *Kār* on each *mā* of land, one half of this rate shall be paid on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised, two *tiramam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land in which *el*, *varagu*, *tinappul* and *irungu* had been harvested, and that this same rate shall be (levied) for *paśānam* also and that a copy of the tax register signed by the *variylār* as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. Thus receiving (*it*), let the same be engraved on stone and copper so that it may remain in force as long as the moon and the sun last

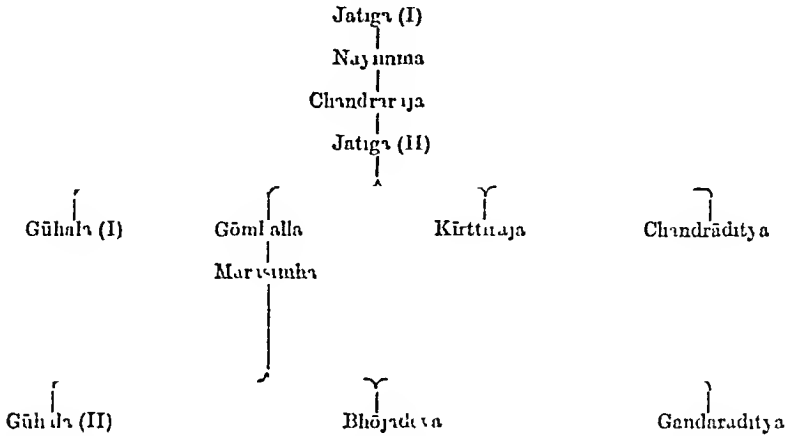
NOTE —This inscription is dated in the 8th year and 988th day of the reign of Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II and is of importance in several ways. In the first place it lets us know that arrangements existed for the periodical inspection of crops and land, that assessment was charged only on such of the lands as had been sown and crops realised, that this assessment was paid both in kind and in money, which included a number of fees, small and great. The following are stated to be the rates, viz, 3 *kalam* of paddy and $\frac{1}{4}$ *lāśu* on each *mā* for *Kār*, half of this rate for *Tulā* cultivation, 2 *tiramam* (drammas) on each *mā* for the cultivation of *el*, *varagu*, etc., for *paśānam* also, the above rates prevailed. The information would have been complete and left nothing to be desired, had the inscription specified the quantity to be paid for each item separately. Even as it is, it serves a very useful purpose as we shall see presently. From the rate given for *mā*, the assessment for a *vēli* works out to 60 *kalam* of paddy and 5 *lāśu*. This covered all the taxes payable on land, *antarāya* and others, mentioned and unmentioned as the inscription puts it, some of which were given in kind and others in money. We have already shown that one of the items included in the *antarāya* was *pañchavāra* and it was 50 *kalam* for a *vēli*. Therefore, deducting this 50 *kalam*, the balance of 10 *kalam* and 5 *lāśu* should have been the charge for all the other items put together. Thus, the single item of *pañchavāra*, amounting to as much as 50 *kalam* out of 60 paid in paddy, seems to be the prime source of the state income from lands. The proportion of this item of *pañchavāra* to the entire income in paddy being five-sixths, an explanation of the connotation of this term is furnished. The duty of the *Pañchavāra* committee may therefore be taken to be the realisation of this important revenue. Here we may note also that a few Sanskrit charters make mention of committee assemblies and that one in particular has reference evidently to the *Pañchavāra* committee. Verse 6 of the Kolavennu plates¹ of Chālukya-Bhīm II, in describing the donee of the grant, has “*yat-putra pautrāḥ pataṇḍo vataṇḍo vāragōshthiḥ*” The Masulipatam plates² of the same king, besides employing the term *vāragōshthi*, refer to *pañchavārī*. The verse in question runs as follows —

“*yat-putra-pautrā vataṇḍo vāragōshthiḥ vāgminah |*
pañchavārīm samāpayya sampūjyante mahājanah ||”

¹ S I I, Vol I, p 45

² Above, Vol. V, p 137, v 8, see also p 138, n 7

The genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty given in these plates is as shown below —



It agrees with the usual genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur¹ with the differences (i) that here we have no mention of Balliṭa, a brother between Bhōjadēva and Gandarāditya, and (ii) that Gūhala (I), in these plates, is shown as the elder brother of Gōmkalla which information we have got here for the first time. In other Śilāhāra plates² we are only told that Gōmkalla and Gūhala were the sons of Jatiga, but in the present record Gūhala is definitely mentioned as an *agraja* which cannot mean anything but an elder brother³. Gūhala is called *īsa* here, and in the plates published by Bhāgvanī Indrīya we also get *tad bhrātā Gūhalō rājā mṛt āri ājō=* 'bhrāt'. But it is very difficult to say in the light of the available materials whether Gūhala ruled the country any time, for it appears to have been usual to call all the royal brothers as *rājā*, etc. Possibly Gūhala died early and without any issue. That might explain why Gōmkalla is so prominently mentioned, and after him Gūhala is mentioned casually, though he was the elder brother.

As to the contents of the plates, the grant opens with a few verses giving the genealogy of Gandarādityādēva of the Kolhāpur branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty. Then we have a long list of the titles of this ruler. Gandarāditya, in response to the request of his minister Maillapaya, is stated to have granted lands at Kōmṇjavādā which is in the *khampana* (something like our modern Taluk) of Kōḷavallī in the district of Mirāṇṇa, for the repairs of the temple of Khēdīditya at Brahmapuri in Kōllāpura and for the maintenance of eight Brahmins whose names and *gōthas* are given. The grant was made in the Śaka year 1048 when Gandarādityādēva was in his camp at Vallavāda *grāma*. The grant concludes with the usual verses of curse on those who may violate the conditions of the grant.

A few words may be added regarding the localities mentioned in these records. The Śilāhāras are called *Tagarapurarādīśvara*, and about the identification of the city of Tagara

¹ See J B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 8. Bhāndarīya, *Collected Works*, Vol III, p 175.

² See Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p 33.

³ [The word *agraja* here has probably to be taken in the sense of 'the first born son' (i.e., Gōmkalla was the eldest son of Jatiga). The Śilāhāra grant of Marasimha dated Śaka 980 published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* (pp 102 ff) states clearly that Gūhala was the younger brother of Gōmkalla. The Kasli plates of Bhōjadēva (*An Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandala* for Śaka 1835, pp 222 ff), which also contain the verse under discussion give the reading *āditya* in place of *agraja*. Thus we find in the plates under publication the same order of descent of the brothers, viz., Gōmkalla, Gūhala, Kirttirāja and Chandrāditya as in other Śilāhāra charters.—N. L. R.]

much has been written. Fleet's identification of Tagara with T̥r is now generally accepted. I might, however, refer here to two latest papers on the subject. Prof K G Knudsen¹ proposes that Tagara should be identified with Törke.² But it is difficult to derive the form Törke from Tagara, and moreover, the place is nowhere called Tarkshyapura from which he has tried to derive it. Recently Prof Hirralal has pointed out³ that a Vidyādhara dynasty is associated with T̥r, twelve miles to the north of Dhārīva or modern Omannabad in the Nizam's Dominions. He indicates the possibility that Nila and Mahānila, two Vidyādhara princes from Himālaya, were the ancestors of Śilāhāras, and they migrated to T̥r for some political reasons. Thus Prof Hirralal confirms, on the authority of *Karalanda charu* and other literary sources, the opinion of Fleet that Tagara should be identified with T̥r near Omannabad. Vallavāda is to be identified with Vajjavāda also called Vajjavāda, the site of the present Rādhnagarī about 27 miles to the south west of Kolhāpur. Kōllāpura is the present Kolhāpur, and Brahmapurī is, even to this day, a local name of a part of Kolhāpur adjoining the bank of the river Prāchagaugī. Mīrīñji is to be identified with Miraj, and Kōḍavallī with Kōḍli about seven miles to the east of Kolhāpur. Kōmmjavāda is not identified, but it might have been a small village near about Kōḍavallī.

The date, Śunvīra, Āshādha śukla Chaturthī, Śaka 1018 of the plate, as kindly worked out for me by Principal R N Apte, corresponds with Saturday, 26th June 1126 A D, which was a day of Karka samkrānti.

TEXT

[Metres vv 1-3, 5, 9, 10 Anushtubh, vv 4, 6, 8 Sūrdūlarī rīṣīṣa, v 7 Uṣṣāḍī]

First Plate

- 1 Svasti sri [1] Jayaty=īvishkṛitām Viśhnūr-vārāham kshōbhāt-irnavam [1] dāśchin ōmna
(ōmna)ta dāushtī āgra vīśrāntī bhuvanam
- 2 vapuḥ [1] Āśid=vidyādhariḥ pūrvam nānmī Jñātāvāhenah [1] pūr ārttham jīvatam
yāna Garudāya
- 3 mīrīñjam [2] Śilāhār āhaya vamaśo=yam Tagarīśvara bhūbhṛtām [1] tad vamaś
Jatigō nīma jā-
- 4 tō bhūbhṛch-chhikhāmanah [3] Svasti sri Jatiga kshītīḥ tanayō Nāyama nāmā nri-
pāḥ putras=tasya cha Chāmdrarāt=prithu jāte=tasy=īpi sūnni kila [1] samjātō Jatigō
- 5 jagaj jana nutah śrīmānś-cha tam(n) nandanō Gōmālīō bhuvā bhūmī pīla ti
- 6 lakas=tasy=īpy=abhūd=agrajālī [1] Gūhalēśō=tha tad bhrātā Kīrttirāyō=nayō-
- 8 sya cha [1] Chāmdrādityas=tatas=tasya chakrē rījyam=akamtakam [5] Śrīmad Gōm-
kālā-bhū-
- 9 mī-pālā tanayah sri Mārasamhō nripas=tat-sūnur=nnipā maullī(lu) lālita pa
- 10 da sri Gūhal ākhyō nripah [1] tad bhrātā bhuvā Bhōjadēva-nripatir=vair ībha pamechchā
(chā)-

¹ See *Karnāṭaka Sahitya-parishat patrick*, October, 1934

² See Introduction to his edition of *Karalanda charu*, pp 41 ff, and his article in the *Annals of the B O R I.*, Vol. XVI, pp 4 ff

³ In these plates very often anusṭara is used in place of parasarana

⁴ Read nāmā

⁵ [See note 3 on p 29 Ed]

३८
 ४०
 ४२
 ४४
 ४६
 ४८

- 11 nanaś=chakrē rājyam=akṣauditam¹ prītha yaśā lamkaśa¹ tulljam(lyam) kṛṣṇa | [1 6 ||*] Tasya= ānujō dha-
 12 rmmā dharō dharitry im dadhāra varṇnān=akṣillā(lā)n=sva dharmmē [1*] dhary āgra-dhuryō Dhanadō dhanūnām

Second Plate First Side

- 13 śrī Gamdarāditya itī prasiddhah | [1 7 ||*] Dīn-ānātha-daridra duḥkhī-vikallā(la) vyākīrṇa-
 nānā
 14 vidha-prāṇi trāṇi parīyanah pratidinam gupt-ākhyā-dānēna yah [1] yah kṛṣṇa-ājina-dhē-
 15 nu-bhūmy-ubhayatōmukhy ādi-dīna-pradāh śaśvad=V(B)rahma-matī-pravīna-hṛdayō bhū-
 dṛvī-kā
 16 lpa drumah || [8 ||*] Svasti [1*] Samadhigata-paṃchamahāśaś(b)da Mahāmamāleśvaras= Trgara pura-
 17 var-ādhuśv irah śrī-Śilāhārī narāmdrō Jimūtavāhan ānvaya-prasūtas=suvarṇa Ga-
 18 ruda dhvajō maruvamika sarppa² ayyana śi(sim)hō ripu-mamdhaka bhairavō vidviṣṭa-
 gaja kamthīraṇa
 19 iduvar-īdityō rūpa Nārāyanah Śaṇvāra-siddhah(ūddhir=)giri durga-lamghanah Kalī-yuga-
 Vikramī-
 20 dityah śrī-Mahālakṣmī laṇ(b)dhā-vāra-prasād-ādi-samasta rājāvalī-virājita-
 21 śrīman-Mahāmamādalī(lī)śvarō Gamdarāditya dṛvō dushta nīgraha śiṣṭa-pratīpāllā(la)-
 22 na-purassaram śvā dharmmēn=aika chchhatrīm=upabhumjānō Vallavāda-grāmē vid-
 ānuvrti-
 23 tyā(ttyā) sukha-samkathū-vinōdēna vijaya rājyam(jyam) churam kurvan virājatē [1*] Tat-pā-
 24 da-padma opajīvi-mahāpradhānēna Kaditāmātya-Maillapayyēna mahā-tīrtḥē

Second Plate Second Side

- 25 śrī-Kōllāpurō V(B)rahma-nirmmita-V(B)rahmapuryām śrī-Khōdāditya-dēvassya(sya) jīrṇa-
 prīśī-
 26 da samudhah(ādhā)arāna-purassaram Trikūta prāsādam - vinirmāya tatra V(B)rahma-
 Viṣṇu pra-
 27 tishthīpya tatra dharmma-chukīrshayā vijñāpita-śrī Gamdarādityadēvas=tad=adhigammya
 (mya) -
 28 Śaka-varshcshu sahasr oparyy-ashtāchatvārimśati gatāyām varttamāna-Parābhava-
 samvatsa-
 29 r āmtarggat Āshādha-śukla chaturthyām Śaṇvārē dakṣiṇāyana samkrāntau Mīrimji dēś-
 ām-
 30 targgata-Kōdavallī khampan ānuvarttini Kōmmajavāda-grāmē tatrātya-Nārgā-
 vumda-Rājaya-Sēnayābhyaṁ Nārgāvumda sāmyabhūtam Kūṁdi dāṁdēna nīvartta-
 32 na dvayam mānyam chaturvīmsati-hasta vistaram magilam=ashta-bhōga tēja-sāmyam
 cha krāyṇ=ādāya

¹ Apparently there is a scribal error - I propose the reading *Lamkēśa*

² Read *maruvakṣa sarppa*

- 33 grāma bhūmi madhye tēn=aiṣa daudcā chatvāri nivarṭtanāni nikhṣipya shan-nivarṭtanāni
mānyam kṛtvā ta
34 t-pratīti līdhām¹ mullavam kutruvam cha kṛtvā chaturvimsatī-ha tam vistaram nivṛṣanam
anyad=ashtīchatvārimśadh(d) dhasta vi-
35 staram nivṛṣanam ch=ṛty=ṛyam dvāṣṭatī hasta vistaram magham ch-ṛty=ṛtat=sarva
Nārgīnmdum sāmam kṛtvā tan m
36 dhye V(B)rahmapuryīm ॥ i Khcādity idēva sanmudhan dvādaśīnīm ॥ (b)rīhmanānām
śvṛtā rīhī ōdanēna ādhakṣy ādi sūpēna ghṛi-

Third Plate

- 37 tēna takṛtā chaturbālīh śīlās=cha bhōjanāya tūmbūlāya cha tēn-aiṣa dam lēna mānyam
nivarṭtana dayam
38 malavam cha kuruvam cha magha madhye chaturvimsatī hasta vistaram nivṛṣanam cha
ashtā bhōga tēja-
39 sāmam ch=ṛty=ṛtat | Tathī tat-sarvā dharmma prachintakāh Gautama gōtrā Gaugīdhara-
chaturvīdī bhātī ōpīdhā-
40 yāh Bhāradvāja gōtrā Gōvinda(nda) kramavīdāh Atri gōtrā Bhīṣkara Chaturvīdīnaḥ
Jīmādnagya
41 Vatsa gōtrī Nīrīyana bhātīh Bhāradvāja gōtrō Mithravah Kūśyapa gōtrō Vāmanah Dhan-
amṛa-
42 yā(ya) gōtrī Vishnu bhātīh Bhāradvāja gōtrō Vāmanah ॥ am=ashtau ॥ (b)rīhmanāh
tūbhyaḥ pratyākam
43 tēn=aiṣa daudcā vappaka śāta chatuṣṭayam magha-madhye pratyākam shadh(d) dhasta-
vistaram nivṛ
44 śanam cha tathī tat-Trikūta pr²sāḍasya khamda sphutitā jīrṇa ōddhārāya tēn=aiṣa daudcā
vappaka śāta chatu
45 shtayam ॥ am=ṛtat=sarvāni pīda prakṣhālana dhūrā-pūrvakam sarva-namasyam sarva-
vā(bā)dhā-parihāram sarv āya-vaśu
46 ddham rījakīyānām=anaguh prākṣhānīyam ā-chamdr ārkham dattavān | ॥ tat=sarvā dha-
rmmā-gōptārō V(B)rahmapuri-
47 mahājanāh | Va(Ba)hūbhīr=vasudhā dattā rūjabālīh Sagar ādībālīh [1*] yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam | [1 9 ||*] Śva da-
48 ttām para dattim vā yō harṇta vasundharām | shashtir varsha²-sahasrīm vishthāyām
jāyatī kṛmih || [10 ||*] Māngalam mū(ma)hā śrī [h||*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Welfare ! Prosperity !

(Verse 1) Victorious is that Vishnu's manifested form of a boar which has agitated the ocean and which has the earth resting on the tip of its uplifted right tusk

(Verses 2 8) Formerly there was a Vidyādhara, Jīmūtavāhana by name, who, for the sake of others, offered his life to Garuda This family, called Śīlāhāra, (is) of kings (who were) the lords

¹ Read *pratibaddham*.

² Read *shashṭim varsha*

of Tagara, in that family was born a crest-jewel of kings **Jatiga** by name Welfare¹ The prosperous lord of earth **Jatiga** had a son, king **Nāyamma** by name, his son was **Chandrarāt** of great fame, to him in turn was born a son, **Jatiga** by name, who was praised by the people of the world, and his prosperous son was **Gōmkalla** who was a saffron-mark (*on the forehead*) of all the kings on the earth His elder brother¹ was king (² *īśa*) **Gūhala**, his younger brother was **Kīrtirāja**, and next to him was **Chandrāditya** who made his kingdom free from all the troubles That prosperous lord of the earth, **Gōmkalla**, had a son, viz, king **Mārasimha**, his son was king **Gūhala** by name whose feet were fondled by the crowns of kings, his brother was king **Bhōjadēva** who was a lion to the elephants in the form of enemies on the earth, and who is reported (*lila*) to have consolidated his kingdom with wide fame like that of the king of Lankā (²)² His younger brother is the famous **Gandarāditya** who is a protector of *Dharma* on the earth, who has maintained all the *Varnas* in their respective duties, who is a courageous and foremost leader, and who is a *Kubēra* of treasures Day to day he is engrossed in sheltering by anonymous gifts the various living beings that are distressed, helpless, poor, miserable, maimed and wandering, he bestows, in both the ways,³ eminent gifts such as the skin of the black-antelope, cows and lands, his mind is skilled in reflecting on the eternal Brahman, and he is a wish-fulfilling tree to the Brahmins

(Ll 16 23) Welfare¹ The prosperous *Mahāmandalēśvara* **Gandarādityadēva**—who is honoured by all the royal titles such as one who has obtained *pañchamahāśabda*, a *Mahāmandalēśvara*, the overlord of Tagara, the best of towns, the prosperous *Śilāhāra* Monarch, one born in the lineage of *Jimūtavāhana*, one who has the banner of golden *Garuda*, one whose shelter is sought by the serpent,⁴ a lion to his father,⁵ a *Bhairava* to the inimical *Mandahlas*, a lion to the elephants (*in the form*) of antagonists, the sun of the archers,⁶ *Nārāyana* in handsomeness, one who achieved success (*even*) on Saturdays, one who seized the mountain forts, a *Vikramāditya* of the *Kali* age, and one who received the favours of the boon from *Śrī-Mahālakṣmī*—is carrying on for a long time his victorious reign enjoying the sole mastery of the kingdom by carrying out his

¹ [See p 29 n 3, above—Ed]

² The reading *prithuyasa lamkasa* is decidedly defective, and the metre too is spoiled I have taken it as *Lamkēśa*

³ *Ubhayatah* refers to gifts given in two ways, namely, openly and anonymously [Dr Chhabra correctly points out that *ubhayatōmulhī* has been used here in the sense of a parturient cow, a gift of which is highly eulogised in the *Smritis* Cf *Hemādri*, *Chaturvargachintāman*, *Dānakhandā*, *prakaraṇa* 7—Ed]

⁴ The correct reading should be *maruvakka sarppa* The nasal here is duo to that deceptive *sūnya* (called *nolli*) used in Old Kannada script which has two values, when it is fat with space inside it means that the next consonant is duplicated, when small it is an *anusvāra* *Maruvakka* is a Kannada word, a further corruption from *maru* or *mare pokka* or *hokka* from the root *maru* or *mare pogu* 'to seek shelter' It is a title of the *Śilāhāras*, because they are *Garuda* dhvajās, the serpent being always at the mercy of *Garuda* [Mr N Lakshminarayana Rao suggests that it would be better to interpret the expression as a 'serpent to the hostile army' taking *maruvakka* to mean 'a hostile army'—in which sense it is widely used in Medieval Kannada literature—than to consider both the component parts of the word as corruptions (i.e., of *mare* and *pokka*) *Maruvakka sarppa* corresponds to Skt *pari bala sarppa* which is found among the *birudas* of the chief *Mārasingha* of the *Śenāvāra* family which, like the *Śilāhāras*, claimed to belong to *Jimūtavāhan āvaya* and *Khachara* (i.e., *Vidyādharma*) *vamśa* (see *Ep Carn*, Vol VI, Cm 94)—Ed]

⁵ *Ayyana simho* again a Kannada word 'a lion (like son) of his father', meaning a pet and brave son of his father This reminds us of the Kannada phrase '*bappare huliyā*', meaning, 'Bravo, my tiger', generally addressed by the father to his son

⁶ *Iduvār* is a Kannada word meaning 'those that put (an arrow to the bow)', 'those that shoot arrows', that is, the archers

duties (*śradharmāṇa*), by punishing the wicked and protecting the good, and spending his time merrily in happy talks in his standing camp¹ at Vallavāṇḍa-grāma

(Ll 23 39) Kācchīmātya Maṇḍapasya, the *Mahāpradhāna* dependent on his (i.e., of Gaṇḍarādityādīva) lotus like feet, after repairing the dilapidated temple of śrī Kācchādityādīva, situated in Brahmapurī, created by Brahman in the great holy place of śrī Kōllāpura, built a *Trilūṭa prāsāda*, installed there (*the images of*) Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and with a desire to do some religious act requested Gaṇḍarādityādīva who understood it (i.e., his desire). And when the Śalā years one thousand and forty eight had elapsed, in the Parābhava year, on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Āśvādha, on Saturday, on the Dalahūṇyana samantānti, he bought, by paying the cost, from Rājaya and Śūnaya of the Nūrgūṇḍa family, in the village of Kōmūjavāḍa in the *Thampana* of Kōḍavalli in the province of Mīrūṇi two *marṭanas* of non-taxable land (*māṇya*) that had the rights of Nūrgūṇḍas, measured by the Kūṇḍi pole, and a plot for a house twenty four cubits in extent with the eight rights, etc., then he added thereto from the land in the village, four *marṭanas* measured by the same pole, and thus made six *marṭanas* of land free from tax, etc.,²

⁴ [constructed] a house 24 cubits in extent and another 18 cubits in extent thus in all 72 cubits in extent. All these had the rights of the Nūrgūṇḍas. In Brahmapurī, in the presence of (*the god*) śrī Kācchādityādīva, he gave two *marṭanas* of land measured by the same pole with a house 24 cubits in extent along with eight rights, etc., to twelve Brahmins for their food with rice of white grains, with broth made of *ūḍhaḷi* and other pulses, with ghee, butter milk and four vegetables and for *tāmbūla*

(Ll 39 44) Then there are these eight Brahmins all of them intent on religious practices: Gaṅgādhara Chaturvīdī Bhāttōpādhyāya of Gautama *gōṭra*, Gōvinda Brahmarīd of Bhūradvāja *gōṭra*, Bhīṣaka Chaturvīdī of Atri *gōṭra*, Nūrgūṇa bhāttā of Jāmadagnya Vata *gōṭra*, Mīdhara of Bhīradvāja *gōṭra*, Vīmana of Kīśyapa *gōṭra*, Viṣṇu bhāttā of Dharmajaya *gōṭra* and Vāmana of Bhūradvāja *gōṭra*.³ To each of them were granted 100 *ṛappalas*⁴ measured by the same pole and to each a house six cubits in extent. Similarly for the repairs of the broken parts, etc., of the *Trilūṭa prāsāda* 100 *ṛappalas*⁴ were given by the same measure

(Ll 44-47) This *śarta namaṇya* (grant) which is free from all obstacles, which is faultless with regard to its income and which is not to be touched by finger (*uṇ*) by the royal officers, is made to last as long as the sun and the moon after a libation of water and a washing of the feet. The *Mahājanas*⁵ of Brahmapurī shall protect all these religious gifts

(Verses 9 10) [These are two of the well-known imprecatory verses]

(L 18) Auspicious glory⁶

¹ *Vidanurittu* is probably to be taken as meaning 'following the custom of a *vidu* (i.e., camp)' It reminds us of a similar expression in Kannada grants *biḷḷol* meaning 'in the camp'

² *Nūrgūṇḍas* are those who are now known as Nūḍaṇḍas, a Kannada word meaning 'herdsmen of the country'

³ *Maḡila* means a site for a house

⁴ The meaning of *malan*, etc., is not clear. The same phrase is spelt differently in Ll 34 and 38

⁵ It should be noted that some names are in singular and some in plural

⁶ *Ṛappala* is a measure

⁷ *Mahājanas* were members of a particular assembly probably something like our *Panchas*

⁸ My thanks are due to my colleague Prof. K. G. Kundangar who helped me in translating certain technical terms in the plates

No 6—HIDDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28

By Dr STEV KONOW, OSLO

The credit for bringing this record to light belongs to Professor F W Thomas. In a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp 91 ff, he draws attention to some remarks by Masson about a Kharōshthī inscription he had found at 'Tope No 13 of Hidda' on an earthen jar, and which he had copied. A lithographed reproduction is found opposite p 262 of the *Ariana Antiqua*.

Professor Thomas further tells us that, in going through Masson's papers in the India Office Library, he found 'a number of attempts at decipherment of one or two Kharōshthī inscriptions', and one of them proved to be the very record reproduced in the old publication. There were several attempts, and Professor Thomas reproduced the most careful one and published his reading of the inscription, which was subsequently, with some alterations, reproduced in my edition of the record in the *Corpus*, pp 157 ff.

The copy published by Professor Thomas is far from being satisfactory, but the way in which he was able to rearrange the sequence of the letters and bring out the meaning is highly to be admired. But now new material has come to hand, which makes it possible to read the legend with greater certainty.

In a letter of the 13th December 1935, Dr E H Johnston writes 'In the course of cataloguing the Masson papers in the India Office Library, I have come across a number of copies of the inscription on the Hiddah jar. Most date from after Masson's return to England early in 1842 and have no special value. Three however are on blue paper, one seems to be a new working copy, written out for an attempted transliteration. The others are on two strips of paper, which Masson pasted on to another sheet of paper after his return to England.'

Fuller particulars about these last-mentioned copies were given in another letter from Dr Johnston of the 13th January 1936. 'The copies are on two strips of blue foolscap, measuring 55 by 315 millimetres and 98 by 313 millimetres, respectively. I regard them as Masson's originals for various reasons. That he looked on them as particularly important is shown by the fact that he has cut them out of the particular sheet on which they were and pasted them on to another sheet, this must have been done after his return to England, as the kind of paper on to which they have been pasted shows. Masson used this blue foolscap almost exclusively in 1834 and many of his original sketches of the Topes of Hiddah and Chaharbagh are on similar paper, having been done that year (1834) at the time of excavation. The writing is done with a broader pen than he was in the habit of using. There are at least a dozen copies of this inscription among his papers, most of them made after he had left Afghanistan, and in every case except this the copy was evidently made in order to put between the lines an attempt at transliteration. No room has been left for such writing on these strips, though you will notice some remains of such an attempt at the bottom. I imagine the first strip was left incomplete after writing the first line because of the disfigurement by blots.'

With the kind permission of Dr Randle, the Librarian of the India Office, excellent photographs of these strips have been prepared, and I have been authorized to make use of them for an eventual new edition of the record.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr Johnston is right in considering these strips as Masson's original draft. And we can also see that the incomplete strip is the first one. It has partly been corrected in the second. And we shall find several certain indications which show that the copies reproduced in the *Ariana Antiqua* and in Professor Thomas' plate have been made from our strips.

The arrangement of the letters is the same as in the published plates, and it is clear that the two lines of the inscription run all round the jar, and that Masson failed to see where the record begins. Professor Thomas' ingenious restoration of the sequence is absolutely certain, and I shall follow it in my ensuing remarks, using the abbreviations A for the *Ariana Antiqua* plate, B for the copy published by Professor Thomas, I for the first strip and II for the second.

The first word is correctly given as *sambatsarac* in I. In II the *anusāra* hook is more rounded, and Masson has added an *e mātrā* above *sam*, probably because the top of the *alshara* was blurred. This wrong *e* stroke is then found both in A, which here faithfully reproduces II, and in B, which represents a combination of I and II.

The ensuing *athavati*: 20 1 1 do not call for any remark. We can only see that Masson first misread the *ti*, but corrected it in II.

Then follows *masc* with a bottom stroke crossed by a horizontal, bent downwards at both ends and surmounted by a curved upright, below *se* in I, while these additions have been omitted in II, evidently as the result of closer inspection, so that we must certainly read *masc*. The bottom strokes return, however, in B, where they are the same as in I, and in A, where there is only a long horizontal.

Then comes *Apelac* in I. In II the *pe* and the final *c* have been slightly modified. In A *pe* has been misread as *pi*, and *la*, which is a little misshapen in I, has been miswritten. In B the two different forms of *c* have been entered, that of II in the line, that of I, slightly misshapen, above.

The ensuing *sasthehi* is quite clear, but it is hardly probable that *sta* with the vertical to the right had a different sound from the ordinary *sta*. The word itself is, as we know, Iranian, cf. Av. *sand* 'to appear', Khotanī Sika *sasta* 'appeared'. Between the letters *sa* and *sīc* there is in II a long vertical stroke. It is impossible to tell why Masson has inserted it.

The *hi* of the following *da'sahi* is misdrawn in II, the bottom having been continued into the preceding *sa*, causing a break in the left bar of the latter. Both forms are reproduced in B.

The *i* of the ensuing *ī'sa* (not *īc* as read by Professor Thomas) has an angular top in I, and this form recurs in A, and also in B, where, however, the rounded form of II is added above the line, *sa* is misshapen in A, and in B a second form has been added above the line, we cannot say from which source.

In the word *prastishapita* we can clearly follow the process of deterioration. I is quite clear, though the upright of *stha* is separated from the cross bar. In II the horizontal of *pra* protrudes slightly to the left of the vertical, and the bottom of the final *ta* has been lengthened, and a short vertical has been added, so that the *alshara* looks almost like *ro*. The results can be seen in the apparent *phra*, the disjointed *stha* and the misshapen *ta* of A, and in the similar *pra* and the splitting up of *tistha* into three *alsharas* in B.

In the word read as [ra]jamānīm by Professor Thomas, we can now see that the apparent hook which he took to be a mutilated *ja* is a clear *ma*. The preceding *ra* shows a short horizontal stroke protruding to the left just above the bottom in I, so that we could think of reading *ro*. But it is absent in II, and as the same *rama* recurs in 1 2, the reading seems to be certain. *Rama* can hardly be anything else than the name of a person, probably the Indian name, which already occurs in the *Rigveda*.

The *alshara* following after *rama* looks like *tam*, but can also be a shortened cursive *ram*. Then comes an evidently misdrawn letter in I, while II has an unmistakable *ña*. A and B give both forms, one above the other, and here again clearly show their dependence on I and II. With the ensuing *m* we thus get *ramalamñām* or *ramaramñām*. If it were possible to assume a

doublet *tanya* besides *tanya* 'own', which we read on a Tor Dherai potsherd¹, we might think of connecting *ramatamīlām* with the following *thubam* 'in the Stūpa belonging to Rāma', but we have no reason for supposing the existence of such a variant, *tanya* itself being doubtful and probably only the final portion of *atanya*. The word *raña*, Skr *aranya* 'wood, grove', on the other hand, occurs in connection with *thūba* on the Kurram casket

'The Rāma wood' is then the name of the place where the stūpa was situated, and most probably the real name. Cf passages such as *Takhasīlāe nagare—utarena—prachu deśo—Kshema nama—atra śarīram [piat]tithaveti* 'in the town of Takhasīlā,—to the north,—the eastern quarter,—Kshema by name,—here he establishes a relic' (Taxila copper-plate, with the enumerating idiom which we know so well from Marāṭhī), *ime pradīstavita bhagavato dhatuo dhammarāe Takhasī[la*]e tanuvae bosī(dhi)satvagaham* 'these relics of the Lord were established in the Buddha relic stūpa of Takhasīlā, in his own Bodhisattva chapel' (Taxila silver scroll), *Chhadaśīlāe śarīra praistareti gahathubam* 'in Chhadaśīlā he establishes a relic in the house stūpa'², *Vāgramari(r)aviharam(r)ṇe thu[ba]m(r)ṇe bhag(r)avada Śākyamune śarīra parithaveti* 'in the Vāgramariya vihāra, in a stūpa, he (sc Vāgramariya) establishes a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni' (Wardak vase), etc. The last mentioned passage shows that such a name can be derived from the name of a living person

In my edition of the Kalawān record I have shown that the list of Yakshas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*³ contains details which may be of interest in connection with Kharōshthī inscriptions, but that the forms of the names used in the *Māyūrī* must sometimes be checked by the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the work. I believe that such is also the case with reference to our record

In the *Mahāmāyūrī* l 83 we read '*Lankeśvaraś ca Kapīśyām Mārīcī Rāmakakshayām*' 'the lord of Lankā (i e, Rāvana, is the Yaksha) in Kapīśī, Mārīcī in Rāmakakshā'

Now the arrangement of the various localities in the *Mahāmāyūrī* is roughly geographical, and we are probably justified in assuming that Rāmakakshā should be looked for in Afghanistan. Professor Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to the fact that the irregular form *-lakshayām* for *-lakshāyām* may point to some corruption. Of the Chinese versions one has *lo mo-k'ī lo, i e, Rāmakakshā*, which is just as unsuitable in the rhythm as *Rāmakakshāyām*. Yü-tsing gives *o lo mo lin* 'the forest of Rāma', and the Tibetan translation *dga baḥi tshan tshin* 'the wood of the pleasant one'. From these renderings we learn that the literal meaning of the name was 'Rāma wood', and from the fact that Mārīcī and not Rāma is mentioned as the Yaksha of the place, we must necessarily draw the inference that the Rāma wood was not considered to be a grove dedicated to a Yaksha or other supernatural being called Rāma, but as a place founded or owned by a person of the name Rāma

As indicated above, the Rāma grove was most probably situated in Afghanistan, and I think that we are justified in assuming that it was the very same 'Rāma grove' which is mentioned in our record. Since the inscription in l 2 contains wishes for the welfare of Rāma, he was probably at that time the owner of the wood, and we may draw the inference from the *Mahāmāyūrī* that his name stuck to the place also in later times, after his death

The Hidda inscription would then be the oldest record in which this 'Rāma grove' is mentioned. It is, besides, written in prose, and we have every reason for assuming that it contains the genuine form of the name. The author of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, who, according to Professor

¹ *C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, p 176

² Kalawān inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 251 ff

³ Cf the late Sylvain Lévi's important paper, *J A*, XI, 2, 1915, pp 19 ff

Smith's observations, is remarkably careful with regard to the rhythm, could not use *Rāmāraṇyā* in his verse. He therefore chose a synonym of *aranya*, as indicated by Yi tsing and the Tibetan translation. *Khila* might be a translation of *aranya*, taking this to mean 'wilderness, desert', but the word does not suit the metre and is evidently a later 'improvement'. *Kaśha-yām* might be considered as a metrical license instead of *lal-shāyām*, but then *lal-shā* is not known to have had the meaning 'wood, forest'. *Kaśha*, on the other hand, has this sense, and it is, therefore, I think, probable that the author of the *Mahāmāyūrī* wrote *Rāmālal-shā*, and that this was subsequently changed to *lal-shāyām* by somebody who did not know that there was a 'Rāma wood', but knew the word *lal-shā*.

After *raṃvaramānā* both I and II have *thubam samghamitrena naḥalārmāna*, i.e., *naḥalārmāna* 'in the stūpa, through the Naḥalārmika Samghamitra'. The shape of *gha* is a little irregular, and the loop is half open in II, which has led to a mis-hearing *gha*, with the better form above it, in B. No importance can be attached to the fact that the initial *na* of *naḥalārmāna* looks like a cerebral *na*. Since we have a dental *na* in the beginning of *naḥena*, l. 2, it is clear that the two characters are not distinguished in such a way that the apparent *n* is used when initial and the apparent *ṇ* between vowels, in which case we should have to assume that *n* in reality denotes the dental, and *ṇ* the lingual *n*. It is, on the contrary, probable that the clear distinction between *n* and *ṇ* which we find in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript only corresponds to the actual state of things in a restricted area and is partly due to the influence of literary tradition, while the North Western Priant generally only knew the dental *n*.

The designation *naḥalārmika* is used in two other Kharoṣṭhī records. In the Taxila copper plate we read, according to Professor Thomas' evident correction,² *mahādmapati Patila saja uraiha[nā*] Rohimmitrena ya imam samgharam naḥalārmika* 'the great gift lord Patika together with the Upādhyāya Rōhimmitra, who is *naḥalārmika* in this Vihāra'. The Mānikhila inscription, l. 12 runs *sadha Buddhena naḥalārmigena* 'together with the *naḥalārmika* Buddha'. The term is also met with in Brāhmī inscriptions, cf. Professor Lüders' List, and in several passages in Pāli literature, to which Professor Smith has been good enough to give me some references. According to *Kaccāyana* 353, *Saddanāṭi* 786-23 a *naḥalārmika* is one who is entrusted with a *naḥalamma*, a monk or a nun selected by the Saṃgha in order to act on its behalf. *Vinaya Pīṭaka* II, 159, ll. 22 ff., we read about people who undertake some *naḥalamma* and take care of the monks who supervise the work (*naḥalamman adhiṭṭhenti*), and the Buddha gives instructions about the choice of such bhikkhus. A *naḥalammiḥa* monk is to be zealous so that a Vihāra may be completed quickly and dilapidated portions repaired (*naḥalammiḥo, bhikkhāre, bhikkhu ussullam āpajjissati lenti nu llo vihāro lappam pariyoṇam gaccheyū ti, lhandaphullam patisamkharissati*), and he should be selected by the Saṃgha after such assistance has been requested by some householder. In *Vinaya Pīṭaka* IV, 211, Sīlha wants to build a Vihāra and asks for a nun as *naḥalammiḥā*, and the bhikkhunīsingha deposes the nun Sandarīnandā for the purpose. She constantly repairs to Sīlha's residence and asks for various implements (*rāsam detha, pharasam detha, luthāram detha, kuddālam detha, nīlādanam dethā ti*), while Sīlha constantly goes to follow the progress of the work (*ḥatūlalam jāntum*). In accordance with such passages Buddhaghōsa, *Samantapāsādikā* on *Vinaya Pīṭaka* II, 160, l. 12 says that the *naḥalārmika* does not do the manual work, but supervises the progress (*laddhanavaḥarmena bhikkhunū vāsparasu nīlādanādāni gaheṭṭā sayam na lūtabbham, katūlalam jāntabbam*). In *Vinaya*

¹ Professor Turner has been good enough to tell me that in Shina Skr. *n* regularly appears as *n* and *ṇ* as *n*.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6.

³ Professor Thomas explains *saja* = *sadya* 'at present'. I identify it with Vedic *sacā* 'together'.

Ṭīṭaka IV, 34, ll 2 ff we read about the Ālavaka monks that they were engaged in *navakamma* (*navakammam karontā*), and that they cut down trees or had trees cut down. But one of the monks, who was felling a tree, was warned by its *dēvatā* not to destroy her dwelling in order to make one for himself, and the Buddha speaks about the offence in connection with the destruction of life which was inevitable when a tree was cut.

A *navakammika* may reside for a prolonged period at one place. In *Vinaya Ṭīṭaka* II, 15, ll 29 ff we read about the venerable Sudhamma, who stayed with the householder Clutta as his *navakammika*, and in *Jātaka* IV, 310, ll 13 f about residence as *navakammika* in a great Vihāra in Kajangalā (*āvāsiko hotu mahāvihāre, navakammiko hotu Kajangalāyam*), and the commentary here speaks of a dilapidated Vihāra (*ymnavihāra*), i.e., one in need of repairs.

It is evident from the above quotations that the *navakamma* was of different kinds, from the building of a Vihāra down to various sorts of repairs. *Manorathapūranī* I, 31, l 15 speaks of a *navakammika* in connection with Uposatha halls, almshouses, etc (*uposathāgūrahōjanasālādīni*), and such work was formerly considered as a good means of banishing distracting thoughts (*porāṇakapanditā pana navakammam katvā pi vitakham pachhindimsu, Papañcha-sūdanī* II, 91, l 18). And in *Vinaya Ṭīṭaka* II, 172 we hear of several minor kind of *navakamma* such as heaping up clay or earth, replastering a wall, making a door or a socket for a bolt, white-washing, etc.

A *navakammika* is consequently in most cases a monk, acting on behalf of the Saṅgha in supervising new buildings, repairs, etc., and such was evidently the case with Saṅghamitra. What he had to superintend may have been the erection of the Stūpa, or some repairs, or even only the putting down of the relic.

For the second line the new material consists of one copy only, viz II. As seen by Professor Thomas, we must evidently begin with the sixth *akshara* from the end.

The first word is certainly *edena*, though the *e*-stroke of *de* is curved and joined to the upright in such a way that Masson in A and B has introduced a small loop.

The next word was correctly read as *kuśalamulena* by Professor Thomas, who pointed out that the *u* of *ku* and the final *na* are missing. The new copy shows definitely that I was wrong in assuming that the ensuing *e* was misdrawn for *na*. After *śa* follows in II what looks like a second *śa*, corrected to *na*, and then a cancelled letter which looks as an unsuccessful attempt at writing a *la*. In A both these letters are clumsily imitated, one above the other, while B seems to combine them into one misshapen *akshara*. What looks like *śa* corrected to *na* might be the *na* we miss after *le*, in which case we would have to infer that it had been misplaced in the original. It is, however, more probable that Masson has forgotten to cancel it properly. The dot before the ensuing *la* is, as Dr Johnston informs me, not an ink, but the remains of a drop of moisture.

Then follows, as read by Professor Thomas, *etsha dharmāna*, where the final *na* is misshapen in A.

The next *aksharas* were read *lolika viya* by Professor Thomas, while I suggested to read *abbibhuti*. The new copy clearly shows that the first *akshara* was *la*. A comparatively long sloping line descends towards the left from the underside of the hook of *la*, which itself is continued on to the vertical. It might be taken to be the *o*-stroke, which, however, protrudes from the vertical in other inscriptions. It is therefore possible that it is of the same kind as the superfluous and meaningless stroke between *sa* and *sīhe* in *sasīhe* II, l 1. It is considerably shortened in B and it has led to a distorted sign in A. The next *akshara* is certainly *bhi*, as stated by Professor Thomas, and the new copy clearly shows that it is followed by *bhāva*.

The curve of *ma* is here narrower than in *rama*, l. 1, and we understand how Maason has come to write the hook which has been misinterpreted as a mutilated *ya*. If we bear in mind that the nom. pl. of *mha* as frequently ends in *i* in Pali and Pralrit, it becomes evident that we must translate *labhi* (or, *lobhi*) *bhāṃma* 'may we become possessed (or, desirous) of,' and the usual wording of such wishes in other texts favours the reading *labhi*.

With regard to the ensuing *yisha*, which is perfectly clear in all copies, it is, of course, possible that it corresponds to Skt. *yaśhat*. But in the first place, we should expect *sha* for *shat*, and, in the second, the parallelism with the preceding *etc. ha dharmāna* leads us to expect *yeshā*, so that *ya* is probably a miswriting or misreading for *ye*. But then it seems almost certain that the *aḥsara* following after *dharmāna* must be *ram* and not *lha*, so that we must read *dharmānam*. The use of *ra* instead of *re* does not make any difficulty, as we have already seen. As a matter of fact the *aḥsara* in question looks more like *nam* than *lha*. And there is also another difficulty in reading *lha*. This *lha* would have to be connected with the following *e* to *lhac*, corresponding to Skt. *lśay*. But the regular development of old *lha* in our dialect is to become a round written with a sign which has been variously transliterated *l̥* and *ch̥*, and which clearly denotes the cerebral fricative *ḷ* known from Dardic.

It cannot be objected that the *anurāṇa* is impossible. We have the same uncertainty in *Iśhunammi*, *ramāṇa*, *ḥubana*. I shall only mention in passing that in all other instances of the genitive plural in our record a consonant follows, while here the next sound is a vowel. But it may be worth while remembering that final *an* is written *a* in the Duttend de Rhins manuscript, and still we can see that the final nasal made its felt, so that, e.g., Pāli *ekham* is represented by *siha bi* and not *siha re*.

E must then be taken to the following *elāḥra*, which we now cannot be but read *ta*, a reading which Professor Thomas mentions as possible.

Then follows what he read as *lla*, but which looks much more like *re* and *ra*, be the enclitic personal pronoun of the second plural, used in a well-known sense 'you see', much like the corresponding *ū* in Khotanī Saka.

The next two *aḥsaras* seem to be *syta*, A has *syta*. I do not any more think that we can adopt Professor Thomas' emendation of *taisyta* to *ḥiyatā*, because Maason's copy seems to be so reliable throughout. The only way of explaining *syta* I can think of is that the *e* above *syā* has come in in the same way as the *e* of *etāḥsara* in II l. 1, as also as used by Professor Thomas, and that there has been an invisible *mūtrā* in *ta*. I would therefore read *syatā* and transliterate 'may we become possessed of the *aḥsaras* of which *elāḥra* as this may be, i.e., of which *dharmas* the following may consist (or, be the cause).

The next passage can be read without any doubt, as done by Professor Thomas: *sarira sariyasatiana nirāṇasambhara bhavati*. The final *ra* of *sarira* is provided with a small hook, which has become a regular *anusāra* in A, but there is no reason for reading *ḥariram*. The *r* loop of *(sa)ria* runs into the vertical of the preceding *sa*, the top of the *sa* of *sarīṇa* has been connected with the upright of the *ta* of *ta*, and there is an apparent bar to the right of the vertical of *ria* in *nirāṇa*, which evidently is only the disjointed continuation of the *r* stroke of the preceding *nī*. The result is that we find various distortions both in A and in B which here again clearly show their dependence on II. *Saria* looks like *sam* and a mutilated *ria*, *sarīṇa* has been split up and mutilated in different ways, the *ria* of *nirāṇa* looks

² Cf. Turner, *Gypsy Lore Society, Monographs* No. 4, p. 11.

³ The form *aralasa ra* (A² 15) shows that we have to do with the acc. pl., and that *abalasaṇa* in the *Dharmapada* is due to a misunderstanding of the original.

almost like *ila*, and in B slightly differing forms have been added above the *na* of this word. In A, moreover, the *bha* of *sambharae*, has been slightly distorted.

The whole sentence is a blessing of the same kind as the final clause of the Taxila silver scroll. We may only be in doubt whether *śarīra* should be connected with the preceding *eta*, in which case we might think of construing *y[e*]śha dharmānam* with *nirvanasambharae* and taking *bharatu* as a further explanation of *syeta*, i e, *syati* 'to the nirvāna equipment of which *dharma*s for all beings this your *śarīra* might serve'. Such an explanation seems, however, to be rather hard, and it is more in accordance with the usual formula to translate 'out of which *dharma*s this may result let the *śarīra* be for the *nirvāna* equipment of all beings', or, more probably, 'of which *dharma*s this your *śarīra* may consist (or, be the cause) Let it be for the *nirvāna* equipment of all beings'.

As already indicated the next word is clearly *ramasa*, and the suspicious form *raṣa* instead of *rañ* 'of the king' disappears from the dialect. The form *raṣa* in the Niya inscriptions corresponds to Skt *rāṣyaśya*.

Then comes a difficult *akshara*, which Professor Thomas describes as an 'unintelligible form, which seems to contain a *y*'. He read the ensuing letters as *grīprachamyā* and added 'We have a sufficiency of parallels to prove that the idea intended is that conveyed by the word *agrāpratyaṃśa*, and we are free to choose between two suppositions either there has been a misreading of *agrāprachamśa* (confusion of *ya* and *śa* being easy), or the inscription had employed a synonym, possibly *agrāprachāya*=*agrāpratyaṃśa*, in which the second member had the (rare) sense of "tribute," "share".'

As long as we did not know Masson's original copy, we were justified in assuming that his reproductions were not quite reliable. Now we cannot do so any more, and we must assume that the 'unintelligible' letter, which has become quite disfigured in A and B, is a fairly reliable copy of what Masson saw on the jar. So far as I can see, it is possible to read it as *no*, the *akshara* being turned backwards in a similar way as the *de* of *edena*, but it is more probable that we have to do with a misshapen *a*. Then follows *grīprachaya*. The *p* of *pra* shows the same protrusion, only more pronounced, as in *pratisṭhapita* l 1. The same is the case in A, and also in B, where we find two slightly varying attempts at rendering the *akshara*. The bottom of *cha* is curved like the bottom of *dha*, but it does not seem possible to read *cham*. *Prachaya* may represent Skt *pratyaṃśa* as well as *pratyaṃśa*. The latter word is, so far as I know, only found in lexicographical works as one of the meanings of *lāra*, e g, in Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasāgraha* 405 *lārah* *pratyaṃśa śuṇḍayōh raśmau varshōpalē pāṇau* 'lāra means toll, trunk, ray, hail, hand'. We have no right to assume that it could mean 'share'. Moreover, it is *a priori* unlikely that *prachaya* in a Buddhist inscription is anything else than the well-known *pratyaṃśa*, Pāli *pacchaya*.

If the reading *a* is correct, we thus have *ramasa agrī prachaya*, where *agrī*=*agrē*. It is hardly allowed to connect this *agrī* with the ensuing *prachaya* into a compound. There cannot however, in my opinion, be much doubt that Professor Thomas was right in supposing that what is meant is to invoke a blessing on Rāma as the person who is to receive the principal share of the *punya* connected with the establishment of the relic, just as we read in the Wardak vase inscription *mahya cha Vag(r)amareg(r)as(r)a agrabhag(r)apad(r)iyamsae bhavatu* 'may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself Vāgramareya,' where the person there singled out is the owner of the Vihāra, which fact makes me inclined to think that Rāma in our inscription occupied a similar position, i e, that he was the donor or owner of the Stūpa and not an eponymous Yaksha.

If I am right about the purport of the sentence, (a)grī means or it is 'in future,' the locative of *agra* 'first, principal,' and means about the same thing as *agrapratyamśa*. With regard to *prachaya*, if it is not miswritten for *prachāśa*, i.e., *prachamśa*=*pratyamśa*, we may doubt whether it is to be taken as a nominative or as an ablative, but the former seems to me to be the proper explanation.

I cannot finish these lines without paying my tribute to Professor Thomas for the sagacity and ingenuousness with which he has succeeded in solving almost all the problems connected with the Hidda record at the hand of the inferior reproductions at his disposal. And I should also like to give expression to my admiration of Masson's achievement. Without apparently understanding a single word he has left us a reliable and extremely careful copy, which gives an almost perfect reproduction of the original.

With some confidence I then give the following text and translation.

TEXT

L 1 sambatārane athavāṭatī 20 4 4 mase Apellao sastiheṇi dāśah 10 śā śhunammi pratīsthapita śarira Ramaramūnam thubam Samghamitrena navakarmāna(-ena)

L 2 edena k[u]śīlmule[nā*] eteśha dharmāna labhi bhavīmā y[e*]śha dharmānam eta vo syeta (syatī) śarira sarvasatvāna nīrvāṇaśambharae bhavatu Ramasa agri prachaya

TRANSLATION

In the twenty eighth—28—year, in the month Appellao, after ten—10—had appeared, in this instant was established a relic in the Rāma grove, in the Stūpa by Samghamitra the superintendent of work. Through this root of bliss, might we become recipients of these *dharma*s, of which *dharma*s this our relic may be. Let it lead to nīrvāṇa equipment for all beings and be the support in future (or, the cause for the foremost share) for Rāma.

✓ No 7—THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS KRITA YEAR 295

By PROF. A. S. ALTINKAR, BERNARD'S HINDU UNIVERSITY

The three Maukhari inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by me at Badvā in Kotah State in Rājputāna on the 1st of March 1936 in the course of a tour of archaeological exploration organised by the State Historian, Dr Mathuralal, at the instance of the Kotah government. Badvā is a large village, about 5 miles south-west of Antah, a railway station on the Kotah Bina line of the G. I. P. Railway. The stone pillars, on which the inscriptions are engraved were at the time of their discovery situated outside the village, about half a mile to its east, at a locality known as Thamb Tōraṇ¹ which is obviously a vernacular form of the Sanskrit expression *Stambha Tōraṇa*. This name was probably given to the locality, about 1,700 years ago, when two stone structures, partially resembling an arch, were raised there by the erection of four sacrificial posts by the Maukhari rulers, then ruling over the territory. At the time of their discovery only three of these pillars were *in situ*, one inclined at an angle of about 80°, and the other two lying flat on the ground. One of the latter pillars had to be raised before impressions of its inscription could be taken, as it had fallen with the inscribed side downwards. The remnants of the fourth pillar could be found at a distance of about two furlongs, where a

¹ The Kotah government is taking steps to remove these pillars to Kotah.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or historical inscription.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or historical inscription.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or historical inscription.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or historical inscription.

1

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or historical inscription.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or historical inscription.

portion of it was discovered converted into a *satī* stone. On one side of this stone are still to be seen the letters *yajñō* of the original inscription of the 3rd century A D. It is therefore clear that this fourth pillar also bore an inscription, similar to, but not identical in its contents¹ with those on the other three.

The two pillars of the front row were separated from each other by a distance of about 25 feet. The rear row, of which only one pillar was *in situ*, stood behind the first at a distance of about 25 yards. The ends of the *yūpas* turn inwards to their proper right, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph, two *yūpas*, standing at a distance of about 25 feet with their inclined portions facing each other, must have appeared like the lower portions of a *tōrana*. This may have been the reason, as I have already suggested, for the name *Stambha Tōrana* being given to the locality, probably ever since the time of the erection of the pillars.

Each of the three pillars is described as a *yūpa* in the inscription engraved upon it. Sacred texts declare that *yūpas* should be made of wood. The *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* vividly describes the expedition for securing a suitable stump for this purpose²—how the tree is to be felled, how its superfluous branches are to be chopped, etc. Different results are promised to the sacrificer according to the tree that may be selected for making the *yūpa*. The *Āntarvya Brāhmaṇa* lays down that the *yūpa* itself was to be offered as an oblation at the end of the sacrifice³. No wooden *yūpas* have, however, been so far discovered⁴. The stone ones, that we have come across so far, begin from the 2nd century A D, and seem to be an innovation introduced for commemorative purposes by the advocates of the Vedic revival, probably with a view to emulate Buddhist pillars like those of Aśoka. We have so far discovered only four complete stone *yūpas*, besides the present three. In the early centuries of the Christian era the stone *yūpas*, commemorating different sacrificers, must have been fairly common, otherwise the word *yūpa* would not have acquired the sense of a *yajña stambha*⁵.

It is interesting to note that the practice of erecting commemorative *yūpas* runs counter to the sentiments expressed in this connection by the authors of the *Grihyasūtra* and *Dharmasūtra* literature. Their writers probably flourished just after the time of the Upanishadic and Buddhist revolt against the practice of slaughter of animals in sacrifices. Many of them like Vāsisṭha,⁶ Baudhāyana,⁷ Vishnu⁸ and Āśvalāyana⁹ declare that the touch of a *yūpa* is as polluting as that of a funeral pyre or a woman in her courses, the *Hiranyakēśi Grihyasūtra* says that by touching a *yūpa* one brings upon oneself the guilt of whatever faults may have been committed in the sacrifice¹⁰. It would appear that with the revival of Vedic sacrifices, the leaders of society and of the new movement ceased to subscribe to the above views of the *Dharmaśāstra* writers.

¹ In the inscriptions on the pillars completely preserved the word *yajñō* does not occur.

² VI, 3.

³ II, 1.

⁴ The wooden post, bearing a fragmentary inscription, discovered at Kirārī (*ante*, Vol XVIII, p 162), does not look like a *yūpa*. It has a *lalasa* at the top, which no sacred text recommends in the case of a *yūpa*. Its inscription is too fragmentary to determine whether it was a *yūpa*.

⁵ Cf. चयासनिर्विष्टसहस्रबाहुस्तद्विशदीपनिखातयूप । अनन्यसाधारणराजशब्दो बभूव योगी किल कार्तवीर्य ॥ *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 38.

⁶ Cf. यूपचितिसंश्राननस्तत्तत्प्रतिप्राप्तचोपपश्यश्च सञ्जिग्रा अम्युपेयादप इति । IV, 31.

⁷ I, 5, 9, 5.

⁸ 22, 69.

⁹ III, 6, 8.

¹⁰ Cf. न यूपमुपपश्येत् । दुरिष्ट यज्ञस्तत्प्रतिमुचति यद्येकमुपपश्येत् । I, 5, 16, 16. The commentator नादृष्ट add — दुरिष्टमिति भूतनिदृष्टात्समास एव यागे प्रतिषेधो नासमाप्ति ॥

and began to encourage the construction of stone *yūpas* as a triumphant and enduring testimony to the revival of the old Vedic religion. *Yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt, says the *Āitarīya Brāhmaṇa*¹. Hindu champions of the revival of the Vedic religion were obviously ~~as~~ proud of their commemorative stone *yūpas* as Indra was of his thunderbolt.

Detailed instructions have been given in the Vedic literature about the shape and size of the sacrificial post. The height was rigidly fixed only in the case of the *Vājap̄ya* sacrifice, where the post had to be made 17 cubits high, in the case of other sacrifices it could vary from five to fifteen cubits². After the leaves and branches of the stem were cut off, it was to be given an octagonal shape, for that was the shape of the thunderbolt of Indra, and *yūpa* is a thunderbolt³. The stem was not to be straight, it was to be curved both at the top and the centre, the concavity in either case facing the same side⁴. It was never to be made tapering at the top, for such a post was supposed to hasten the death of the sacrificer⁵. At a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was to be shipped in a ring or *kataḷa*, technically known as *chashāla*, which also had naturally to be octagonal in shape⁶. *Yūpa* resembled in its external appearance a *Brahmachārin*, so it had a girdle at its centre and a triple *upavīta* across it. It was to be covered by a number of cloths⁷.

These detailed instructions about the nature of the *yūpas* do not seem to have been known to the sculptors responsible for the construction of the stone *yūpas* of King Mūlavarman of Borneo, for they are roughly dressed stones of irregular shape⁸. In India, however, the Hindu revivalist tried to conform to the requirements of the sacred texts as far as possible. Thus none of the complete and undamaged *yūpas* discovered so far is pointed at the end. They all bend at the top. The *yūpas* on the *Āśtamīdha* coins of Samudragupta show a bend at the middle also, the omission of this feature in the case of stone *yūpas*—for we do not find it on a single *yūpa* so far discovered—is probably to be attributed to a greater regard being paid to artistic beauty than to the injunctions of the sacred texts. A stone pillar showing a bend in the middle and at the top would be hardly graceful. The portion above the ground of the three *yūpas* at Badvā is octagonal, the underground shaft of two of them is, however, square. The shafts of the *yūpas* discovered at Isāpur and Bijayagadh are, however, square at the bottom and octagonal above. This departure from the requirements as laid down in the sacred texts also seems to be due to architectural considerations. A pillar square at the bottom and octagonal above was probably regarded as more graceful than one octagonal throughout. The

¹ II, 1.

² *Kūtyāyana Śrautasūtra*, VI, 3. The cubit is to be the cubit of the *Āyamaṇa*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, allows any height for the *yūpa*, see III, 6, 1, 26.

³ *Āitarīya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 1. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* connects the eight sides of the shaft of the post to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gayatrī* metre (V, 2, 1, 5). This is a fanciful reason.

⁴ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* requires it to be *अनंत उपरितोऽध्वनतो मध्ये* and not *अध्वनतो मध्ये*, XI, 7, 4, 3, the *Kūtyāyana Śrautasūtra* lays down that it should be *मध्याध्वनतम्*, VI, 1.

⁵ Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 7, 4, 3, *अथ यथा यत्नं इवायं भवति स ह कपोती नाम । यन्मादृशं यूपं कुरुते पुरा चाध्वप्रेतं लोकमेति ।*

⁶ *Kūtyāyana Śrautasūtra*, VI, 1, 26. Some authorities permitted a *chashāla* made of wheaten dough. See *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 2, 1, 6.

⁷ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 7, 1, 21. For the resemblance between the sacrificial post and a *Brahmachārin*, see *Rigveda*, III, 8, 4 & 5.

⁸ Vogel, *The Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koctai*, p. 202, [As Dr B. C. Chhabra has pointed out they might not have been intended to represent sacrificial posts, see *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 41—Ed.]

⁹ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 40ff. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253.

architect responsible for the *yūpa* at Nāndsā seems to have paid scanty regard to the sacred texts, for he has fashioned a pillar entirely circular¹ None of the pillars at Badvā has a girdle at the middle, we can, however, see it clearly on the *yūpas* of the *Śīamēdha* coins of Samudragupta² and on one of the two Īsāpur pillars Our *yūpas*, like all the rest discovered so far, do not show any *uparīṭa*³ Nor do they show any cloths carved round them Probably it was felt that it would not be easy to show this detail in stone, and so the architects in all cases discovered so far, have omitted it Cloths fluttering like banners at the ends of the *yūpas* on the coins of Samudragupta seem to be the ends of the cloths with which the *yūpa* was to be covered The *yūpas* on these coins have pedestals, no traces of these were discovered near the *yūpas* at Badvā Sacred texts do not recommend them

The total height of two of our *yūpas* is 13' 3" and that of the third 15' 8", the length of the shaft underground is about 4' in each case Each of them has a square *chashāla* about eight inches from the top, as laid down in the sacred texts The portion above the *chashāla* bends inwards, as is the case with all the other sacrificial pillars discovered so far

The inscriptions on these *yūpas* have been written not in horizontal lines, as is the case with the Īsāpur pillar, but in one long vertical line, reading from the top to the bottom, and about 8 feet in length⁴ The inscription on the *yūpa* of Balasimha, however, is written in two such vertical lines on two different facets of the octagonal pillar owing to some natural defect in the stone in the first facet Each of these lines is 4 feet and 8 inches long The height of the normal letters is about 1 8", of letters with verticals like *ka*, *ra* etc., about 4", of conjunct letters like *lla*, *śya*, etc., 4 1/2" and of conjuncts with medial vowels like *tri* about 6". The letters on the *yūpa* of Balasimha are slightly bigger and broader, and seem to have been engraved by a different mason, copying a manuscript written in a different dialect The Characters bear a general resemblance to those of the third century A D in general, and to those on the Nāndsā *yūpa* in particular, engraved 13 years earlier⁵ We do not see here any precursors of the Eastern variety forms of the Gupta alphabet Medial *ā* and *ī* strokes are still indicated by horizontal lines (except in some rare cases like *dī* in *Sōmadīva* in inscription B) usually attached at the top In *mō* of *Mōlharā* the vowel sign is attached in the middle *Ya* has developed a loop in its left limb, and when the last member of a conjunct, it shows all possible varieties of form Sometimes it is archaic,—tripartite and with a curved back (cf *śya* in *śulāśya* in the first line of the record of Balasimha, in this same inscription, however, is to be seen the relatively later bipartite form in *-simhāśya*) Normally, however, this letter shows a loop on the left In inscription C, there is the stop *m* at the end, it is denoted by the normal form of the letter *ma*, but smaller in size and written below the line as is usually found in the writing of this period

Numerical Symbols for 200, 90 and 5 occur in each of the three records The signs for 90 and 5 are the usual ones for the period, but the additional stroke attached to the symbol for hundred in order to convert it into 200 is rather unusual Instead of a short horizontal stroke being attached to the vertical, in each of the three inscriptions we find the horizontal stroke first taken upwards and then led right across the top of the symbol to more than half its breadth That this modified symbol stands for two hundred is rendered absolutely certain by its being identical in form with the symbol used in the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription In the latter record the

¹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol LVIII, p 53

² Allen *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Pl V, Nos 9 14

³ Possibly the garlands round the top of the *Yūpas* discovered at Īsāpur may have been intended as substitutes for the *uparīṭa*

⁴ The inscription on the Bijayagadh pillar is also vertical and written in the same manner

⁵ *Ind Ant.*, Vol LVIII, p 53

date is also expressed in words and the import of the numerical symbol engraved there is thus absolutely certain. As will be presently shown, the year 295 of the record has to be referred to the Vikrama era. The earliest known inscription of this era is that on the Nāndī yūpa, which is dated in the year 282¹. This record, however, has not yet been properly edited.

The Language of the record may be described as incorrect Samkrit. *Kṛitā* at the beginning of the inscriptions seems to be a mistake for *Kṛitān*. Among other mistakes may be pointed out *Phalquna* for *Phālquna*, *pañcho* for *pañchama* and *kṛi* for *kṛi*. The reading *dalśhanyam* is absolutely certain on the *yūpa* of Balasimha, it seems to be a mistake for *dalśhānā*. In the inscriptions on the *yūpas* of Sōmadēva and Balavardhana *śahasram* has been spelt as *śalaśram*. Usually no sandhi rules have been observed, the solitary exception being *Mōlharar-Bala pūtrasya* in the inscription on the pillar of Balasimha.

Each record commemorates the performance of a *Trirātra* sacrifice. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* gives a detailed description of the origin and nature of this sacrifice². We are told that Prājāpati invented it for Viśnu, Rudra and Āditya and won thereby the three worlds. The *Sāṃhitāyana Śrautasūtra* declares that by the merit of this sacrifice, the sacrificer can win for himself whatever is threefold (*triśha*) in all—both mundane and spiritual³. This sacrifice is an amalgam of Agnishtōma, Ukthya and Atirātra sacrifice, performed on the first, second and third days respectively⁴. Its full name is *Gargya Trirātra*, it is called *the Trirātra* if a horse is immolated on the second day⁵. The wording of the concluding portion of each record *Trirātra evaṃ tasya dalśhanyam(nā) gāṃśhaśharam* appears to be suggested by that of the concluding sentence of the description of this sacrifice in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (VII, 15) where we read,

तदेतत्सहस्रायनं मयस्य त्रिंशत्यं सप्त दक्षिणा सप्तसमिन्, स्वर्गं लोकः ।

The Maikhari sacrificers gave precisely the same amount of *dalśhānā* as prescribed by the sacred texts. As a matter of fact, *Trirātra* sacrifices had been described in one place as *śahasra dalśhāna Trirātra*⁶. Out of the 6,000 cows, 333 were to be given every day in groups of ten, the three that remained every day, along with the thousandth one, which was required to be variegated in colour, were to be given to the *Hṛi* on the last day of the sacrifice.

The fragmentary *yūpa*, discovered at Nagari, records the performance of a *Yajñīya* sacrifice by at least three brothers⁷. The three sacrificers at Bodhī, though brothers, chose to eat different commemorative *yūpas*. Their number was four but the name of the fourth sacrificer has perished along with his commemorative *yūpa*, of which only a fragment could be discovered and recovered.

The names of the brothers, whose memory has been preserved by their commemorative pillars, are Balavardhana, Sōmadēva and Balasimha. They are described as the sons of Mōlharī Mahāsānāpati Bala⁸. The term Mōlharī is a more variant for Maikhari and thus our record, which is dated in the year 295 of the Vikrama era, is the earliest dated Maikhari record to be so far published. The Maikhari family of Bala is undoubtedly earlier than the house of Yaśhavarman ruling in Bihār, as the former was ruling in Rājputāna in the first half of the 3rd century A. D., and Yaśhavarman cannot be placed earlier than the fourth

¹ *Ibid.*, ante, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 1, No. 1.

² VII, 15.

³ XVI, 21.

⁴ *Taittirīya Samhitā*, VII, 15.

⁵ *Sāṃhitāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVI, 21.

⁶ *Satapatha Br.*, XIII, 4, 2, 1.

⁷ *Memoriae A. S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁸ [See p. 52 n. 8 below.—Ed.]

century A D The seal discovered by General Cunningham in Gayā district bearing the legend *Mokhalnam* in Aśoka Brāhmī is still the earliest Maukhari document, but it bears no personal name¹

The term Maukhari connotes that the family was founded by a progenitor named Maukhara,² if he was a real historical personage, we have now to place him earlier than the third century A D Whether the Maukhari families of Bihār, Kanauj and Badvā were all descended from him, we do not know No evidence is available at present to establish any family connection between these three houses The *varman*-ending names of the members of the Bihār and Kanauj Maukhari families, along with the epithet *kshatrasthitūr-dēśīkah* given to one of the members of the former family,³ make it clear that they were Kshatriyas by caste Three of the four names of the members of the new Maukhari family, Bala, Balavarddhana and Balasimha, confirm the same conclusion It is also interesting to note that all these Maukhari rulers are seen to be zealous patrons of the Vedic sacrifices⁴

None of the Maukhari chiefs mentioned in these records were known to us so far⁵ Bala, the head of the family, is designated as *Mahāsīnāpati* It is, however, not easy to determine the precise political status denoted by this title *Sīnāpati*, the title by which Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere general In contemporary Āndhra⁶ and Ikshvāku records,⁷ however, this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district⁸ It would appear that the Maukhari Commander in chief Bala was very probably enjoying a similar status He does not seem to have been an independent ruler

If he was not independent, whose feudatory was he? This question cannot be confidently answered at present At the time of our record, i e, in A D 239, the Kushānas were too weak to exercise any paramount control over southern Rājputāna, even if we suppose that the accession of Kanishka took place in c 120 A D From the very brief and imperfect summary of the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription published so far,⁹ it would appear that in A D 226, i e, 13 years earlier than the time of our record, the rule of the Western Kshatrapas extended up to Nāndsā, which is about 70 miles nearly due west of Badvī¹⁰ It is therefore not improbable that the imperial overlord of

¹ C I I, Vol III, Introduction, p 14 It may be pointed out that the facsimile of this important seal has never been published and that its present whereabouts are unknown

² See Kaṣṭhī on the *Paṭanjala Mahabhashya* on Panini IV, 1, 79 Our record does not connect the Maukharis with Aśvapati, the Madra king, as does the Harāhā record The Madras were originally in the Punjab, and if the statement of the Harāhā inscription is true, it is likely as my colleague Dr R S Tripathi has suggested, that like the Milcvas and Yaudhivas the Maukharis also may have had their home in the Punjab, from where they may have gradually migrated south eastwards If so, this movement must have begun very early, for we find the Maukharis in Bihār in the 3rd century B C It is, however, possible that the connection with Aśvapati may be more Puranic than historical

³ C I I, Vol III, Inscription No 49

⁴ For the Bihār family's patronage of the Vedic religion, see *ibid*, Inscription No 49, v 1 For the Kanauj family's patronage see v 7 of the Harāhā inscription, *ante*, Vol XIV, p 116 These references are not merely conventional

⁵ A Mathurā inscription dated in the year 80 mentions Bala as a son of a certain lady (*ante*, Vol I, p 392, No 24) If we place Kanishka in c 120 A D, then the date of this Bala would be c 200 and it would be possible to identify him with Bala of our inscriptions But from the fragmentary Mathurā record it does not appear that Bala, mentioned therein, was a Maukhari

⁶ *Ante*, Vol VIII, p 94

⁷ *Ante*, Vol XIX, p 1

⁸ *Ibid*, p 6

⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol LVIII, p 53

¹⁰ Nāndsā is 36 miles from the railway station Bhilwara on the Chitor Ajmer line

the Maukharī Commander in chief Bala was the Kshatrapa ruler Vijayadāman, who was ruling from A. D. 238 to 250¹. If agreeing with Prof. Rapson² and disagreeing with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,³ we place Iṣṭanadatta Ābhira's intervention in A. D. 236, it is probable that Bala may have been compelled to transfer his allegiance to the interloper, provided he had made his power felt up to Kotah.

From the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasarman, the famous founder of the Kadamba house, it appears that he had defeated the Pallavas, Punnadas, Traikūṭakas, Ābhira, Pāryātriṣas, Śakas and Maukharis⁴. Since the record mentions specific kings and dynasties defeated, we cannot suppose that it contains mere empty boasts. All except the first two powers in the above list, belong to Central or Western India. The date of Mayūrasarman is, however, not definitely fixed, but I think the view of Dr. Krishna that he flourished about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.⁵ is to be preferred to that of Mr. Moraes who places him a century later⁶. If such be the case, then our new Maukharī inscriptions will throw considerable light upon the political situation of the time. It has been suggested that the Maukharis defeated by Mayūrasarman were the Maukharis of Bihār, but it does not appear from the list of Mayūrasarman's victories that he had extended his sphere of activity much beyond Western India. If, as suggested above, the Maukharis of Baḍā were the feudatories of the Śakas (and of the Ābhiras also during their temporary ascendancy) then it is very probable that the Maukharis whom Mayūrasarman defeated were some of the descendants of Bala. After defeating (or encountering) the Traikūṭakas and Ābhiras, Mayūrasarman attacked Central Gujarāt. He was there opposed by the Śakas, a portion of whose forces were under the command of their Maukharī feudatories of Central India. This circumstance is very probably responsible for the victory over the Maukharis claimed by Mayūrasarman. It does not seem that he had ever invaded Bihār.

It would appear that at the time of the performance of the sacrifice in A. D. 239 *Mahāśāpālī* Bala was still alive. His sons were probably occupying subordinate positions in his principality. None of them seems to have made much progress in his official career, as no title like *Sāmanta* or *Śināpālī* or *Dandanāyaka* is associated with any one of them⁷.

The date of the records is given at the beginning of each of them in identical phrases. The expression used is —*Kṛitī 200, 90, 5, Pāṭalgaṇa śulāśya pañcīti* di.

In order to get at the real meaning of the first word used here, it is necessary to compare the expression with similar ones occurring in early Indian inscriptions. Relevant passages to be considered are the following —

- (1) *Kṛitayūr=dayūr=varsha śatayūr=dayūśīṭayōh 200 Ś0 2 Chaitra pūrnāmāsī(śyā)m* — Nindāī pillar inscription (*Ind. Int.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53)
- (2) *Kṛitīshu chaturshu varsha satīṣu aśītām(m)īshu 100 20 8 Pāṭalgaṇa(na) śulāśya pañchadaśīyām=īṭayām=pūriṭīyām* — Bijayagadh pillar inscription (*Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253)
- (3) *Śrī(r=m) Mālava gan āmnātī praśastī Kṛita samjñātī śkaśhashty adhikī prāptī samā śata chaturśīyāt dīnī Āśīḍḍa śulāśya pañchamyām* — Mandasor inscription of Naravarman (*ante*, Vol. XII, p. 320)

¹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, etc., p. 120

² *Ibid.*, p. cxxv.

³ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1913-14, pp. 227-45

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, Annual Report, 1920, p. 50

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56

⁶ *The Kadamba Inula*, p. 71

⁷ [See p. 52 n. 8 below —Ed.]

- (4) *Yātēshu chatu[r]shu Kṛi(Kṛi)tēshu śatēshu sausyaishvā (? śthā)śīta sōttara-padēshv=*
īha vatsa[rēshu]] śullē trayōdaśa dīnē bhuvr Kārttikasya māsasya—Gangdhār ins-
 cription (*C I I*, Vol III, p 74)
- (5) *Kṛtēshu chaturshu varsha śatēshv=ēkhāsūty uttarēshv=asyāñ Mālava pūrvāyām 400*
80 1 Kārttika-śulla pañchamyām—Nagarī inscription (*P R A S IWC*, 1915-16,
 p 56, *Memoirs A S I*, No 4, p 120)

Besides the present three records, we have thus five other instances where the word *Kṛita* is used in connection with the reckoning of an era. Out of these, in three passages, viz, Nos 1, 2, and 4, the term *Kṛita* alone has been used and in the remaining two, viz, Nos 3 and 5, it is used along with a reference to the Mālavas. In the two other Mandasor inscriptions, one of Kūmāragupta and Bandhuvarman¹ and the other of Yaśōdharman² the term *Kṛita* has been omitted altogether and the era is indicated as *Mālavānām gana śhityā* and *Mālava gana śhiti vaśāt*.

The controversy connected with the interpretation of the term *Kṛita* used in the above passages has not yet closed. That all the above passages refer to the years of the Vikrama era is now admitted, but why the terms *Kṛitēshu*, *Kṛitayōh*, etc have been used in connection with the era is not yet definitely known. On the analogy of the passages Nos 1 and 2 above, it is clear that *Kṛitēhi* of our inscriptions is to be corrected into *Kṛitarīh* and is to be taken as governing a term like *varsharīh* which is understood. The usual locative is here supplanted by the instrumental. But the meaning is the same, viz, 'when *Kṛita* years 295 had passed away.'

Dr Flect, while discussing the passage No 4 above, was inclined to hold that *yātēshu Kṛitēshu vatsarēshu* should be interpreted as 'when fully completed (480) years had passed'. He held that *kṛitēshu* is more or less synonymous with *yātēshu*. The passage No 3 above, however, makes it clear that *kṛita* cannot be taken in that sense, but is clearly the proper name of the year or the era referred to in that document. While discussing the passage No 3 above, the late MM Haraprasad Sastri suggested that *Kṛita* was the proper name of the first year of a cycle of four years current in ancient India. He could substantiate his theory only by supposing that Bṛajagadh and Gangdhār inscriptions, which are dated in the years 428 and 480 respectively, expressed expired years. This theory is now no longer tenable, for in our present records and in the passage No 1 above, the years mentioned are 295 and 282 respectively, and still they are described as *Kṛita*. In a cycle of four years, these years would be 3rd and 2nd respectively or 4th and 3rd, if we take them to be expired years. MM Sastri's theory has therefore to be abandoned in the light of the new data.

While commenting upon the passage No 3 above, Dr D R Bhandarkar has observed that time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation for the word *Kṛita*³. He was inclined to hold that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or royal dynasty associated with this era. To him it appeared that what is now known as Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of counting years and was consequently originally known as *kṛita* or 'made'. We do not so far know of any great astronomer having flourished in c 57 B C. None of the famous Hindu astronomers like Āryabhata, Varāhamihira or Brahmagupta is known to have attempted the founding of an era. Astronomers in ancient India have *invented* eras like the Saptārshī and the Kalyuga ones going back to pre historic times, they are not known to have founded eras commencing at any specific historic date.

¹ *C I I*, Vol III, p 81

² *Ibid*, p 152

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XLII, p 163

What then is the meaning of the term *Kṛita* in the above passages? I see no reason why it should not be taken as the proper name of the era. From the passage No. 3 above it is clear that though the era was traditionally handed down in the Māhava tribe, it was known as *Kṛita*. The term *Kṛita* there does not designate any particular year of the era, but the whole collection of years, cf. *Kṛita samjñāt śaśvashyadhīcī prāptī samānta chaturshayī*. The era may have been originally known by that term because of the name of its founder. *Kṛita* as a personal proper name is not unfamiliar in later Indian history and literature, but the case seems to have been different in earlier times. *Kṛita* was the name of one of the Vīśvādēvas, Vā udēva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhinī, a pupil of Hiranyanābha was known by that name, and fathers of Uparichara and Harayana were christened by it.¹ What inherent improbability is there in postulating that the so-called Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king named *Kṛita*? According to the *Tagarūpa*, *ṛita* has also the sense of fruit or reward. This meaning seems to be connected with one of the Vedic meanings of the word, — 'booty'. At the time of the founding of the era, a king named *Kṛita* may probably have scored a memorable victory and won great booty (*ṛita*). To commemorate the victory an era was started called *Kṛita* named after its founder and his great achievement.

This theory is only a tentative one. I admit that so far we have no evidence, however of a king named *Kṛita* having flourished by the middle of the 1st century B.C. But it is not improbable that in course of time we may discover a king of that name ruling at that time. It is also true that an era named after him *Kṛita* should be known by a *tanūhita* expression like *Kṛita varṣa* or *samvat era*, on the analogy of the expression *Gaṇṇāśīle śaśvate śaṭa trayā varṣānāṁ* occurring in the Gaṇṇā plates of the time of Śaśvateśya.² The author of early inscriptions were not particularly strong in Sanskrit (even, for instance, considered by the present inscriptions) and the expression *Kṛita* (*samvatara*) for *Kṛita* (*samvatara*) is quite possible in their compositions. It may be further pointed out that in several *tanūhita* expressions have not been used in such cases. Thus in the Śūnd plates of Karendava dated in the year 1115 and in the Bhudreswar inscription of the time of Chauhāya line I found *śaśvate* dated in the year 1195, we have the expressions *Ṭakraṇa samvat* 1115 and 1195 and not *Ṭakraṇa samvat* 1115 and 1195. Similarly we come across the expression *Ṭakṣaṇi Śaśvate* and not *Ṭakṣaṇi samvat*. There is therefore nothing unusual in the years of the era of king *Kṛita* being known as *Kṛitika varṣa* or *Kṛitika varṣa* or *Kṛitika varṣa*.

The foundation of the Vikrama era is still shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Dr. Sten Konow has suggested on the authority of the *Kāṇḍakīya Jātaka* that the era was founded by king Vikramāditya of Mithila in commemoration of his ousting the Śakas from Ujjayini, where they had obtained a temporary resting. What is stated by the Juna tradition is not, however, confirmed by the epigraphical data. If we make a survey of the inscriptions where the Vikrama era has been used, we find that the earliest instance so far known of the term Vikrama being associated with the era occurs full 794 years after its foundation.³ Thus Vikrama is for the first time called a king only in the 11th century of the era.⁴ It is therefore clear that in the

¹ See Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary under *Kṛita*.

² *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 114.

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 317.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey Report for Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xiii, No. 56.

⁵ Unā inscription *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. XIV, pp. 293-5.

⁷ Dhruv inscription of Jāṇakadeva, *Ird. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.

⁸ Lkhugā inscription of Naravāhana, dated V. 1028, *J. D. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 163.

first seven centuries of this era, its connection with a king named Vikrama was altogether unknown. If, as the Jaina tradition asserts, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, the expeller of the Śakas, was the founder of the era, it has to be admitted that people had completely forgotten his memory within 250 years after his death. We shall have to suppose that it was somehow revived in the 11th century, probably due to the historic researches of the time, and that the era came to be renamed after him. This seems to be altogether improbable.

The precise interpretation of the term *kṛita* being for a long time doubtful, the earliest proper name associated with the era was for a long time considered to be that of the Mālavas. Kielhorn had observed that from about the 5th to the 9th century of this era it was believed by poets to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava.¹ The Mālavas, however, do not seem to be connected with the foundation of the era. It is interesting to note that in the three earliest instances of the use of this era, viz., the present records and the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, the Mālavas have not been associated with the era at all. The term *Kṛita* alone is used to denote it. The same is the case with the Gangdhār inscription of the year 480 (passage No. 4 above). The passage No. 3 above is the earliest instance, known so far, of the association of the Mālavas with the era, but there it is expressly stated that *Kṛita* was its proper name, though it was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas.² The evidence available so far shows that the association of the Mālavas with the era commenced sometime towards the middle of the 5th century A.D., as evidenced by the passage No. 3 above. Towards the end of that century its original name *Kṛita* was dropped, as would appear from the name of the era in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.³ People of the 8th century believed that the era was founded by a Mālava ruler.⁴ Down to the 4th century, however, the Vikrama era was known as *Kṛita* and was not known to be connected with the tribe or king of the Mālavas. The supersession of the name *Kṛita* by Mālava is paralleled by the supersession of the name of Gupta era by the term Valabhī era in western India.

The geographical position of the places, where *Yūpa* inscriptions and inscriptions with the term *Kṛita* occur, is worth noting. *Yūpa* inscriptions have been found at Īsāpur, Bijayagadh, Badvā, Nagari and Nāndsā. Bijayagadh is about 50 miles south east of Īsāpur, Badvā is about 140 miles south-south-east of Bijayagadh, Nagari is about 90 miles east of Badvā, and Nāndsā is about 40 miles north east of Nagari. It would appear from this that eastern Rājputāna played an important part in the revival of Vedic religion. *Kṛita* era inscriptions have been discovered at Nāndsā, Badvā, Mandasor, Bijayagadh, Gaugadhār and Nagari. Mandasor is about 100 miles south-west of Badvā and Gaugadhār is about 36 miles east of Mandasor. South eastern Rājputāna was thus the country where the designation *Kṛita* was current. It is worth noting that it is precisely in this area that the term Mālava came to be later associated with the era, for Mandasor, Nagari, Kanaswa and Gvārāspur are situated in the same sector of the country. It is therefore clear that in this province the term Mālava superseded the earlier name *Kṛita* after the 4th century.

The inscriptions mention no places. The village where they were discovered, is known as Badvā, it is not improbable that Badvā may be a contraction of Balavādī and that the modern humble village may have been once a flourishing capital,—founded by the *Mahāsēnāpati* Bala,

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 403-4.

² This is no place to discuss the precise interpretation of the terms *Mālava gaṇa āmnāt*, *Mālava gaṇa śikṣit*, *śaśat* and *Mālavānām gaṇa śikṣit*. All these refer to the established usage in the Mālava tribe. I do not think that the era has anything to do with any tribal organisation of the Mālavas.

³ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

⁴ See Kanaswa inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

who may have been the founder of the Mankhari branch in Kotah state. Its present population is only about 1,600, but half a century ago, it is said to have been four times more populous.

Before concluding, I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Major-General Ap Onkar Singh, C I E, Dewan of Kotah, and to Dr. Mathuralal, State Historian, Kotah, for procuring the photographs of the *Yūpas* and supplying valuable information for the preparation of this article.

TEXT¹

A The Yūpa of Balavarddhana.

L 1 Siddham [*] Kṛit̥chū(Kṛit̥ah) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna) suklasya pañcī dī śrī(śrī)-mahā s̄nūpat̥ch² Mōkhar̥ch³ Bala puttrasya Balavarddhanaśya yūpah[⁴ *] Trī rātra samitasya dakṣiṇyam(nū) gavām sahasram(sahasram)[⁵ *]

B The Yūpa of Sōmadēva.

L 1 Siddham[*] Kṛit̥chū(Kṛit̥ah) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna) suklasya pañcī dī śrī(śrī)-mahā s̄nūpat̥ch² Mōkhar̥ch³ Bala puttrasya Sōmadēvaśya yūpah[⁴ *] Trī rātra samitasya dakṣiṇyam(nū) gavām sahasram(sahasram)[⁵ *]

C The Yūpa of Balasimha.

L 1⁶ Kṛit̥chū(Kṛit̥ah) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna) suklasya pañcī dī dī śrī(śrī) mahā-s̄nūpat̥ch[⁷ r] Mōkhar̥ch³

L 2 r-Bala-puttrasya Balasimbū(ha)śya yū hah̥(pah)[⁸ *] Trī rātra samitasya dakṣiṇyam(nū) gavām sahasram [⁹ *]

TRANSLATION

Well accomplished¹ On the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna (*of the year*) 205 by Kṛit̥a(*years, this*) sacrificial pillar (*was erected*) by Balavarddhana (Sōmadēva in inscription B and Balasimha in inscription C), son of Bala, the glorious Mōkharī commander in chief². The fee of a thousand cows as laid down for the Trīrātra sacrifice (*was duly given to Brahmanas*)

No. 8—NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

This copper plate, which is cited here for the first time, has been in the possession of Mr. Ganapati Sarkar, Zamindar of Behāghātī, Calcutta, since 1929. I first saw it at the Annual

¹ From ink impressions

² Read *patra*

³ Read *Mokhar*

⁴ There is a triangular symbol at the end

⁵ There are two symbols at the end of this record, one triangular and the other circular

⁶ The word *siddham* has been omitted in this record

⁷ The letter *sha* is a result of the engraver's carelessness

⁸ [According to the text *Mokhar̥ch* and *śrī mahā s̄nūpat̥ch* would refer to each of the three brothers and not to their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *maḥā-s̄nūpati*, it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Ikṣvāku rulers—Ed.]

THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS KRITA YEAR 295
A The Yupa of Balavaradhamma

Left half



Right half



B The Yupa of Sonadeva

Left half



Right half



C The Yupa of Balasimha

First line



Second line



Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 3rd February, 1936. Subsequently, at my request Mr Sarkar very kindly handed it over to me for decipherment and publication. So far as available information goes, the copper plate comes from a village called **Nandapur**¹ which lies on the southern bank of the Ganges, at a distance of about two miles to the north east of Surajgarhā in the District of Monghyr. The plate is said to have been fixed to the wall of a niche in a dilapidated temple close to the site of a *Śiva-linga* locally known as 'Buhānāth Mahādēva'. According to reports collected by Mr Sarkar, Nandapur and its neighbourhood are full of ruins representing an ancient site, a part of which has perished due to the erosion of the river bank.

This is a **single sheet** of copper, measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. It bears inscription on both sides, there being in all nineteen lines of writing of which fifteen are on the obverse and only four on the reverse. A **seal** is attached to the plate, which originally must have borne an inscription. But it has since suffered much from corrosion with the result that none of the letters is at present preserved. Probably two letters are also missing in line 4, just where the donee's name was mentioned, and a few are damaged, or partly obliterated, in lines 17 and 18. The rest of the document is in a fair state of preservation, and the engraving is, on the whole, well executed.

The **characters** belong to 'the eastern variety' of the Gupta Alphabet (cf *la*, *sha*, *sa* and *ha*) as found in the Dhānāidaha, Dāmōdarpur, Baigrām and Pāhārpur copper plates, being typical of the writing prevalent in Bengal during the fifth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the hook like sign for medial *ā* attached to the bottom of some letters in making up the sign for the medial *ō*, e.g., in *Gōraśhita* (l 12), which occurs also in other records of the period. Another form of the medial *ā* sign is also used, in the shape of an upright stroke hanging from the right side of the *mātrā*. When applied to *na* and *ma* this stroke is lengthened, reaching the bottom of the letter where it is slightly bent to the left, e.g., in *Brāhmanā* (l 3) and *sammānam* (l 15), in which we must recognize an advanced form of the sign². The forms of the final *t* and *m* are noteworthy, e.g., in *vasēt* (l 19) and *dattam* (l 13). The numerical signs for 4, 100, 60, 9 and 8 occur in the inscription (ll 13, 19).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose, excepting that there are two imprecatory verses in lines 17-18. The phraseology will be found to tally in many respects with that of the Baigrām copper-plate³. As regards **orthography**, we should note the use of both *ba* and *va*. But the writer of the document has failed to distinguish between the two letters in the words *bāhya* (ll 5, 9), *stamba* (ll 5, 9), *kutumbin* (ll 2, 13) and *Bandhudāsa* (l 8), in all these instances the sign for *va* being used instead of that for *ba*⁴. The consonants *la* and *ta* are often doubled before a subscript *r*, e.g., in *vilkrayō* (ll 6, 9), *gōtra* (l 3) and *kshētra* (l 13), although the word *vikraya* is spelt with a single *la* in line 10. Some of the consonants following a superscript *r* are occasionally doubled, e.g., in *pravarttanāya* (l 4) and *dharma* (l 11).

The charter was issued from a village called **Ambila**. It records the purchase of 4 *kulyavāpas* of fallow land within the village of Jangōyikā, at the rate of two *dināras* per *kulyavāpa*, by the *Vishayapati* **Chhattramaha**, and the transfer of the same property as gift to a Brāhmana, to enable him to perform 'the Five Great Sacrifices'. The name of the donee ending in *svāmīn* cannot be made out with certainty. He was an inhabitant of **Nanda vilāsi** and **Khatā pūrana agrahāra**, and belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Chhandōga (*charana* of the Sāma-vēda). The land was bounded on the south by the plot given away to Gōraśhita and on the

¹ It is marked as 'Nandpur' in the 1" scale map of the Survey of India (Sheet No 72 K 3 and 7) published in 1925.

² Cf e.g., Faridpur grant of Gōpachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXXIX, Pl III (facing p 204), l 24.

³ *Ante*, Vol XXI, pp 81-82.

⁴ Similarly in the Baigrām copper plate the letter *va* instead of *ba* occurs in *stamba* in line 5, while *la* is correctly employed in *stamba* in line 11, in *bāhya* in lines 5 and 11, and in *kutumbin* in line 2.

west by the land known as Gōpālbhōga. In the present transaction, the *Vishayapati* Chhattarī maha himself was the applicant and appeared before the *Adhikarana* to secure the plot of land by means of a *tāmra patta*. The matter was enquired into and reported on by the Record keepers (*Pustapāla*) Pradyōtasinha and Bandhudāsa. The land was measured by the standard unit of 8×9 *nalas*, following the recognized cubit length of Darvīkarmma, as in the Bagrañ charter. The copper plate is dated the 8th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, the year 169, which is referable to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. The date would thus correspond to the year 488 A.D.

I am unable to identify Ambila whence the charter was issued, or Jangōyikā, the village in which the plot of land was situated. But the name 'Nanda ūthī' has perhaps survived in 'Nandapura' where the plate is said to have been discovered. That the document was drafted, engraved and issued from Bengal, or more precisely from North Bengal follows not only from the nature of the script but also from the close agreement of its phraseology with that of Bagrañ and other plates of this century discovered in North Bengal. Moreover, from the mention of 8×9 *nalas* and the standard cubit length of Darvīkarmma, the conclusion becomes irresistible that the land that was so measured and given away must have all o belonged to the same region, although the donor himself resided at Nandipura in the Monghyr District of Bihār.

TEXT¹

Obverse

- 1 Svastī-Amvī(mvī)lā grām īgrahītāt īsvastī-m adhīśranīm(nem) Jangōyikā grām
Brāhmanōttirīm ānva vahi
- 2 rī ādī kutumvī(mbi)nah kuśalam ānva arnav ī bōdhi vanti(t) īlī hanti(t) cha [1*] Vājūtpatyati
nub vishayapati Chhattaramahā
- 3 icchihāmī=aham svastī punyā bhayapddhīyāt Nanda ūthīyā Khatūpūrap īgrahīrikā
Chchihīndōga Kāsāpī īgrā gōttirī brāhman
- 4 svāmīnō pāñcha mahīy nūā pravarttanīyā īlīlī bōttirī lūlyavīpā chatushtayam
krītv=ātīśrīsthum [1*]
- 5 Yushmād vishayī cha samudāyā vā(bā)hīy ādy īśāmy (mbi) klala kshōttirīnīm svastī
chandrārka tāraka bhōjī dūtī]
- 6 m-akshaya nīyāhī dīvī dīnīkva lūlyavīpā vikkrayō nūvittatī tād arhathā mattō śhītan
dīnārān=upī
- 7 samgrīhya Jangōyikā grām īlīlī bōttirī lūlyavīpā chatushtayam-al shīva nīvī īś-
tāmrapattīnā dātum-iti [1*]
- 8 Yatah Pustapāla Pradyōtasinhā (cīmha) Vā(Bi)ndhīdīśvōr vadhīrānīy vadhīpītm ast
īha vishayī samudāya-
- 9 vā(bā)hīy ādy astamvā(mba) klala kshōttirīnīm īlīlī hatī pratīkarīnīm dīvī dīnīkva lūlyavī
vīpā vikkrayō=nūvittatī [1*]
- 10 Svāmīndhōtpratikara klala kshōttirī vīśayī cha nā īśāchud rāj īrttīrī vīrōdhah dīvī
mūnī tu Paramabhūttārīka
- 11 pādānām dharmma śhād bhāg īvāptīś=tād dīvī tūm=ītv-ātīśmād-vishayapati Chhatta-
mahād=ashtau dīnārān=upa

¹ From the original

² [As in the Pāhārpur Plate one would expect here the mention of some officers like Vājūtkas who conveyed the necessary information to the Court. See p. 55 n. 1—J. d.]

³ The letter *va* in *avadhārayay* was at first omitted through inadvertence and later inserted below

Obverse

2 1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६
 ७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७
 ८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८
 ९. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९
 १०. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १०
 ११. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११
 १२. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२
 १३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३
 १४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४

Reverse

16 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६
 १७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७
 १८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८

- 12 samgrīhya Jangōyākā grāmē Gōrakshita-tāmrāpatta dakṣiṇēna Gōpālibhōgāyā paśchi
māna khila-
- 13 kshēttara kulyavāpa chātushtayam dattam ku 4 [1*] Tē yūyam=ēvam viditvā kutumvi-
(mbi)nām karshan āvirōdhu sthānt
- 14 Darvīkarmma hēstcīn=āshtaka navaka nalābhyām=apavīñchhya chira kāla sthāyi tush-
āngār ādi chūlnaiś=chaturddi
- 15 n-niyamita sammānam kṛitvā dāsyatha datvī(ttvā) ch=ākshaya nivī dharmmāna śāsvat-
kā lam=anupālayishyatha

Reverse

- 16 varttamāna bhaviṣhyaiś=cha samivyavahāribhū=ctad dharmm āpckshay=ānupālayitavyam=
iti [1*] Uktaiś=cha bhaga
- 17 [vatā Vyā]s[īn] [1*] Sva dattim paradattām vā yō harcta vasundharām [1*] sa viśthā
yām kṛimīr=bhūtvā pṛitribhūh saha
- 18 pachyatē [1*] [Śhashtim] varsha sahasrāni svargc mōdati bhūmidah [1*] ākshēptā ch=ānu-
mantā cha tāny=ēva na-
- 19 rakē vasēt [1*] Sam 100 60 9 Vai sudi 8

TRANSLATION

(Ll 1 2) Hail! From the (*royal*) grant (*agrahāra*) of Ambīla village, our Head of the District (*Viśhayapati*) Chhattramaha¹, with confidence² intimates, addresses in writing and informs the Court (*Adhikarana*), as well as the Brāhmaṇas, the chief officers and others, and also the householders, at the village of Jangōyākā, after having enquired about their well being

(Ll 3 7) "I wish to make over, for the sake of the increase of my religious merit, 4 *kulya* *vāpas* of fallow land, after (*it*) has been purchased, to the Brāhmaṇa svāmīn, an inhabitant of the *agrahāra* of Khatāpūraṇa in Nanda vīlā,³ belonging to the Kāśyapa gōlīra and the Chhāndōga (*charana* of the *Sāmavāda*), to enable him to perform the Five Great Sacrifices⁴ Now, in your District (*viśhaya*) there is established the system of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* per each *kulyavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (*to the State*) and being under perpetual endowment (*alshaya-nivī*)⁵ can be enjoyed eternally, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure So you should accept from me eight *dīnāras* and grant (*me*) by means of a copper-plate, for the sake of perpetual endowment, four *kulyavāpas* of fallow land in the village of Jangōyākā "

(Ll 8 11) Whereas it has been ascertained on enquiry by the Record keepers, Pradyōtasīmha and Bandhudāsa, that there is established in this District the system of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* per each *kulyavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (*to the State*), and whereas there can be no loss of income to the Crown in such sale of revenue free fallow land—rather in case of gift a sixth part of the religious merit would accrue to the King (*Paramabhāṭāraka pāda*)⁶—now therefore let (*the land*) be granted

¹ [See p 54 n 2 I should translate 'From Ambīla (the Āyuktakas) intimate and write to (*bōdhayanī* *li'hantī* *cha*) the Court that *Viśhayapati* Chhattramaha informs us' —Ed

² Cf *sa viśhaya* in a Dāmōdarpur copper plate, ante, Vol XV, p 136, l 2

³ The term *vīlī* is used in the sense of a part of a district or sub division Cf Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 71

⁴ The five sacrificial rites are *balī*, *charu*, *śāśvadā*, *agnihotra* and *atithi*

⁵ The expression *alshayanivī* is used in l 6 as well as in l 7 in the fifth case, evidently as *hēlau* In the Brī-grām copper plate, l 17 it has the same case ending in this sense

⁶ The reigning king is thus referred to also in other grants, e g, in Baigrām (l 13), Dāmōdarpur, No 5 (ll 12-13, where the correct reading should be *dharmma śaḍ bhag avāpti*), and in Faridpur grant of Dharmāditya (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIX, p 195, l 13)

(Il 11 13) So having realized eight *dināras* from the Head of the District, Chhattarāmaha, for 11 *āṇas* of fallow land, he 4, is being granted in the village of Jangōyikā, (the land being bounded on the south by (the plot granted by) a copper plate charter to Gōrākṣita and on the west by Gōrākṣita)

(Il 14 16) Therefore having known this, you should give away (the plot) in a land that may not cause hindrance to cultivation of householders, after measuring (it) by (the standard unit of) 8 × 9 *rods*, according to the cubit length of Darvikarma, and also after demarcating the area in four directions by permanent marks of chaff, charcoal, etc

(Il 15 16) And having made over you should still maintain (it) for ever, under the operation of the principle of perpetual endowment (*akṣaya-nīti*) Likewise, it should be maintained, out of regard for piety, by the present and future administrative officers as well And so says Lord Viṣṇu (Here follow two imprecatory verses)

(L 19) The year 169, the 8th day of the bright half of Vai(śākha)

No 9—SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA

By PROF R C MAJUMDAR, M A, Ph D, DACCA

This is a set of three copper plates, measuring 8½ inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The outer faces of the first and third plates are blank, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to a circular seal bearing in relief the figure of a conch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

The plates were discovered at the village of Srungavarapukōta, in the district of Vizagapatam (Madras). The cultivator who found them was under the impression that the metal was gold. So he broke the third plate, and had one piece melted by a goldsmith who, of course, declared it to be made of copper. Thus the remaining plates were left intact and secured by Dr C Narayana Rao, M A, Ph D. He gave them to Mr M Narasimham, who sold them to the Madras Museum where the plates are now preserved.

Mr M Narasimham edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (Vol VIII, pp 153 160), with Photo prints of the plates. Unfortunately, his reading contains several errors, and many of his introductory remarks are either palpably wrong or open to serious objections.

I re-edit the inscription from ink impressions kindly supplied by Dr N P Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. It is undoubtedly earlier than the early Gāṅga records, e.g., those of Hastivarman¹ and Indravarman,² dated respectively in the years 80 and 87 of the era named by the family. It shows great resemblance to the alphabet of the Kōmarī plates of Chandavarman.³ Dr Hultzsch, who edited this inscription, observed that its alphabet resembled that of the Kollāru plates of the Śālaṅkīyana King Vijayanandavarman. Since then the Pāṇini grant⁴ of this king has given us an approximate idea of his date. He was the great-

¹ *Al.*, Vol XVII, pp 332 ff

² *Al.*, Vol III, pp 125 ff

³ *Al.*, Vol IV, pp 142 ff

⁴ *J. A. H. P. S.*, Vol I, pp 92 ff

grandson of Hastivarman, who must almost certainly be identified with the king of Vēngī defeated by Samudragupta. The reign of Vijayanandivarman thus falls in the fifth century A. D.

The present record is dated only in the regnal year, but so far as we can judge from palaeography alone, it would, I think, be safe to presume that the present plates belong to the century 450-550 A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the three well known imprecatory verses (ll 16-19) the inscription is written in prose.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. Separate signs are used for *b* and *v*. Consonants are doubled after *r* with a few exceptions, viz., *chandrārka* (l 10), *-ājñair= bhava°* (l 11), *°bhur=vruttam* (l 14) and *rājārshī* (l 13). Consonants *l*, *m* and *t*, followed by *r*, are also doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y*. *Anusvāra* is used for palatal *ñ* in *prabhamjana* (l 4), the *anusvāra* sign being wrongly placed above *j*. Both *jhvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* are used. The final *t* and *m* are indicated by small sized letters (*m* in l 12, *t* in l 19).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Kindēppa in Tēllavallī *vishaya* as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmana Mātṛisarmaṇ, by the king of Kalinga, Mahārāja Anantavarman, son of Mahārāja Prabhajjanavarman, and the grandson of Mahārāja Gunavarman, lord of Dēvarāshtra. The grant was issued from the victorious city of Pishtapura.

King Anantavarman is also known to us from the Sripuram copper plate grant¹. It was issued by Anantavarman, lord of Kalinga, from the victorious city of Dēvapura. It gives the name of the king's father as Prabhajjanavarman, evidently a mistake for Prabhajjanavarman, and that of his grandfather as Gunavarman. There is no mention, however, of the last named king being lord of Dēvarāshtra.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the identity of the donors of the two grants. Still, it may be remarked in passing that the phraseology of the two grants shows no close resemblance, and that they were issued from different places. This point is noteworthy as, very often, arguments for and against the identity or close association of two kings are based on such considerations.

Dēvarāshtra, over which king Gunavarman ruled, must be the kingdom of the same name which was conquered by Samudragupta. Formerly this was identified with Mahārāshtra. But G. Jouveau Dubreuil proved, with the help of the Kāsimkōṭa plates, that Elamañchi Kalin gadēsa formed part of Dēvarāshtra.² Elamañchi Kalin gadēsa was taken to mean "the Kalinga country of which Elamañchi (the modern Yellamanchili) was the chief town", and hence Dēvarāshtra was located in the Vizagapatam District. This view is supported by the present grant, inasmuch as it seems to show that Pishtapura was included within the kingdom of Dēvarāshtra. It is, no doubt, possible to take the view that Dēvarāshtra, over which Gunavarman ruled, did not originally include Pishtapura which was subsequently acquired by Anantavarman, but, even then, we must regard the two as neighbouring localities.

In any case, it appears to be reasonably certain, that Anantavarman ruled over both Pishtapura and Dēvarāshtra which were two separate kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta. Of the two 'Victorious Cities' from which he issued the grants, Pishtapura is, no doubt, the same as

¹ It was edited by Mr. M. Narasimham in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* (September, 1931) which is not accessible to me. A short account of its contents is given in his article on the present grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153). The Government Epigraphist has, at my request, very kindly placed at my disposal an excellent impression of the Sripuram plates. My remarks are based on the original reading of these plates.

² *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

Pithāpuram in the Godāvārī District The other, Dēvapura, from the close resemblance in name, may be regarded as the capital of Dēvarāshtra, but of this there is no definite evidence as yet

Of the kings who ruled in Kalunga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Gāṅga dynasty, only the names of Chandavarman,¹ Umavarman,² Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman,³ Śaktivarman⁴ and Viśākhavarman⁵ were hitherto known from inscriptions The present grant adds the names of three new kings belonging to a dynasty, viz, Gunavarman, Prabhañjanavarman and Anantavarman

We cannot definitely postulate any relationship between this dynasty and the kings previously known, although they all probably flourished between 400 and 550 A D But, in view of the very little knowledge we possess of the history of Kalīṅga during this period, two suggestions are made below in the hope that they may be of some use for future research in this direction

As regards the king Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, it has been suggested by Mr D C Sarkar, that the name probably signifies "Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family"⁶ If this view were accepted, this Prabhañjanavarman might be tentatively identified with the father of Anantavarman It may, however, be pointed out that no other ruler of Kalīṅga styles himself as belonging to the Nanda family

Some association may also be inferred between Anantavarman and Śaktivarman Both issued their plates from the victorious city of Pīṣṭapura, and both had Varman as their name-endings Further, Śaktivarman is called 'Vāsishthīputra', while in the present grant, Anantavarman's father is described as 'moon in the Vāsishtha family'⁷

As to the time of King Anantavarman, I have already expressed above my view that the grant is to be placed, on palaeographical grounds, during the period between 450 and 550 A D The date, most probably a regnal year, was mentioned at the end of line 19, but unfortunately this portion is missing, as noted above

Mr M Narasimham has referred King Anantavarman to the first century A D⁸ He bases this conclusion on the following expression in the Siripuram grant *ashtāśśakasaṃkhyabhya mahāśvayujī savva(mva)tsarē* He interprets it as 'the eighth year of the Śaka era, in the year of Mahāśvayuja', He ignores, however, the fact that '*ashtāśśaka saṃkhyabhya*', obviously a mistake for '*saṃkhyēbhya*,' cannot be taken as either qualifying the word *samvatsarē*, or as an independent word expressing date I believe, the word qualifies the preceding word '*brāhmanē bhya*' and denotes the number of *Brāhmanas* to whom the grant is made I must confess, however that I am unable to explain the word, beyond merely suggesting that it might stand for 18, 28 or 88

In any case, whatever may be the interpretation of the word, the king Anantavarman can never be referred to the first century A D, as the alphabet of the inscription is too late for that

¹ Kōmarti pl, above, Vol IV, pp 144 ff,

² Bṛhatprōshthā grant, above, Vol XII, pp 4 ff Tekkal pl, J A H R S., Vol VI, pp 53-4 King Umavarman mentioned in these two plates may be the same or different persons.

³ Ind Ant., Vol XIII, pp 48 ff

⁴ Rāgola pl, above, Vol XII, pp. 1 ff

⁵ Above, Vol XXI, pp 23 ff

⁶ Journal of the Department of Letters (published by the Calcutta University), Vol XXVI, p 66, f n 2

⁷ [It may be noted that while Prabhañjanavarman and his father Gunavarman are described as 'Moon in the Vāsishtha family', i.e., belonging to the Vāsishtha *gōtra*, Śaktivarman bears the metronymic Vāsishthīputra, which indicates that probably the last mentioned belonged to a family different from that of the two former rulers, —Ed.]

J A H R S., Vol VIII, p 158

period It may be further pointed out that *ashtāśśaka* is not a correct grammatical form for denoting 'the eighth Śaka year', and that no king of Kalinga was likely to use the era, under that express name, in the eighth year of its foundation

As to the localities mentioned in the inscription, Pishtapura and Dēvarāshtra have already been dealt with The village Kindēppa, the object of the grant, was situated in the Tēllavallī-vishaya Neither of these can be identified with certainty Mr M Narasimham says that the river called 'Tel' in the *Zamindary* of Jeypore used to be called the 'Telvāhī' in early times He then argues that "the modern Jayapore (sic) must have been called Tēllavallī (sic) vishaya on account of the river Telvāhī which flows across it"¹ This cannot, however, be regarded as a satisfactory argument

About fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of Srungavarapukōta, where the plates were found, there is a village called Tella-gamudy (82° 58' × 17° 58') and near it, another village, called Kondapālem The former is situated at the crossing of two roads, and on the bank of a rivulet, thus indicating an important site I venture to suggest that Tella gamudy may be identified with the Tēllavallī vishaya of the grant But as there are several villages of the name of Kondapālem in the neighbourhood of Srungavarapukōta it is not certain which of these is referred to in the inscription as the Kindēppa grāma Probably the latter has to be identified with Kondapālem near Tella gamudy

The donee is styled Achantapura bhōgika I have translated it as 'resident of Achantapura', taking the term 'bhōga' as a territorial division I am unable to identify this place

In the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava, the Parivrājaka and the Uchchakalpa kings, the term 'bhōgika' is used as a technical official title, possibly connected, according to Fleet,² with the territorial division called bhōga But the term is used only with reference to the fathers and grandfathers of persons who wrote the charters³ In the case of the records of the Gānga dynasty we have, as the engravers of their charters, (1) Āditya Mañchin, also called Āditya-Bhōgika, and his son (2) Khandichandra, also called Khandichandra Bhōgika⁴ In all these cases, the term bhōgika must be taken as an official title, probably the chief of a bhōga, and whatever may be the particular duties of this official, the writing and engraving of charters were most probably included in them But there is no doubt that the office carried dignity and prestige with it, for, in the records of the Parivrājaka and Uchchakalpa kings, even high officials like Mahāsāmdhivigrahīla performed the same office, and described their fathers and grandfathers as bhōgika In Sanskrit Dictionaries, the term bhōgika is explained as 'groom, horse keeper' The term has also been regarded as equivalent to Telugu Bhōi, a palankeen bearer⁵

None of the above meanings of bhōgika is suitable in the present case We cannot think of the donee Mātrīśarman who was a Brāhmana, possibly following scholarly pursuits, either as a regular official, or following such menial occupations as those of a groom or a palankeen-bearer We have, therefore, to take Achantapura bhōga as the name of a territorial unit, and regard Mātrīśarman as a resident of the same

¹ *J A H R S*, Vol VIII, p 157

² Fleet, *C I I*, Vol III, p 100, f n 2

³ *Ibid*, pp 100, 105, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134, above, Vol III, p 46, *J B O R S*, Vol XVI, p 182.

⁴ Above, Vol XVIII, p 308

⁵ *Ibid*, f n 8

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm¹ Svasti[|*]Vijaya Pishtapur ādhushthānān=mahī mandala-vyāpi śārad ēndu-kara-nirmma-
la gunasya
2 Dēvarāshtr ādhīpatēr=anēka samara sanghatta-vijay-ādhigata-yaśasō Mahārāja śrī Gu-
3 navarmmanah parama-pautrah śakti ttray ōpanata rājya-sampadō Vāsishtha-kula cha nd-
rama-
4 sah śrī Mahārāja Prabhajamna²varmmanah priya puttras=sva bala vikkrām³ ōpārjita-
bhūr=na-
5 ya vinaya-sattva sampann ādhigata-yaśā dēva-dvijāti guru-jañ ānuddhyāna sam-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 varddhita-mahimā parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitri-pād ānuddhyātah Kaling ādhīpatīs=
śrī-
7 Mahārāj Anantāvarmmanā⁴ Tēllavallī vishayē Kindēppa⁵ grāmē saivva-samavētān=kutu-
8 mbinah samājñāpayaty=astī ēsha grāmō=smābhūr=Uttārāyanē⁶=smat puny-ābhivṛddha-
9 yē ētasmai Kauśika sa gōttrāya Taittirīya⁷ sa bramhachārīnē⁸ Achantapura⁹-bhōgi-
10 ka-Mātrīsarmanō ā chandr ārka-tāraka pratishtham=agrahāram kṛtvā sarva kara-
bharah

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 parihṛitya sampradattas=tad=ēvam=avadhrit ājñair=bhavadbhis=tad-ājñ ānuvidhāyibhū-
h pratyaha-
12 m=upasthātavyam[|] Brāhmanēna ch=ātmanō=grahārah puttra-pauttrikam=upabhujyamā-
13 nō na kaiś=chid=vallabha durlabhair=upahantavyah[|*] Āgāmibhūr=apī rājarsu-
14 bhūr=vṛttam=anupālayadbhūr=yyath=āśya dharmma-prasavasy=āvichchhēdēna pravri-
15 ttr=blbhavati¹⁰ tath=ānushtēyam ēvāñ =cha satī tatra tēshām=apī dharmmēn=ābhīsamba-

Third Plate, First Side

- 16 ndhas=smāryatē || Bahubhūr=vvasudhā dattā bahubhū [ś=ch=ānupālitā | yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=ta-*]
17 sya tasya tadā phalām [|*] Sva-dattām=para dattām vā yatnā[d=raksha Yūdhishtira |
mahīm mahimatām śrēshtha dānā-*]

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² Read *Prabhamjana*

³ Read *vil kram*^o

⁴ Read *Ananta* ^o

⁵ N reads *Kindōppa*,—but the right vertical stroke is a regular part of the letter *ṇ* (N denotes Mr. Narasimham)

⁶ Read *Uttarāyanē*

⁷ Read *Taittirīya*^o

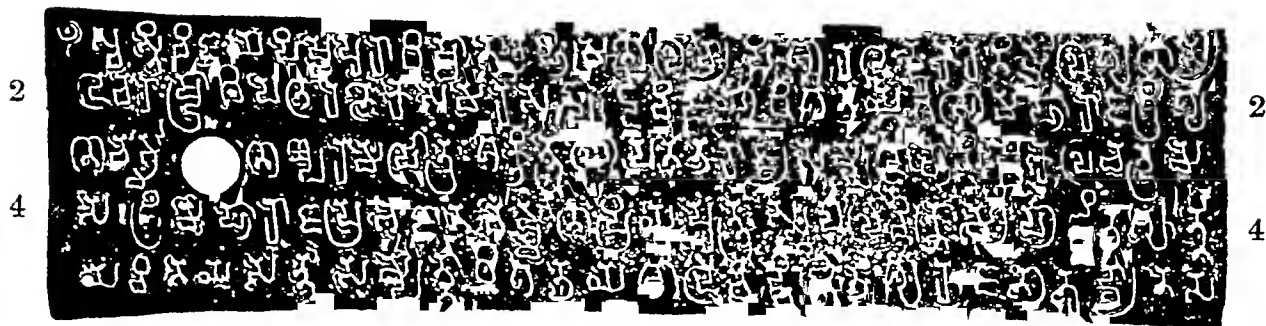
⁸ Read *sa brahma*^o

⁹ N reads *Achantapura*.

¹⁰ Read *bbhavati*

SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA

2



22,a



22,b



227



Seal



from a photograph

18 ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(m) [||*] Shashtim varsha sahasrāni svarggē [mōdati bhūmidah |
ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tā *]-

19 ny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Pravarddhamānayā rājya śriyā rājava [tra*]

20 yōdaśyām=Uttarāyanē dharmma pradānam kṛtam=iti bhū¹ . .

TRANSLATION

Om Hail ' From his residence in the victorious city of Pishtapura, the glorious *Mahārāja Anantavarman*,—who is the lord of Kalinga, who adores the feet of (his) mother and father, who is the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, whose greatness has been enhanced by affectionate solicitude for the gods, the twice born, and the elders, who has acquired fame by reason of his being endowed with wisdom, modesty, and virtue, who has acquired the earth by his own strength and valour

who is the dear son of the glorious *Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman*, the moon of the Vāsishtha family, who (*Prabhañjanavarman*) brought about the prosperity of the kingdom by the three elements² of regal power,

who is the most excellent grandson of the glorious *Mahārāja Gunavarman*, who³ acquired fame by victories in many stubbornly fought battles, who⁴ was the lord of Dēvarāshtra, and whose⁵ spotless virtues, like the rays of autumn moon, pervaded the whole world —

commands¹ (as follows) all the ryots present at the village of Kindēppa in the district (*viśaya*) of Tēllavallī this village has been granted by us, during summer solstice, for the sake of increasing our religious merit, to this Mātrīśarman,—a member of the Kauśika *gōtra*, a student of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*), and a resident of Achantapura *bhōga*—after having made (it) an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars, and exempting (it) from all burdens of taxation

Having understood this command you should, every day, act in accordance with it The *Brāhmana*, enjoying his own *agrahāra* in hereditary succession (it through sons and grandsons) should not be hindered in any way, by any officer (however) eminent⁵

The future royal ascetics, following the traditional usage, should pursue that (*course*) which would lead to continuous progress (or practice) of this act of virtue This being so, the association of these (*succeeding kings*) also with religious merit in this matter is mentioned in the *Smritis*

[Three customary verses follow]

By the increasing majesty

On the thirteenth (*tithi*), during the summer solstice, this religious gift is made

¹ N reads 'bha' The ū lāra-like sign may really be part of the next letter

² There are three elements of royal power (*śakti*), viz, (1) *prabhuśakti*, i.e., the majesty or pre eminent position of the king himself, (2) *mantraśakti*, i.e., the power of good counsel, and (3) *utsāhasakti*, i.e., the power of energy

³ Refers to Gunavarman

⁴ Refers to Anantavarman

⁵ The original expression is 'Vallabha durllabha' The first word means 'Overseer Superintendent, or herdsman', and probably stands for royal officials in general I am unable to suggest any definite meaning for *durllabha* One of its meanings given in the lexicon, is 'eminent or extraordinary,' and it may be regarded as an adjective of *Vallabha* (*Mayūra vyamsakādīnat*) Or possibly, from its association with *Vallabha*, it may also have to be taken in the sense of an Official, though the term in this sense is not known from any other source

No 10 —NARASINGAPALLI PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN, THE YEAR 79

By PROF R C MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA

THIS is a set of three copper plates, measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank while the two other plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing is distinct and in good preservation. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal showing indistinctly a couchant bull, facing right.

The plates were discovered in a field in the village of Narasingapalli, Chitacole taluk, Ganjim District, by one Surin Navudu, while digging earth. He gave it to Mr Byri Appalaswami Navudu, from whom it was obtained by Mr M S Srinivas and sold to the Madras Museum. The inscription has been published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, Vol XI (September, 1934), pp 161 ff, which is not accessible to me. I edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Utlām plates of the same king and the copper plate grants of Indravarman II. This is only what could be expected, for Vinayachandri, who wrote the present plates, is also the writer of all the plates of the Kalinga kings Hastivarman and Indravarman II, viz —(1) Utlām plates of Hastivarman,¹ (2) Achutapuram plates of Indravarman II,² (3) Santabommali plates of Indravarman II,³ and (4) Parlikunḍi plates of Indravarman II.⁴

If we compare the alphabet of our grant with that of the Jirjungi grant of Indravarman I,⁵ dated in the year 39, we find that the latter belongs to a distinctly earlier class, and indeed the difference appears to be far greater than would be warranted by the interval of 40 years between the two. Attention may be specially drawn to the forms of *lh*, *g*, *n*, *nh*, *m*, *v* and *s*.⁶

The final form of *m* occurs at the end of the inscription, while it is replaced by *anusāra* in *phalam* (l 23), *°nuṣālanam* (l 24), and *diādaśyām* (l 27). The two numerical symbols 70 and 9 are used in the date (l 27).

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five verses, the inscription is written in prose. The influence of Prākṛit may be traced in the form *clūnāsīti* (l 27). As regards orthography, *anusāra* is represented by guttural *n* in *Rājasiṃhasya* (l 28) and *sanghatih* (for *śanhatih*, l 29), while dental *n* is represented by *anusāra* in *gītām* (l 21). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with the exception of *sh* in *varsha* (l 25), and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta* (l 8). Separate signs are used for *b* and *v*.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land for defraying the expenses of the worship of god Nīrāyana and repairing his temples. The land included four *nivāsanas* (which means houses or probably sites for the same) and was situated in the village Rōhanakā in the district of Varāhavarṭanī. Mahārāja Hastivarman of Kalinga, who makes the grant, belongs to the Gāṅga family. As noted above, this king is already known to us from the Utlām plates, dated in the year 80.⁷ The present grant is dated in the year 79, and is thus earlier of the two. Except

¹ Above Vol XVII p 330² Above Vol III p 128³ J. A. S. P. S. Vol IV, p 21⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol XVI p 131⁵ J. A. S. P. S. Vol III p 49

⁶ The difference is no doubt, partly the result of difference in the style of writing but as the two records belong to the same locality we may assume with a tolerable degree of certainty, on the basis of the palaeographic examination alone, that the Jirjungi grant is earlier than the present one.

⁷ Above, Vol XVII, p 330

the Jirjungi grant of Indravarman I, dated in the year 39, this is the earliest copper-plate grant of the *Gāṅga* family so far discovered ¹

The introductory portion of this grant agrees word for word with that of the Urlām plates, save that in the latter the word *sulha* is added after the word *arivattu* in line 1. As is well known, this long phraseology became stereotyped in the grants of the family, and, with some additions and alterations, continued for nearly five hundred years. The corresponding phraseology of the Jirjungi grant is, however, quite different. The present grant is, therefore, the earliest document where we can trace the stereotyped phraseology of the *Gāṅga* records. The five verses of the Urlām plates also occur in this grant.

The inscription is dated in the year 79. The exact equivalence of this date depends upon the determination of the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era to which it is presumably to be referred. As is well known, scholars differ widely on this point. This subject is too vast and complicated to be dealt with here. I may note, however, that whereas some earlier writers like Sewell² and R. D. Banerji³ placed the initial date of the era, respectively in the ninth and eighth century A D, Mr G. Ramdas⁴ pushes it back to the fourth century A D. Dr Fleet,⁵ who first dealt with the subject, was of opinion that the two extreme dates for the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era were A D 481 and 634. He based his views partly on palæographic and partly on historical grounds. The latter have now lost much of their force, but I believe, his view still holds good on palæographic grounds. The present grant may be regarded on palæographic grounds as somewhat later than that of Anantavarman which I have edited above. I have there shown my grounds for referring the latter to the century 450-550 A D. The present grant may, therefore, be referred to the period 550-650 A D. The epoch of the *Gāṅga* era, would accordingly fall between 470-570 A D.

This is in accord with the latest theory on the subject, viz, that of Prof R. Subba Rao,⁶ who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A D 494.⁷ Although one may differ from him in some of his arguments and conclusions, and may not be inclined to be dogmatic about the particular year A D 494, I think, the data presented by him would reasonably lead to the hypothesis that the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era lies between 494 and 560 A D, i.e., roughly speaking, about the first half of the sixth century A D.⁸ Hastivarman may thus be regarded as flourishing towards the end of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A D.

No new information of Hastivarman's reign is furnished by this record. As in the Urlām plates, two of his *birudas* or epithets, viz, *Rājasimha* and *Ranabhīṭa* are mentioned in the present grant. As regards the last, Dr Hultzsch, has already drawn attention to its peculiar

¹ I leave out of account the Tirlungi grant, dated 28 (*J A H R S*, Vol III, p 54), for the reading of the date appears to me to be very doubtful. The writer of this grant is also Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra. So if the year of the Tirlungi plate belongs to the same era to which those of Hastivarman and Indravarman II are to be referred, we have to presume that Vinayachandra was in active service from the year 28, or some time previous to it, to the year 91 (date of Parākimēdi plates of Indravarman II), or some time posterior to it. In other words, he held the office for nearly sixty five to seventy years. This appears to be highly improbable.

² *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr S. K. Aravangar, p 357.

³ *History of Orissa*, Vol I, p 239.

⁴ *J B O R S*, Vol IX, pp 398 ff.

⁵ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 133.

⁶ *J A H R S*, Vol V, pp 272-4.

⁷ Mr J. C. Ghosh suggested that it should more properly be A D. 496, *Ind Ant*, 1932, p 237. See also Bhattacharya's *List*, p 201, note 1.

⁸ I shall discuss the question more fully in a separate article.

character and the fact that it occurs as a name of a member of the Śailōdbhava family¹ I may add that several other members of the same family bear similar names, viz, Yaśōbhīta (or A yaśō bhīta) and Sanyabhīta²

So far as is at present known, such names do not occur elsewhere. Hastivarman's rule in Kalinga falls during the period when the Śailōdbhava family was ruling in Kōṅgōḍa immediately to its north. The assumption of such a peculiar title by Hastivarman may not be totally unrelated to the rule of Śailōdbhava family, though we have no definite information as to any relation between the two.

The present grant of Hastivarman is a *dev-āgrahāra*, i.e., a free hold created, not for the benefit of an individual person, but for the regular worship of god Nārāyaṇa and the repairs of his temples³. We have a similar example in the Santabommali plates of Indravarman II⁴ which repeat the exact phraseology of this inscription denoting the object of the grant.

As noted below, the three epithets of god Nārāyaṇa (ll 12-13) occur in a single verse of Kālī-dāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (canto X, verse 21), and it is not unreasonable to presume that the composer of the record was acquainted with that work. Of far greater interest, from the historical point of view, is the designation of the god, viz, *Ranabhītōḍaya* (l 13). There can be hardly any doubt, that this was derived from the king's own *biruda*, *Ranabhīta*. It thus furnishes an example, well known in India and Indian Colonies in the Far East, of designating (the image of) a god after the king who set it up⁵.

The king made this grant presumably at the request, or on the recommendation, of *Buddha-mañchi-Bhōḡika* (l 16). The word *pratibōdhita* (l 17), used in this connection, literally means 'to awaken, to inform, to entrust, etc', but, considering the context, it is clear that 'to request' or 'to recommend' would convey the real sense⁶.

As to *Buddha-mañchi-Bhōḡika*, there is no doubt that *Buddha-mañchin* was the name of a person who held the office of a 'Bhōḡika'. The different meanings of the term '*Bhōḡika*' have been discussed by me while editing the *Srṅgavarapukōṭa* grant of Anantavarman (above, p 59). For an example of personal name of this type I may refer to *Āditya-mañchin*, the writer of the *Chicaole* plates⁷, and the son of *Vinayachandra* who wrote the present grant. It is interesting to note that this *Āditya-mañchin* is referred to as *Āditya-Bhōḡika* in the *Purle* plates⁸. This alteration of titles led Dr. Hultzsch to remark that like '*Bhōḡika*', *Mañchin* is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhōḡi*, 'a palankeen bearer'. The presence of both the words in the name of *Buddha-mañchin-Bhōḡika* disproves this assertion. Besides, the sense 'palankeen bearer' can hardly be applied to either *Āditya*, or *Buddha-mañchin*. I have shown that the duties of the official called *Bhōḡika* included writing or engraving of royal charters. In the present instance the term might mean the chief of the territorial unit called *bhōga*⁹. In that case it would be the duty of this officer to suggest to the king the grant of land for the maintenance of a temple of

¹ Above, Vol XVIII, p 331

² For the Śailōdbhava Inscriptions, cf. *Bandarkar's List*, Nos 1672-6

³ The phrase *ḥanda sphutita bhagna ghatana* occurs in the Madras Museum plates of *Vajrahasta*, above, Vol IX, p 98

⁴ *J A H R S*, Vol IV, p 21

⁵ Cf. my book *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol I *Champā*, pp 184-6

⁶ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XVI, p 132, fn 3

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIII, p 121

⁸ Above, Vol XIV, p 362

⁹ It is a sub-division of a district. Cf. e.g., '*Viśayapati bhōḡapati*' in Khālimpur Copper plate of *Dharma-pāla*, above, Vol IV, p 243, also *Vōṇḥara bhōga sambaddha Jyṅḡka gramā* in l 11 of the *Jirjungi* grant of king *Indravarman* (*J A H R S*, Vol III, p 52). The editor reads *Jyṅḡka*.

Nārāyana in his jurisdiction. The first part of the name Buddha-mañchin may be a reminiscence of the stronghold which Buddhism once had in this region.

Of the localities mentioned, Kāṭṅganagara is now usually identified with Mukhalingam¹. The district Varāhavartanī (l 9) is mentioned, in several Gāṅga records. Dr Sten Konow suggested that it was probably near Chicacole². This view is supported by the present grant. For the village Rōhanakī, mentioned in the present grant as situated in the district of Varāhavartanī, may be identified with modern Rōnankī (Ronunky of the Indian Atlas, Degree Sheet, 84°×18°-20'), a hamlet of Singupura of the Chicacole *tāluk*. Further, an unpublished grant of Vajrahasta III³ refers to the village of Navagrāma in Varāhavartanī-*viśhaya*, and this village can be easily identified with the present Naogam in Tekkalī *tāluk* of the Ganjām District. Mr. G. R. Pantulu has identified the village Siddhārthaka in the Varāhavartanī *viśhaya* with Siddhāntam near Chicacole⁴. The Varāhavartanī district would thus roughly correspond to the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkalī. It was presumably bounded on the west by Kuraka-*rāshtra*, corresponding to modern Palakonda *tāluk*⁵. According to Mr G. Ramdas, the village Sellāda in the Rūpāvartanī-*viśhaya*⁶ belongs to Tekkalī *tāluk*. If this identification be accepted, Rūpāvartanī *viśhaya* may be located to the north of Varāhavartanī. As already suggested by Hultzsch, this Rūpāvartanī *viśhaya* is probably the same as Rūpyavatī-*viśhaya* mentioned in the Tekkalī plates of Indravarman⁷.

About two miles to the south east of Rōnankī, there is a village called Byrey in the Atlas. It is at the junction of two roads, and on the bank of the Vamśadharā river. Is the name a reminiscence of the old Varāha-vartanī²? Local investigations alone can solve this problem.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm^a Svasti [||*] Saiṣv-arttu-ramanīyād=viṣaya Kāṭṅga nagarāt=sakala bhuvana-
- 2 nirmān-aika-sūtradhārasya bhagavatō Gōkarnna^a svāmīnaś=charana-kamala-
- 3 yugala-pranāmād=apagata-kali-kalankō vinaya-naya-sampadā-
- 4 m=ādharāh sv-āsi-dhārā-parispand-ādhiḡata-sakala-Kāṭṅg-ādhirājya-
- 5 ś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvanī-tala-pravitat-āmala-yaśāh anēka-
- 6 samara-samkshōbha-janita-jaya śabdō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratishthah pratā-
- 7 p ātisay-ānāmīta-samasta sāmanta chūdā-mānī prabhā-mañjarī-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 puñja-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitri-pād ānuddhyātah parama-māhēśvarah

¹ Kalinganagara was identified by Fleet with Kalingapatam (*Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 132). Mr G. V. Ramamurti proposed the identification with Mukhalingam (above, Vol IV, pp 187-8). This view is now generally accepted, but it is not free from doubts (*cf Ann Rep S Ind Ep* 1924-25, p 79). Fleet's view is still upheld by some (*cf, eg*, Prof B. C. Bhattacharya's article in *J B O R S*, Vol XV, pp 623 ff). For a detailed discussion of the subject, *cf J A H R S*, Vol VI, pp 57 ff.

² Above, Vol IX, p 95.

³ Edited below, pp 67 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol XIII, p 213.

⁵ See above, Vol XIV, p 361.

⁶ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol XIV, p 271.

⁷ Above, Vol XVIII, pp 307 ff.

^a Expressed by a symbol.

^a This letter has been read by Dr Hultzsch (above, Vol XVII, p 332, l 2) as *ṛṇṇa*. But undoubtedly we have to take it as the normal symbol for *ṛṇṇa*, in which the curves of *ṛ* are not repeated twice.

- 9 śrī Mahārājō Hastivarīmā/ Varāhavarttanī-vishayē Rōhanakyām
 10 saiva-samavṛtān=kutumbas=samājñāpayati [*] Viditam=astu vō ya-
 11 th=āsmīn=grāmē shannām halānām bhūs=chhēdīkṛtya chatur mivē-
 12 śana sahitā bhagavatē sapt ārnava śāyinē sapta sām ōpa-
 13 gītāya sapta lōka nāthāya Ranabhītōday ābhidhānāya
 14 Nārāyanāya bahi-charu satra pravarttanāya khṇḍa-sphuṭita-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 samskāraya cha sarva-karah parihṛity=ā-chandr-ārka-pratishtham dēv āgrahāram
 16 kṛtvā mātā pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny-ābhivṛddhyē Buddha-maichī-bhōgikēna prati-
 17 bōdhitaur=asmābhur=ddattā [*] tad=viditvā na kēnachit=parivādhā² kāryā [*]
 18 Simānta lūgāni ch=ātra³ pūrvvēn=āsyā grāma-garttā dakṣhīnēna
 19 varandakah⁴ paschimēna vishaya-garttā kuravaka-mūla sahitā utta-
 20 rēna saha tāla vātikay=ēti | Bhayishyad-rājabhūṣ=ch=āyan=dāna-
 21 dharmmō=nupālānīyas=tathā cha Vyāsa gītām⁵ ślōkān=udāharanti [*]

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 Bahubhur=vvasudhā dattā bahubhūṣ=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya
 23 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) ||[*] Sva dattām=para dattām vā
 yatmād=ra-
 24 ksha Yudhishtira [*] mahīm=mahimatām śrēshtha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālānam
 (nam) ||[*]
 25 Shashṭim varsha sahasrāni mōdatē divi bhūmudah [*] ākshēptā ch=ā-
 26 numantā cha tāny=ēvā narakē vasēd=it⁶ | pravārdhamānā vijaya rājya sāmva-
 27 tsarāh ēkūnāsīti (ēkōnāsīth) 70 '9 Jēshthā⁷ śukla dvādaśyām(syām) || Idam Vinaya-
 chandrēna
 28 Bhānuchandrasya sūnunā [*] śāsanam Rāja sambasya⁸ hkhītam, sva-mukh-ājñayā
 ||4*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 29 Mandalāgr āgra nishpēsha-nishpīst ārātī sanghatēh⁹ [*]
 30 Śrīmatō=pratigh ājñasya Ranabhītasya śāsanam || 5*]

TRANSLATION

Om Hail¹ From the victorious (city of) Kaṁganagara, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious Mahārāja Hastivarīnan² commands (as follows) all the ryots assembled at Rōhanaki, in the district of Varāhavarttanī:

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary

² Read paribādha

Read varandakah

⁴ Read gītān

⁵ -ad vaset ||[*] it

⁶ Read Jyēshtha

⁷ Read sambasya,

⁸ Read samhatēh

⁹ The long epithets of the king are omitted in the translation, as they have been translated many times (cf above, Vol III, p 129)

2

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

11, a

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

11, b

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

22

24

26

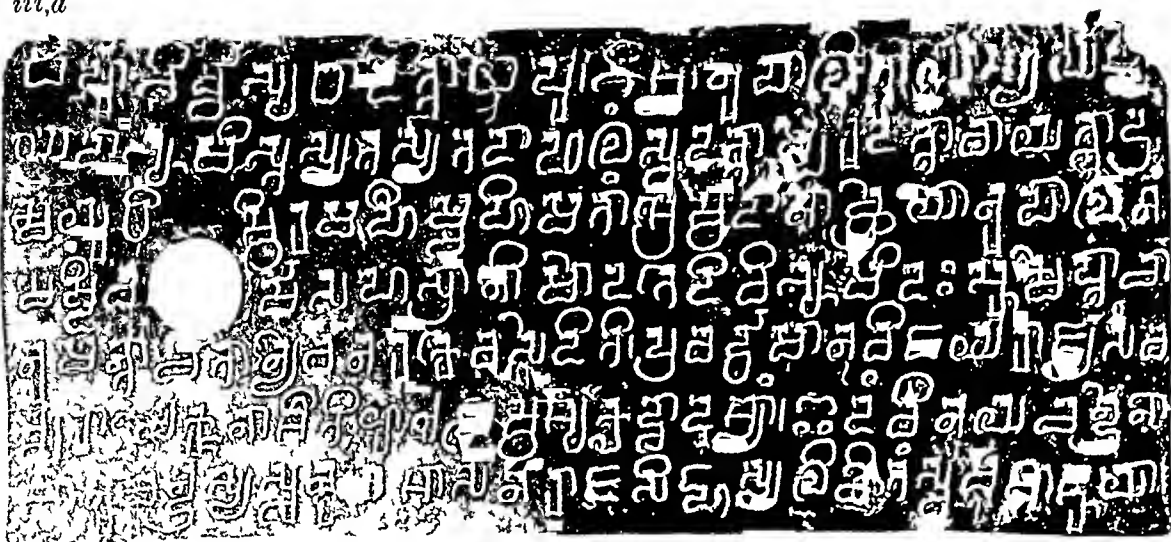
28

22

24

26

28



30

30



Seal From a photograph



Be it known to you, that having constituted *six* *halas* of land, with four cottages, in this village, as (a separate) scetion, and making it an *agrahāra* for god, which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having, exempted it from all taxation, we have, at the request of (*it being informed by*) Buddha-mañchi, the Bhōgika, and for increasing the religious merit of (*our*) parents and ourselves, granted it to god Nārāyaṇa,—who lies on the seven seas, who is sung in seven hymns (*Rāthanāra*, etc.), who is the sole lord of seven worlds¹, and who has the designation *Ranabhītōdaya*,²—for the sake of performing (*oblations known as*) *balī*, *chāru* and *satra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (*of the temple*)

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance

The boundary marks are as follows —On the east, the trenches of the village, on the south, the mound of earth, on the west, the trenches of the district with the Kuravaka thicket, on the north, along with the palm grove

The future kings should maintain this religious gift And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted

(*Here follow three of the customary verses*)

In the year Seventy-nine 70, 9 of the prosperous victorious reign, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of *Jyēsthā*

(*Verse 4*) At the command of his (*the king's*) own mouth, this charter of Rājasaṁhā has been written by Vmāyachandra, son of Bhānuchandra.

(*Verse 5*) (*This is*) a charter of the glorious Ranabhīta, whose commands are irresistible, and who has totally crushed the hostile confederacy by the strokes of the point of (*his*) semitar

No 11 .—GANJAM COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, ŚAKA-SAMVAT 991

By PROF R C MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH D., DACCA

This is a set of five copper-plates measuring 8½ inches in length and about 4 inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank, while there is no writing on the last plate, which was evidently put in to protect the writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal bearing a couchant Nandi, a drum, a conch, two fly-whisks (*chāmara*s), two darts or lances, an umbrella, a *maḥara tōraṇa* and the sun and the moon.

The inscription consists of fifty-three lines. It is, generally speaking, in a good state of preservation. The second side of the third plate and the first side of the fourth plate, are, however, partly corroded, and a few letters are either wholly or partly effaced.

The plates were found somewhere in the Ganjam District and are now deposited in the Madras Museum. The text was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, which is not accessible to me. I edit them from excellent ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is northern Nāgarī of the same kind as is used in four other plates³ of Vajra-hasta. The final form of *m* occurs in *maḥim* (l. 36) where, in addition to the sign of the *virāma*, the top stroke of the letter is omitted. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *aiḍaḷān* (l. 17) and

¹ All the three epithets of Nārāyaṇa occur in the *Raghuvamśa*, X, 21

Sapta sām ūpagītam tīām sapta āraṇa jalāsayaṁ |
sapta-ārcheṣu mūlham-āchalhyuḥ sapta-loka-samśrayam ||

² See introductory remarks.

³ (a) The Nādagam plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183), (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94), (c) The Chincacole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (d) Nārasapatam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol. XI p. 147)

vāranān (l 41) The letter *ñ* in conjuncts *ñch* and *ñchh* is placed after *ch* and *chh* and is not connected with it (cf, e g, *lāñchhana* in l 8, and *pañchabhñh* in l 13) The *anusvāra* is denoted by a circle after the consonant, and very often a *virāma* is added underneath

There are several superfluous signs of interpunctuation in the grant (cf ll 47, 51, 52), the most glaring instance being that in line 2, where the sign is used between two words of the same compound, *dālshnya* and *satya*

As regards orthography, the class nasal is used before surds, the only exception being *samlkhyām* (l 33) The letter *v* is used throughout for *b* Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in *varsha* (l 16), and *paurs̥ha* (l 53), but cf *varshshān* in ll 26 27 In doubling *bh*, the form *bhbh* is used instead of *bbh* In one case alone, *t* seems to be doubled before *r* (*puttrah*, l 51), though it is doubtful whether the letter really denotes *ura* There are several cases of interchange of sibilants Thus *s* is used for *ś* in *samit-ār* (l 24), *maḥisak* (l 26), and for *sh* in *Āsūdha* (l 50), *ś* is used for *s* in *śahla* (l 3), *āśinē* (l 42), and *sh* for *s* in *shutah* (l 12) As in the other plates¹ of Vajrahasta, we have *prakshyālita* (l 3) instead of *prakshālita*, and *samuḥvala* (ll 8, 25) instead of *samuḥvala* It is difficult to distinguish between medial *i* and *ē*

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit It contains twelve verses, the remainder being in prose

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III, or, according to another reckoning, V) of the Gāṅga dynasty, the son of Kāmārṇava and Vinayamahādēvī Six other copper-plate grants of this king are known, of which four have been edited and published in well known journals¹ Of the remaining two, the Triplicane Grant, dated in the Śaka year 982, is noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924 25 (p 7, No 5) with a summary of its contents The remaining one, the Boddapādu Grant, is described by Prof Subba Rao², but no reference is given It was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* (Vol II, No 5³) In the following remarks I shall confine myself to the four published copper plate grants of the king known to me

The introductory portion of the present grant, which covers the first forty two lines and six letters of the forty third line, is an exact repetition of what we find in the other four plates⁴ It contains, in addition to the opening stereotyped panegyric passage, the genealogical account of the family, to which we shall refer later

The next portion beginning with *Kalīṅga nagarāt* in l 43, and ending with *viditam=astu bhavātām* in l 46, also occurs in the first three grants mentioned in footnote 1, with this difference, that whereas in the present grant, and the Madras Museum plates, the name of the king is written as *Śrīmad-Anantavarman Vajrahasta devah*, it is simply "*Śrīmad Vajrahasta devah*" in the other two

The remaining portion, which actually records the grant, is, of course, different, though the usual legal phrases, which occur in ll 47-49, are common to all Thus, with the exception of the name of the village in l 47, the first forty nine lines of the present inscription contain nothing new⁵ It must be noted, however, that the present grant contains, comparatively speaking, fewer mistakes than the others

¹ (a) The Nadagām plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol IV, p 183), (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol IX, p 94), (c) The Chicacole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J A H R S*, Vol VIII, p 171) and (d) Narasapatam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol XI, p 147)

² *J A H R S*, Vol VI, pp 203 205

³ This has been noticed also in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925 26 (No. 1 of Appendix A) But by mistake the name of the dynasty is given as Eastern Chālukya instead of Eastern Gāṅga

⁴ A few minor changes are introduced in Narasapatam plates

⁵ Hence I do not give any translation of the text, for which cf above, Vol IV, pp 192-93 and Vol XI pp 152-53.

From the concluding four lines of the inscription we learn that the village mentioned in l 47, viz, Navagrāma in (the district of) Varāhavartanī was granted by the king, in the Śaka year 991, on Monday, the seventh day of the first fortnight of the month of Āshādha, to Gōkananāyaka, son of Bhīmana nāyaka and his wife Prōlakavā, and the grandson of Mallapa nāyaka. The donee is said to be *Vēsyā(śyā) vamsōdbhava*, i.e., descended from a courtesan. The word *vēsyā* is possibly a mistake for *Vaiśya*, but I may point out that grants to courtesans, who were royal favourites, were not unknown in those days¹. The word *paursha* in the last line I am unable to explain, but it is possibly a mistake for *paurusha*. In that case, the royal grant was a recognition of the donee's devotion and valour extending over a long period.

The date of the grant has been calculated to correspond to 9th June, 1068 A.D., taking the Śaka year as current.

Of the localities mentioned, the village Navagrāma is to be identified with the present Naogām in Tekkalī tāluk of the Ganjam District. As to Varāhavartanī, which must have been in the neighbourhood of Chicacole, and Kalinganagara, usually identified with Mukhalingam, I have already discussed their identification while editing the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, on p. 65 above.

Lastly, there is the title, 'Lord of Tri-Kalinga', applied to Vajrahasa. Tri-Kalinga is usually interpreted as the whole of Kalinga in its widest extent². Thus Prof. R. Subba Rao, on the strength of the above title of Vajrahasa, infers that "he was also the paramount sovereign of Tri-Kalinga country which extended from the river Ganges in the North to the river Godāvarī in the South"³. Apart from well known historical facts which militate against this view, I may point out that it is impossible to accept this meaning of the term Tri-Kalinga, at least for the period to which the present grant belongs. A perusal of the records of the Eastern Chālukyas throws very interesting light on this point. We learn from the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma⁴ I (888-918 A.D.), and the Pithāpuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva⁵, dated Śaka-samvat 1124, that the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-888 A.D.) took 'by force the gold of the Gāṅga kings of Kalinga', and 'received elephants as tribute from the Kalinga king'. The Masulipatam plates of Amma⁶ I (918-925 A.D.) tell us that king Vijayāditya IV (918 A.D.) ruled the 'Vēṅgimandala, joined with Tri-Kalinga forest' (*Trikalimgg-ātavaṇ yuktam*). According to the Kolavennu grant⁷ of Chālukya-Bhīma II, king Vikramāditya II (who ruled some time after 925 A.D.) ruled over Vēṅgī and Tri-Kalinga. Ammarāja II (945-970 A.D.) is also stated to have at first ruled over the Vēṅgī country with Tri-Kalinga⁸, but later left the parental throne and ruled in Kalinga for fourteen years (956-970 A.D.). Dānārṇava, too, ruled in Kalinga for three years, after the loss of Vēṅgī⁹.

These extracts show that in the Eastern Chālukya records of the tenth and subsequent centuries, Tri-Kalinga is distinguished from Kalinga and is obviously regarded as a place of less

¹ [Apparently *vēsyā* in the present record is an error in writing for *Vaiśya* to which caste the Nāyakas in this part are known to have belonged. Cf. *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1918-19, C P No 5—Ed.]

² Cunningham—*Anc. Geogr.*, p. 594. Fleet, above, Vol. III, p. 327. Recently Mr. B. C. Majumdar and Mr. B. Misra have interpreted Tri-Kalinga as denoting the three countries 'Kalinga, Kōṅgōḍa, and Utkala' (*Oriental Research*, p. 187, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 145).

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 203.

⁴ *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1914, p. 84.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 240.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, p. 131.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff.

⁸ Ārumbāla pl. of Bādapa, above, Vol. XIX, p. 137.

⁹ Mungallu Grant, *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1917, p. 132, also cf. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

importance than Kalinga. In any case, it is impossible to take Tri Kalinga in these records in anything like the sense in which Prof. Subba Rao has taken it. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the Haihayas, the Chandēllas, and the Sōmavamsī kings of Kōśala also assumed the title *Tri Kaling ādhipati*.

Mr. G. Ramadas has suggested that Tri Kalinga denotes the highland to the west of the Mahēndra hills of Ganjām, from the upper course of the Mahānadi to about the source of the Lānguliyā river¹. He was apparently unaware of the references to Tri-Kalinga and Kalinga in the Chālukya records cited above. But there is no doubt that they generally support his view, though we may have to extend the boundaries of the region further south. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit, that we cannot take Tri-Kalinga in the present record to denote the whole of Kalinga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga.

The genealogy of the Gāṅga family, as given in this and the four other inscriptions² referred to above, was shown in a tabular form by Mr. G. V. Ramamurti, while editing the Nadagām plates. The same scholar also drew attention to the fact that it differs substantially from the genealogical account given in the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, dated Śaka 1040³. The latter is also repeated in the Korni copper plate grant⁴ of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, dated Śaka 1034. Curiously enough, the other copper plate grants⁵ of the same king Anantavarman Chōḍaganga corroborate the genealogical account given in the plates of Vajrahasta, including the present grant.

This is not the proper place for entering into a detailed discussion on these discrepancies. It is only necessary to point out that the genealogy given in the present grant and the other plates of Vajrahasta III appears to have far more historical value than the more elaborate genealogical account in the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, dated respectively in 1034 and 1040 Śaka. The former looks like one based on family records, while the latter is undoubtedly an artificially concocted pedigree, reaching back to the creator of the universe.

The grant, like the other plates of Vajrahasta III, gives the exact time of the coronation of the king (ll 33-35). This has been calculated to correspond to 3rd May, 1038 A.D., 8 h 27 m P.M.⁶

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁷ svasti [||*] Śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vihuta naya vinaya dayā-dāna-dākṣi-
- 2 nya [ṣ⁸]-satya śauca-śaurya-dhairyv ādi guna ratna-pavitrakānām=Ātrē
- 3 ya'gōtrānām vimala-vichār-āchāra-punya śāhla⁹ prakṣhyāhita.¹⁰ka¹¹

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIV, pp. 547 ff., Vol. XV, pp. 635 ff.

² See fn. 1 on p. 68. The Triplicano Grant also gives the same genealogy (*Ann. Rep. on S. Ind. Ep.*, 1924: 25, p. 78).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

⁴ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, p. 103.

⁵ (a) Vizagapatam Grant, dated 1003 Ś (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 161), (b) Vizagapatam Grant, dated 1057 Ś (*Ibid.*, p. 172) and (c) Korni Grant, dated 1003 Ś (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 39).

⁶ Above Vol. IV, p. 185. Prof. S. Rao gives the date of Vajrahasta, once as 1037-1070 A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 276, Vol. VI, p. 208), and again as 1038-1069 A.D. (*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 212).

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ This sign of interpunctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ *Reṣā śāhla*.

¹⁰ Read *prakṣhyāhita*.

- 4 li kâla-kalmasha-mashinâm mahâ-Mahēndr āchala śikhara-pra-
 5 tishthatasya¹ sa char-āchara-gurōh sakala-bhuvam² nirmmā-
 6 n-aika-sūtradhārasya³ śaśānka-chūdā manēr=bhbbhagavatō⁴ Gōkarnā svāminah pra-
 7 sādāt=samāsādit-aikā śankha bhēri-pañcha-mahāśayda(bda) dhavala-chēhhatra-
 8 hēma chāmara vara vṛṣhabha-lāñchhana-samujvala⁵-samasta-sāmrājya-ma-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 himnām=anēka-samara sañghatta samupalavāha⁶-vijaya lakshmi samāli-
 10 ngit-ōtunga⁷-bhujā danda maṇḍitānām Tri-Kalāga mahibhujāh Ga-
 11 ngānām=anvayam=alanakariśnōr=vVishnōr=rya vikram ākrānta dhārā-mā-
 12 ṇḍalasya Gunamahārnnava ksha(ma)hārājasya shutah⁸ ||o|| Pūrvam bhū-
 13 patibhu[r]=vṛibhajya vasudhā -yā pañchabhūh pañcharthā bhuktā⁹ bhūm-
 14 parākramō bhujā-valāt¹⁰=tām=ēka ēva, svayam [I*] ēkikṛitya vijitya
 15 śatru-nivahāna¹¹ śrī-Vajrahastāś=chatuschatvārimśatām=atyudāra charitah
 16 saivvām=arakshīt=samāh|| [I*]¹² Tasya tanaṇyō Gundama-rājā¹³ varsha-trayam=
 apālāya

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 d=maḥim || (I) tad anujah Kāmārnnavadēvah pañcha trimśatam=avdakān¹⁴ || Ta-
 18 sy=ānujō Vmayādityas=samās=terah || Tātah Kāmārnnavāj-jātō jagāti-
 19 kalpa-bhūruhah || (I) yō=rājad=rājita-chēhāyō Vajrhastō=vanipatih || [2*]¹⁵ Prās-
 chyōda(ta)-
 20 n mada gandha luvdha¹⁶-madhupa vyālidha gandān=gajānn(n)=artthibhyas=samadāt=sa-
 21 hasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇi[h]* sah¹⁷ śrīmān=Aniyan¹⁸kabhima-ni-
 22 patir=gGaṅg ānvay-ōtamsakah¹⁹ pañchātrimśatam=avdakān²⁰=samabhuna-
 23 k=pithvīm²¹ stutah pārtthivaiḥ || [3*]²² Tad-agra-sūnuh sura rāja sūnunā samas-
 samastā-
 24 m samit²³ āri maṇḍalah [I*] sma pātī Kāmārnnava-bhūpatir=bhūbhuvam²⁴ samrid-
 dhimān ardhha
 25 samām samujvalah²⁵ || [4*]²⁶ Tad-anu tad anujanmō²⁷ chittajanm-ōpamānō -guna-

¹ Read *pratikshitasya*.

² Read *bhagavatō*.

³ Read *samupalabdha*.

⁴ Read *Ga*.

⁵ Read *bhuktā*.

⁶ Read *nivahān*.

⁷ Read *rājō*.

⁸ Read *avdakān* [This also appears to be a versō in faulty *Āryā* metre, though none of the published editions seems to have noticed it—Ed.]

⁹ Metre *Śloka*.

¹⁰ Read *sa*.

¹¹ Read *avdakān*.

¹² Metre *Śārdūlavikrīṭa*.

¹³ Read *bhuvam*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Yamastha*.

¹⁵ Read *bhuvana*.

¹⁶ Read *samujvala*.

¹⁷ Read *ōttunga*.

¹⁸ Read *śutah*.

¹⁹ Read *balāt*.

²⁰ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīṭa*.

²¹ Read *lubdha*.

²² Read *gGaṅg ānvay ōttamsakāḥ*.

²³ Read *pithvīm*.

²⁴ Read *samit*.

²⁵ Read *samujvalah*.

²⁶ Read *janmā*.

Third Plate, First Side

- 26 mdhir=anavadyō Gundam ākhyō mahisah¹ [1*] sakalam=ida[m=arakshat=]trini va-
 27 rshshāni dhātī valayam=alaghu tējō-mrjpt-ārāta-chakrah || [5*]² Tatō dval-
 28 māturas=tasya Madhukāmārnavō nripah | avati sm=āvanim=ētām=avdā
 29 m³=ākārna⁴vimsatam ||o|| [6*]⁵ Atha Vajrabasta-nripatēr=agra-sutād=akhila gu-
 30 ni jan-āgranyah [1*] Kāmārnavāt=kavindra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-
 31 śubha kirttēh ||[7*]⁶ Śiya⁷ iva Vaidurnv⁸-ānvaya payah-payōnidhi-samu-
 32 bbbh(dbha)vāyās=cha[1*] yah samajani Vinayamahādēvyāh Śrī Vajrabasta ita
 tana-
 33 yah ||[8*]⁹ Viyad ntu mdhi-samkhyām yāti Śāk-āyda¹⁰ samghē Dinakriti Vrishabha-
 34 sthē Rōhni bhē sulagnē [1*] Dhanudhi¹¹ cha sita pakshē Sūryya-vārē tritīyām¹².

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 yuji sakala-dharitram¹³ rakshitum yō=bhushuktah ||[9*]¹⁴ Nyāyyēna yatra samam=ā-
 36 charitum tri-varggē¹⁵ mārggēna rakshati mahim mahita-pratāpē [1*] nirvvyā-
 37 dhayaś=cha niraghās=cha nirāpadaś=cha śāsvat=prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhū-
 38 timarttyah¹⁶ ||[10*]¹⁷ Vyāptē Ganga¹⁸-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik chakravālē
 39 śāśi-padyōt¹⁹-āmahnēna yasya bhuvanah²⁰-prahlāda sa-
 40 mpādīnā [1*] saundūrai=ati-sāndra-panka-patalai[h*] kumbha-sthali pattakēshv=āh-
 41 mpanti punah pūnaś=cha haritām=ādhoranā vāranān || [11*]²¹ Anurāgēna
 42 guninō²² yasya vakshō mukh-āvjayōh²³ [1*] āśīnē²⁴ Śrī Sarasvatyāv=anu-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 43 kūlē virājatah ||o|| [12*]²⁵ Kalinganagarāt=parama-māhēśvara-parama-
 44 bhattāraka-mahārāj ādhirāja-Tri-Kaling-ādhipati śrīmad Anantava-
 45 māmā Vajrabasta-[dē]vah kuśali samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān=sa-
 46 mādhyā samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatām || [Viditam=a-

¹ Read mahīśah² Read ābdān³ Metro Ślōka⁴ Read Śriya⁵ Metro Giti⁶ Read Dh-nushi,⁷ Read dharim⁸ Read varggar⁹ Metro Vasanatīlaka¹⁰ Read pradyōt¹¹ Metro Śārdūlavatīrīḍita.¹² There is a redundant medial ē sign before g¹³ Read āśīnē¹⁴ Metro Mālinī.¹⁵ Read ekanna°.¹⁶ Metro Giti¹⁷ Read Vaidumb°.¹⁸ Read Śāk ābda-.¹⁹ Read tritīyā.²⁰ Metro Mālinī.²¹ Read matyāh.²² Read Garga²³ Read bhuvana-.²⁴ Read ābjayōh.²⁵ Metro Ślōka.

2
2
4
6
8

ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 यत्प्रोक्तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ यत्प्रोक्तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

20, a.

44
46
48
50

ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 यत्प्रोक्तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ यत्प्रोक्तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

20, b

52

ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 यत्प्रोक्तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ यत्प्रोक्तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

47 stu bhava]¹ ²Varāhavarttanyām | Navagrāmaś=chatus sīm āva-
 48 chchhinnas=sa-jala sthalas=sarvva pīdā-vivarjṇitam=ā chandr-ārka-
 49 kṣhīti sama-kālam [vāvan]³=mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pūnya-yaśō bhivṛddha-
 50 yē | śasi nanda nīdhī [śā]k āvdē⁴ | Āsādha⁵-māsa-prathama-paksha sa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

51 ptamyām Sōma-vārē vēsyā⁶ vams ōdbhavah | Mallapa nāyakas=tasya puttrah
 52 Bhimana-nāyakas=tasya bhāyyā Prōlakavā | tayōh putrāya | Gōkana⁷-
 53 nāyakāya chira kālam=ārādhyā sva paursha-paritōshītāya datta iti ||

NO 12—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN
 THE YEAR 308

By B CH CHHABRA, M A , M O L , P H D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

The charter under examination is one of the nine sets of copper plates that were acquired, in the year 1935, by Mr N G Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, through Mr Satyanarayan Rajguru of Parlakumedi, District Ganjām. Regarding its find spot no definite information is available. Mr Rajguru, however, informs me that a cultivator, while digging a field in a village of the Badakhumedi Estate of Ganjām, came upon an earthen pot containing some ten sets of copper plates of which the present record is one. Ink-impressions of these plates were kindly supplied to me by Mr Majumdar with whose permission I edit them here.

These are three copper plates, each measuring $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3''$. They were strung on a ring, about 3 inches in diameter, fixed to a circular seal. The seal, $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter, is intact and bears the figures in high relief of a seated bull, facing the proper left, a crescent and a star above it and a blown lotus below. The plates weigh 112 *tolas*, while the ring and the seal together weigh 14 *tolas*. The plates have flat rims. The writing on them has undergone a slight damage, especially on the obverse of the second plate. There are 38 lines of writing in all, the first and the last faces bearing 7 each and the remaining three 8 each. All the three plates are inscribed on both the sides, the charter ending on the obverse of the third plate. On the reverse of this last appear two different writings, one upon the other, but neither seems to be relevant to the present grant. The three lines of writing on the lower portion, the first consisting of four *aksharas* only and the

¹ The syllables within the brackets are indistinct. Probably the engraver, through mistake, repeated the phrase *Yaditamastu bhavatam*, and then tried to cancel it by rubbing off the letters.

² The portion of the plate before this letter is very damaged, and there might have been two or three letters. The last one, immediately preceding *Va*, seems to be *tra*. There might be the word *atra*.

³ These three letters are very indistinct as this portion of the plate is very damaged.

⁴ The letter *sā* is very indistinct. Read -*Śaś āvdē*.

⁵ Read *Aśadhā*.

⁶ Read *vēśya* or *Vaiśya*.

⁷ There is a dot over *ka*, but I doubt whether it was intended for *anusvāra*, as this is usually represented in this plate by a circle to the right of the consonant.

other two of nine each, in clearer and bigger letters, were evidently engraved later without first completely smoothing the surface, for it shows traces of a previous engraving a considerable part of which can still be read. It presents the same text as found in ll 27-32 of our inscription. It also betrays the same hand to which the incision of the present charter is due. Probably, the engraver, while incising the record on the plates, omitted the text contained in the ll 24-26. But later, when he had engraved the subsequent six lines, he discovered his mistake. Thereupon he rejected that plate and carved afresh on the other one, beginning with what he had omitted. The rejected engraving was left as it was. The later addition of the three lines of writing in bigger characters, though quite clear, does not yield any coherent sense to me.

The alphabet belongs to a Northern variety and resembles closely that of the other known records of the king, *Dēvēndravarman*. The writing is cursive and is rather carelessly done. It does not look uniform. There are even instances where two independent syllables have been written with one flowing stroke, cf °śah of *luśah*, l 14, and °śatī of *samādīśatī*, l 16. In these as well as in certain other cases, the letter ś does not show the central bar which is shown clearly elsewhere, e.g., in *śasāmka*, l 5. Several letters exhibit each more than one form, cf *g* in *-dagarān=*, l 3, *-gurē*, l 4, *bhagavatō*, l 6, and *Gāng-*, l 8, *ṛ* in *ṛṇaya°*, l 2, *-janita*, ll 9-10, *-ṇaya*, l 10, *t* in °rtu, l 1, *-pātīśhīr°*, l 4, °gata l 8, *-tīlakō*, l 9, *-janitā*, ll 9-10, and *samavīlām*, l 15, *d* in *samādīśatī*, *vidītam=*, l 16, and *ādībhāh*, l 26, *n* in *-ānu°*, l 1, and *janita*, ll 9-10, *r* in *sa-char-āchāra*, l 4, *l* in *Kalāṅga*, l 2, and °mala *kūla tīlakō*, l 9, ś in *śasāmka*, l 5, śarḍa, l 10, and *-dandapāśīk*, l 26, *s* in *sa char-āchāra*, l 4, *sa[ḷa]la*, ll 4-5, and *-saghatta*, l 9, etc. Moreover, only in one instance, *m* has its Nāgarī form, whereas in all the other cases it has been represented by its ancient form. Both of them may be compared in *Śrīsāmāntēna* and *pravarāddhamāna* in the last line *re*, l 38. It may further be noticed that, except in one or two cases, the medial long ī has throughout been represented by the sign of the medial short i, the exceptions being °līr°, l 37, and śrī, l 38. In like manner the signs of medial *u* and *ū* are not distinguished that of the former representing the both.

The record is composed in Sanskrit prose, except that three verses occur in ll 28-36. It offers only a few noteworthy points of orthography. The consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled, see for example *sarivartu*, l 1, *nirman*, l 5, *-Rājēndravarmā*, l 13, *Yajurvīda*, l 18, *Gōvindaśarmanē*, l 19, and *-kuttay[ō]*, l 35. In most cases *v* is used for *b*, like in *-sarḍa*, l 10. *Anus-vāra* is used instead of the class nasal, in *śasāmka*, l 5, *-kalāmīdā*, l 8, *-āmbu*, l 33, etc., as well as for the final *n*, cf *samavīlām*, l 15, and *jānapadām*, l 16. In certain instances an *aśhara* or *visarga* has been wrongly left out, e.g., in ll 2, 6 and 8. A few more mistakes of spelling, possibly attributable to the engraver, will be noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The charter records the gift of a village called *Puruṣvanā* (?) in *Bukudrivāka* or *Bukudravakōṇa*, in *Lōhadhr̥ṅgara*, by the Ganga king *Dēvēndravarman*, son of the *Mahārāja Rājēndravarman*, to one *Gōvindaśarman*, son of *Blhittī Nārīyana*. The donee is described to be a resident of a place in *Uttara Rādhā*, a member of the *Vatsa gōtra* and a follower of the *Yajurvīda* and the *Katha charāna*. The name of the donee's native place could not be clearly made out. The name of the donated village which may be read as *Purushthanā* or *Puruṣvanā* occurs in l 21, but the subsequent details are not clear, as that part of the inscription is badly disfigured.

What is of chief importance in this record is its date which is the year 308. Although it is indicated only by decimal figures, yet there can be no uncertainty or ambiguity about its reading. This mention of date throws, as we shall presently see, a decisive light on the date, which up till now rests on a mere surmise, of another grant of the same ruler.

Besides the present one, three more records are known of the same Dēvāndravarma, namely (1) Bangalore Plates,¹ (2) Chicacole Plates² and (3) Tekkal Plates³. The first of these, like the present one, has been issued from Kalanganagara, but it contains no date beyond mentioning an *ayana samkrānti* on which occasion the village Sidhatā of the Varāhavartanī *viśaya* is stated to have been granted to an individual "in order to provide for the worship and offerings to (the god) Paramēśvara". The Chicacole grant, it is reported, "records the gift of the village Virin-tika in the Pushkarinī *viśaya* to four brothers"⁴. It is undated, and it has been issued from Kalanganagara. The Tekkal Plates have been edited by Dr Hultzsch. This record has likewise been issued from Kalanganagara and it is dated. The wording of the date is, however, doubtful. The editor has supposed it to be the year 310. This supposition now becomes most acceptable in the light of the present record, as has been pointed out above. The year refers itself to the Ganga era the initial date of which has been much discussed, but not yet been quite settled. Recently Mr R Subba Rao has outlined a history of the Gangas of Kalanga. According to his calculation, the Ganga years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A D 802 and A D 804,⁵ which may not be far wrong, if not exact. This date may, moreover, be borne out by the palaeographical evidence.

The name Dēvāndravarma has been borne by several Ganga kings. That of our record stands, in the genealogical order, as Dēvāndravarma IV.⁶ That the self same person figures as the grantor in all the four, dated and undated, records described above, is evident from two main considerations: firstly in all the instances he is mentioned as the son of Rājendravarma, and secondly all the four charters have evidently been engraved by one and the same person. Moreover, except for the Bangalore grant which does not mention the composer's name, the re-

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol IX, Bn 140, and Plates, see also the Introduction, p 9 (text on p 33 of the section called *Text of the Inscriptions in Roman characters*, and translation on pp 26 f. of the section called *Translations of the Inscriptions*). It is stated that there is the figure of an 'elephant on the seal'. Possibly the figure of a bull has been mistaken here for that of an elephant. Moreover, the editor assigns the plates roughly to A D 700, of course without the knowledge of the dated records of this Dēvāndravarma.

² *An Rep on S I Epigraphy*, 1918-19, Appendix A, No 7. These plates have been published first in Telugu by R Subba Rao in the *Rao Sahib G V Ramamurti Pantulu Garu Commemoration Volume*, pp 294 f. and later in English by C Narayana Rao and R Subba Rao jointly in the *J A H R S*, Vol VIII, pp 185 ff.

³ Above, Vol XVIII, pp 311-313, and Plates.

⁴ According to the editors, while the name of the village is *Virinika*, it was granted "to Hētilōka, son of Vilachi" (*J A H R S*, Vol VIII, p 193). It may be pointed out that the text given by the editors is obviously inaccurate in several places. Their account, therefore, may not entirely be depended upon. At the same time, it may be admitted that the writing on the plates is not very clear.

⁵ The reading is *śata mayē daś ōttarā*. The first compound is suggested to be a clerical error for *śata trayā*, cf. above, Vol XVIII, p 312, and *A R on S I E*, 1923-24, pp 97-98.

⁶ *J A H R S*, Vol VI, pp 196-97. See also *A R on S I E*, 1911-12, p 45, where the origin of the Eastern Ganga era has been discussed, and almost the same conclusion has been reached.

⁷ This is according to R Subba Rao, whereas according to some other views, he is Dēvāndravarma III, see e.g., B. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol I, p 234.

maining three have likewise been composed by an identical individual Both the composer and the engraver bear titles, as is shown below —

Plates	Composer	Engraver
Bangalore	<i>Nal</i>	Sri Kharḍivāli
Chicacolo	Sarvachandra Śrīśānta	Śrīśānta Khandimala
Tel kah	Rahasya ¹ Śrīśānta Sarvachandra	Al śhaśālin Śrīśānta Khandimala
Indian Museum	Rahasya Sarvachandra	Al śhaśālin Khandimala Śrīśānta

Notwithstanding the variant readings presented and in spite of the omission of titles in certain cases, we may safely assume that the composer and the engraver, in each case, were respectively *Rahasya Śrīśānta Sarvachandra* and *Al śhaśālin Śrīśānta Khandimala*.

The official titles *Rahasya* and *Al śhaśālin* are met with also in several other Gaṅga records.² They have been rendered by Dr Hultsch respectively as 'private secretary' and 'keeper of records'.³ The latter term perhaps simply denotes 'an engraver'.

Among the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kalinganagara* has been identified with Mukhalngam, a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjām District, while *Uttara Rādhā* is that part of Bengal which includes a portion of the district of Murshidābād. I am unable to identify the other places occurring in the record.

TEXT⁴

First Plate, First Side,

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasty= Amarapur ānukīrṇaḥ sarva artu
- 2 sukha ramani(nī)yā[d*]=vijayavatī(tali) Kula(l)uga
- 3 da(na)garān=Mahānda(ndr ā)chala (l ā) mala śikhara
- 4 pratīśhlīda(tī)sya sa char āchara gurū(ō)[h*] sa-
- 5 [ka]ḥa [bh]uvana nirma(rmā)n aīka⁶ su(sū)tradhārasya śaśāntaka-
- 6 chu(chū)dīmanī[r*]=[bha]gava[tō⁷] Gō⁸karṇa¹⁰-śrīśānta=cha-
- 7 rana [ka]mala-

First Plate, Second Side

- 8 yugala pī(pra)na(nū)ma(mā)[d*]=vī[ḷ]gata kaḥ kaḥ[m] ā(kō) Gāṅg ā
- 9 māḥa kula tilakō=nīka samāra sa[m*] ghatta jani
- 10 ta jaya śrīvda(bdali) pratāp ā[vī]janta samasta śīma-
- 11 [n*]ta chūdāmanī prabhū⁹ māñjari(rī) puñja rāñji-

¹ This reading is due to restoration

² See, for instance, *Ind Ant*, Vol XXIII p 145

³ Above, Vol III, p 21

⁴ From the impressions

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ This *ti* looks more like *ni*

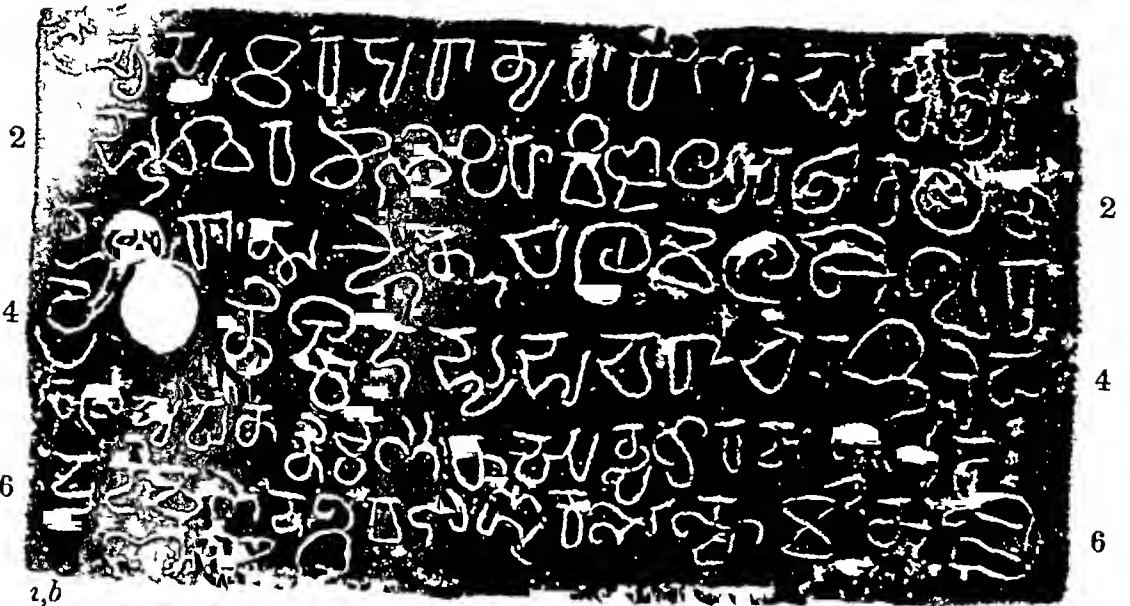
⁷ This letter has a peculiar form. It no doubt stands for *la*. In *ūtanata*, l 10, *ta* has an almost līc shape, but in that case only the central dash is superfluous.

⁸ The right hand curve attached to the *ka* is superfluous here. Usually it represents medial *u* in this inscription, see, for example, in *kubali*, l 14.

⁹ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

¹⁰ The doubling of the consonant is doubtful here.

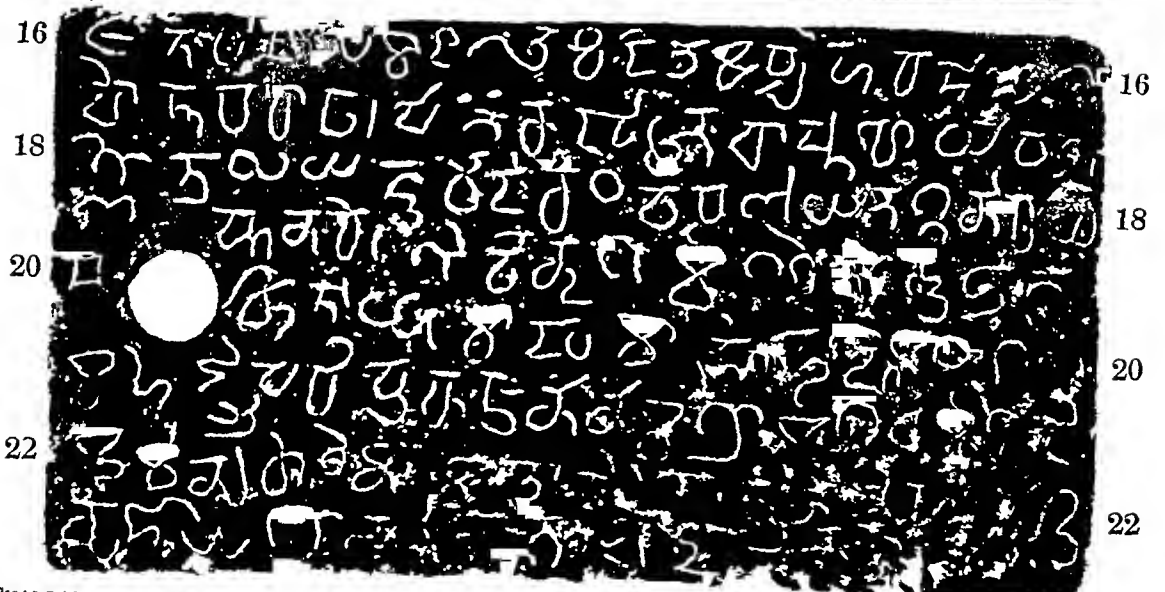
2, a



2, b

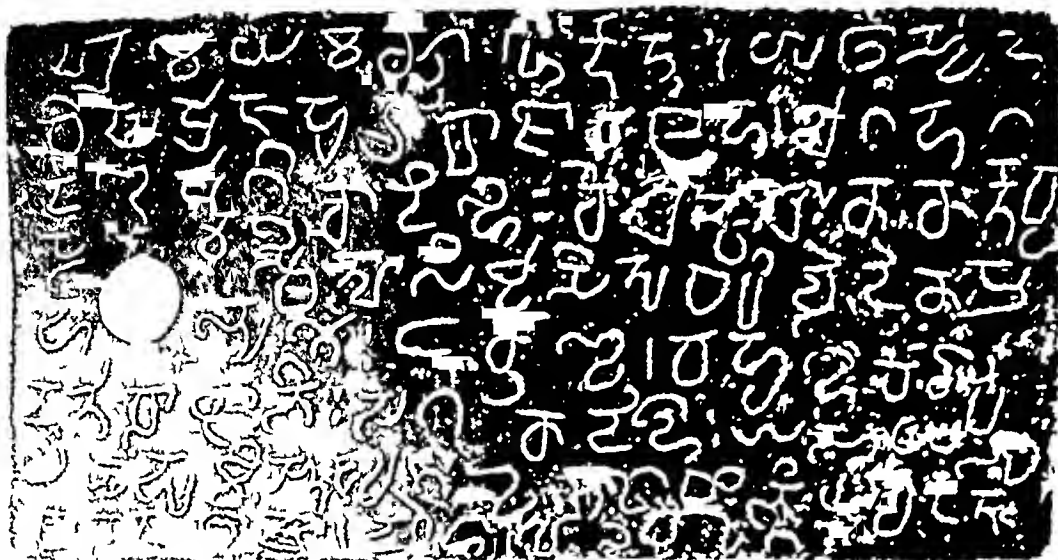


22, a



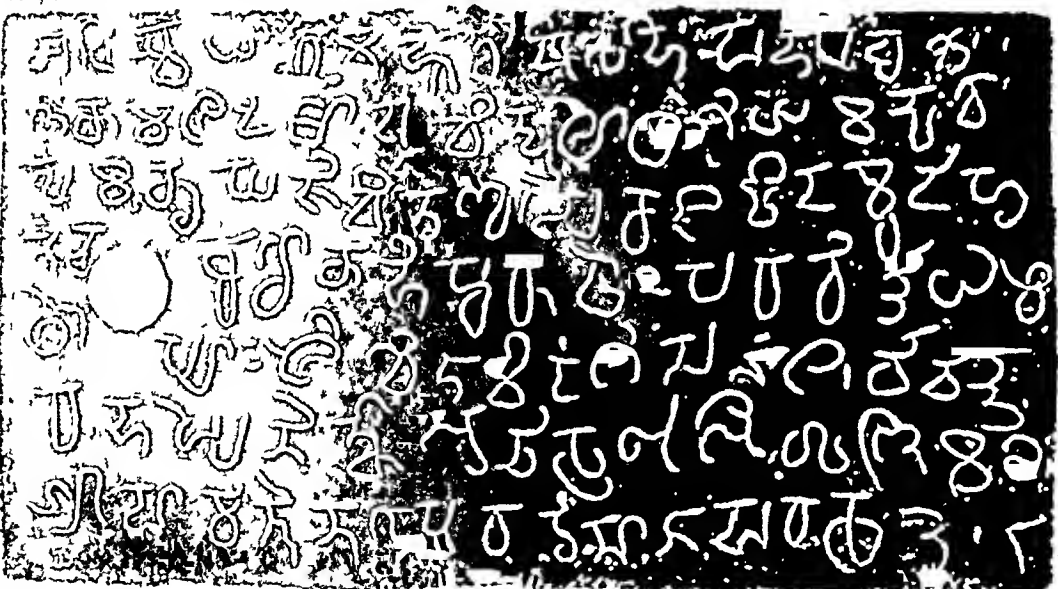
u, b

24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30

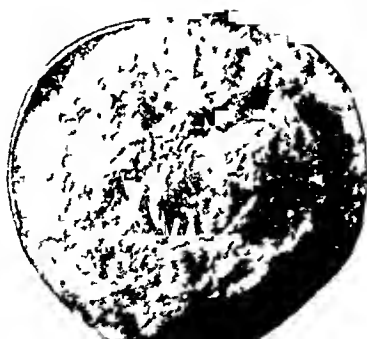


u, u

32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38



Seal



- 12 ta charana[h*]¹ parama mähcśvara(rō) mātā pitri
 13 pād ānudhyāta(tō) Mahārāja śri(śrī)-Rājēndravarma-
 14 su(sū)nu[h*] śri(srī) Dēvēndravarma(rmā) kuśali(li) ² Lōhadhanga-
 15 ra samva(ba)ndhim Bukudravakē sa³ samavēt⁴[ā]m(n)

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 jānapadām(n) sama(mū)disatī vīditam=astu bhavatā[m yathā ?]
 17 ch=Öttara-Rādha ² Pā[ta⁵]ka[bō]ya⁶ ?] vāstavyāya Vatsa-
 18 gōtrīya Yajur vīda katha charanāya bhatta Nāra(rā)ya-
 19 nā su(sū)navī ² Gōvīndasarmānē
 20 ba(pa)nditāya Māgha-māsē
 21 ma parī Furushtha(or jva)nā-nāma-grāma[s=trī dharma . . .
 22 mām-ānuvō(bō)[dhcna][mā]tā pī[tr]ō[r=ātma]nās=cha pu[ny] ābhi-
 23 vīd[dh]ajyāc śāsa⁷ . . . chandr-ā⁸

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 grī(grā)mī(mō)=yam=asmābhur=datta[h] | yatō⁹=sya bha-
 25 vish⁴ad rāja pu(pū)rva rājā(ja) va[l*] labha ² chāta-bhata-
 26 dandapāśik ādībhuh kē(kai)[ś]=chid=ā(bī)dhā na kartavy[ā] [l*]
 27 pūrva¹⁰ sthityā sī(sī)mā sctū pancch¹⁰(chchhī)dc na pra-
 28 bhasyatc¹¹ uktañ=cha | Va(Ba)hubhur=vasu[dh]ā
 29 da[t*]tā rājābhuh Sagarī¹² ādībhuh [*] yasya yasya
 30 yādā¹³ bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam)¹⁴ [l*] [l*]¹⁵ Sva datām(ttām)
 31 parā-datām(ttām)vā ² yō harīta vasumdharam(rām) [l*]

¹ A dash and a dot above are superfluously added to the left hand vertical stroke of the *pa* That they may have stood for an *upadhmānīya* is highly improbable Besides, the right hand vertical stroke of the *pa* is abnormally long

² The *danda* is unnecessary

³ This syllable seems to be redundant Mr N L Rao reads *Bukudravakē* in which case there will be no superfluous syllable

⁴ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable

⁵ The reading *ta* is tenable, only if the dash and the two dots above it are regarded superfluous

⁶ The reading is very uncertain Moreover, in case of the suggested reading, the form of *j* would be Nāgarī.

⁷ Read probably *sasancna*

⁸ The corresponding phrase in the Tekkalī Plates is *chandr āditya paryantam*

⁹ Perhaps we have to read this syllable as *pu* and correct it into *pū*, but the vowel sign here is quite different from that in the *pu* of the *purīa*, l 25

¹⁰ There is a curve below the *ch*, but it can hardly represent the required *chh* after the *ch*

¹¹ Read perhaps *prabhāshyat* The *visarga* after this word must originally have been intended to be a *danṭa*.

¹² The syllable *rā* here resembles the *la* as seen in *alā*, l 5

¹³ The right hand portion of the *ya* looks separated from it and affixed to the next letter

¹⁴ There is a sign after *phalam*, perhaps meant to be the required double *danda*

¹⁵ Metro *Anushubh*

the Parlakimedi¹ plates on palaeographical grounds. The former appears to be the son of Prithivivarman who issued a Guṇṭin grant² which like the present record was also issued from Śvēt(ā)ka, written by the *Samdhūgrahin* Śrī Sāmanta, and engraved by Svayambhu. The name of this Indravarmān is known from our plates for the first time. He is described as *Kōkalāvalapura-pattanavirgata* (ll 7-8). Prithivivarman, father of Indravarmān, also calls himself *Kōlāulapurapattanaka* &c., belonging to the city of Kōlāulapura. Generally the Eastern Ganga kings have the title *Kōlāhalapuravarāṇśvara* (Lord of the city of Kōlāhala). The terms Kōkalāvalapura, Kōlāhalapura and Kōlūlupura seem to denote one and the same place which has been identified by Mr L. Riee with Kolār in the Mysore State. Indravarmān bears the title of *Nandagirinātha*, or the Lord of Nandagin, which has been identified with the well known fortified hill to the west of Kolār District, Mysore, now called Nandidroog.³ It may be noted that both the above titles were also adopted by some of the Western Chālukya⁴ and Western Ganga⁵ kings.

The inscription was written by the *Samdhūgrahin* who also bears the designation Śrī Sāmanta but his name seems to have been omitted. It was engraved by the *Śrēṣṭhin* the Śrī Sāmanta Svayambhu of the brahmin class, son of Nripa, and registered by the Vaishnavī Śrī-Gōsvāminī Śrī Mahādēvī by which the chief queen may have been referred to.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm^o svasṭi (i*) Śvēt(ā)ka ādhishṭhānād-bhagavataḥ saharācchara-gurōḥ |⁷ sa(śa)-
- 2 kalarasasīmukha^o śākhara dharasya |⁷ sthity-utpatī(tti) pralya-kārana^o-hē-
- 3 tōr=Mahācndrāśha(cha)la si(śi)khara māsī(si)nah śrīmah(ma)dah(d) Gōkarna(nē)sva(śva)ra-
bha
- 4 ttīrakasya ccharana kamalātrādhanaṭṭ(d=a)vūpta punya(nya)machaya(yah) ||⁷ śakṭi(kti)-
traya pralā
- 5 riśh ānuranjita(ā)śāśa¹⁰ sāmanta cakra[h*] śva(śva) bhujā va(ba)la-parākram ākrānta sa-
- 6 kalyā Kalīngādhirāj(īyala) |⁷ parama-māhātārō mātā-pitṛi-pād ānu-
- 7 dhyātō |⁷ Gaṅga-ūmla kulā tilaka[h*] |⁷ śrī Nandagirinātha[h*] Kōkalāvala-
- 8 pura pattana virgata kāmalya varayaghōsa-mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-pa-
- 9 ramāśvara paramabhittāraka-śrī-Indravarmadēva[h*] kusa(śa)li śrī-Prithi-
- 10 vārmadēva sutah Hallanyara viśhaṭ(yē) yathākālādhyaśi-mahāsā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 11 manpa(nṭa) śrīśāmantā rājanaka rājaputra-kamārāmāty utpa¹-dandanā-
- 12 yakah(ha) viśhaṭyapātī [grā]mapātī(tin) anyā(nyīm)ś=cha chīta bhā(bha)ta vallabha jē
- 13 tī(tī)ya[n*] rātrakuta kutumvīnām¹² sāmavājika¹³ sāmanta-janapadānā(dān) sa-
- 14 mādisatī viditam=astu bhavatā |¹⁴ etad viśhaya samvandha¹⁵ grāmō=yam Tana-

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 131

² *Imp Gaz*, Vol XVIII, p 359

³ *Ibid*, Nos 95, 121, 125, 130, 132 and 133

⁴ *Danda unnecessary*

Karana has been omitted in the Sāmantavarma inscription. Above, Vol XV, p 277

¹⁰ Read *-pralarsh ānuranjita āśha*

¹² Read *rashṭra āja Puṣumbūza*

¹⁴ *Danda unnecessary* Read *lām=ēlād*

² Above, Vol IV, pp 198 f

⁴ Kielhorn's *List of S I Inscr*, Nos 168, 170a

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ Read *śasānka*

¹¹ Read *ōparika*

¹³ Read *samavajulan*

¹⁵ Read *sambodhā*

- 15 rdā nāma sa jala sthal ārānya¹ chatuh si(sī)m ōpalla(la)kshitañ(taś)=cha²
 16 Chhāndōga charanāyah(ya)³ Rārānī³ sā(śā)khāya² Vāchba(Vatsa) gōtrāya² pā(pa)ñcha-
 17 pravarāya || Aurvva(Aurvva) Bhri(Bhri)gu Chyavana A(Ā)pnavāna Jāmadagnī(ni)|| tatha iva
 (tath=aiva)
 18 anupavarā[h*] pañcha || bhātputra-Duga(rga)khandi[n*] ||² bhatta-Vō(Bō)dhana-
 sutah(tāya) ihī
 19 va (ih=aiva) su(sū)rya grahanē² datā⁴ mātā pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha² punya(nya)-
 pravridhaē(dddhayt) ² salī(li)-
 20 [la*] dhārā-purahsarēpa⁵ ² chandr ārka sthiti ² -sama kāla[m*] a karī(rī)kritya ² pratipā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 21 *pādītō=smābhur=yatam⁷ ² sū(śū)sana darasanāt dharma-gauravāht-tasmādah dgau-
 22 ravā cha⁸ na kīna-chipta(t=pa)ripantīnā bhavitavya[m*] tathā cha pathyatī dharma śūstrī
 []⁹Va-
 23 hubhur=vasudhā datā rājānai Sagar-idhūbhūh []¹⁰ yasya yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya ta-
 24 dā phalam []¹⁰ Mā bhumi phala-saukā va para dat=ēti pārthiva ¹⁰ Haratē harayatē
 25 bhumi manda vudhī tamā-viṭa[]¹⁰ sa vadhdhō Vārunai pāsai turya-yō
 26 nyāñ=cha gachhati|| Sva datām para datām=ā yō harētī vasundharā | sha
 27 viśthāyā krimur=bhūtvā pīribhūh saha pachatī || Hī[ra*]nvam=ckam gōmē
 28 kañ=cha ² rbhum ēkam chātūr-āṅgulam []¹⁰ baran=narakamm=āyātī yāv ad=āhu
 29 ti samplava || Sashtim=varisa satāni svagram mōdatī bhūmija || ()¹⁰

Third Plate

- 30 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā[cha*]tāny=e[va*] narakam vñjēt || sva dānāt phalam kuryā
 31 paradatt ānupālanam []¹¹ ubhau tō punya karmānau niyatō svarga gā-
 32 minau || Iti kamala-dal āmvu vīndu lōlā[m] śrīyam=anu-
 33 chintyā manusya jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛtam vudhā
 34 na hi purusa para kirtayō vilōpyā|| līkhitam=idam sa-
 35 ndhuvigrahi śrī sāmamtēna || utlīrnañ=cha¹² sā(śā)sanam kamsārā kulaputraka-
 36 śrēṣṭhī(śthī) śrī sāmanta Svayambhūnā Napa suttēna¹³ | lūñchhitañ=cha parama-
 37 vaishnavī ¹⁴śrī Gōsvāmī(nī) śrī mā(ma)hādēvyā || uny-āksharam=adīdhikāksha
 38 ram=vā¹⁵ tat sarvva[m] pramānam=itih(tī) || ॐ ||¹⁶

¹ Read *aranyas-*

² Read *Raṇayanīya*

³ Read *purahsaram*

⁴ Read *yatah*

⁵ Read *darśanād dharma gauratād asmad gauratach=cha*

⁶ Reading of these verses is hopelessly incorrect Since they are well known no correction is made.

⁷ The second half of this verse is found in II 30 31

⁸ The first half of this verse has been omitted.

⁹ Read *utlīrnañ cha*

¹⁰ Read *Nripa sūtēna*

¹¹ Read *vaishnavī*

¹² Read *ān āksharam-adhik āksharam va*

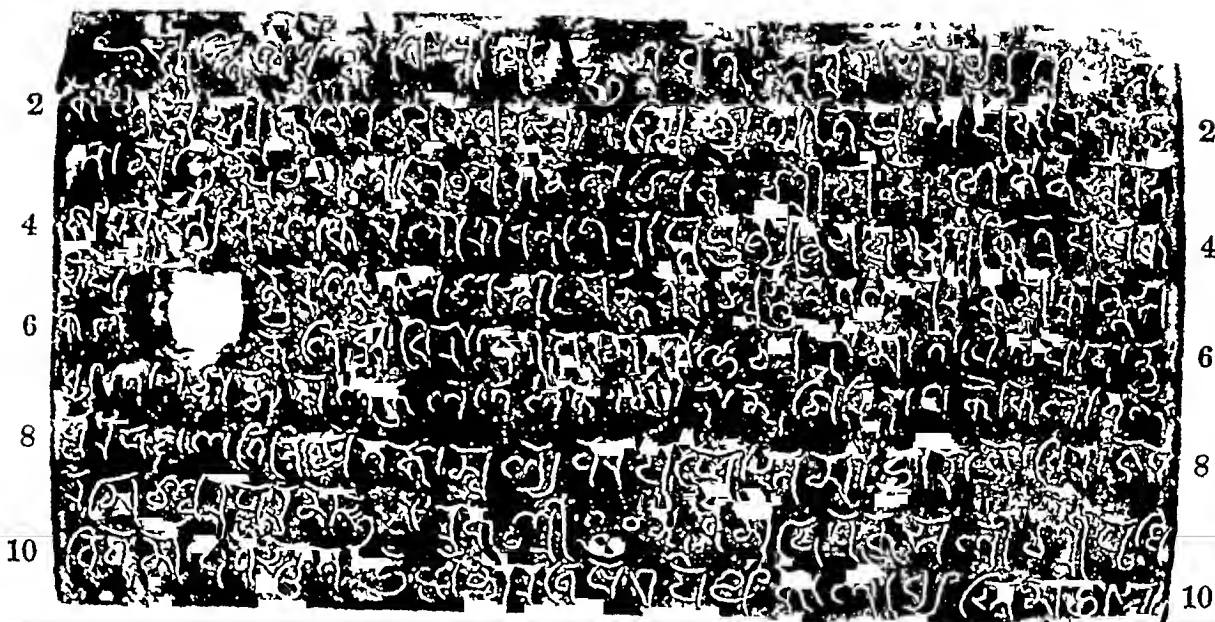
¹³ There is a symbol after this.

² *Daṇḍa* unnecessary

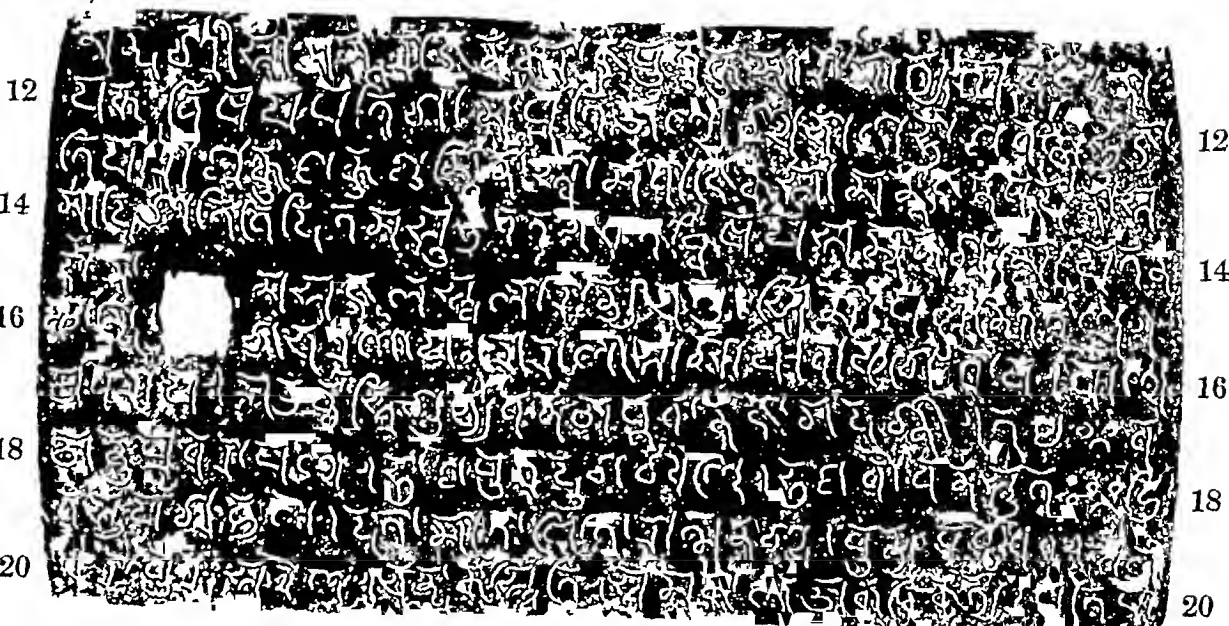
⁴ Probably intended for *dattā* which is superfluous

⁶ This *pā* is superfluous

2

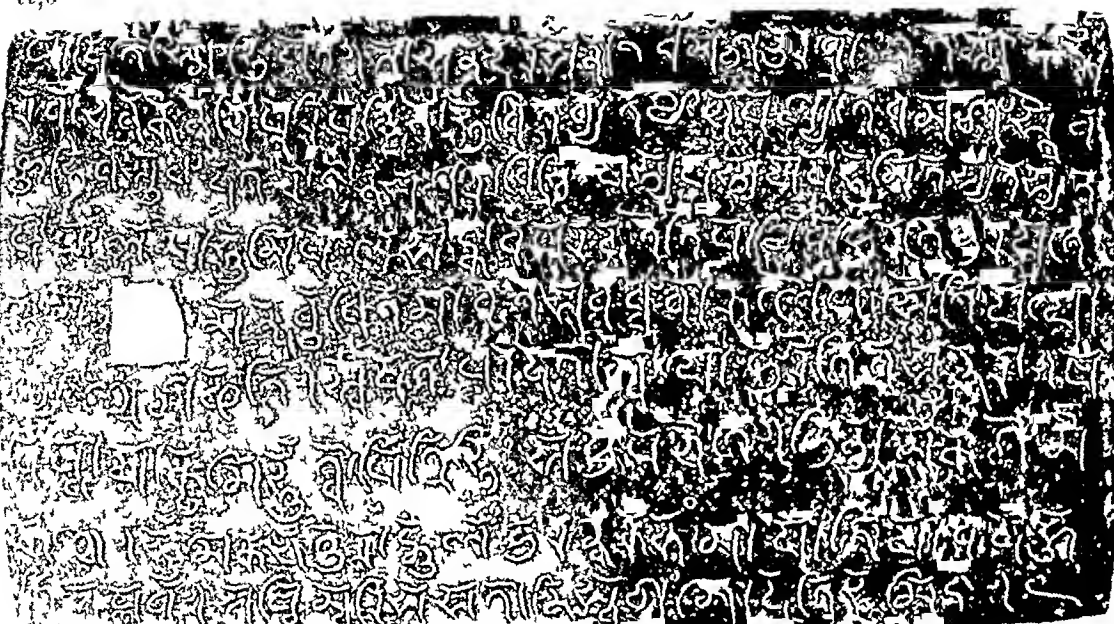


11, a



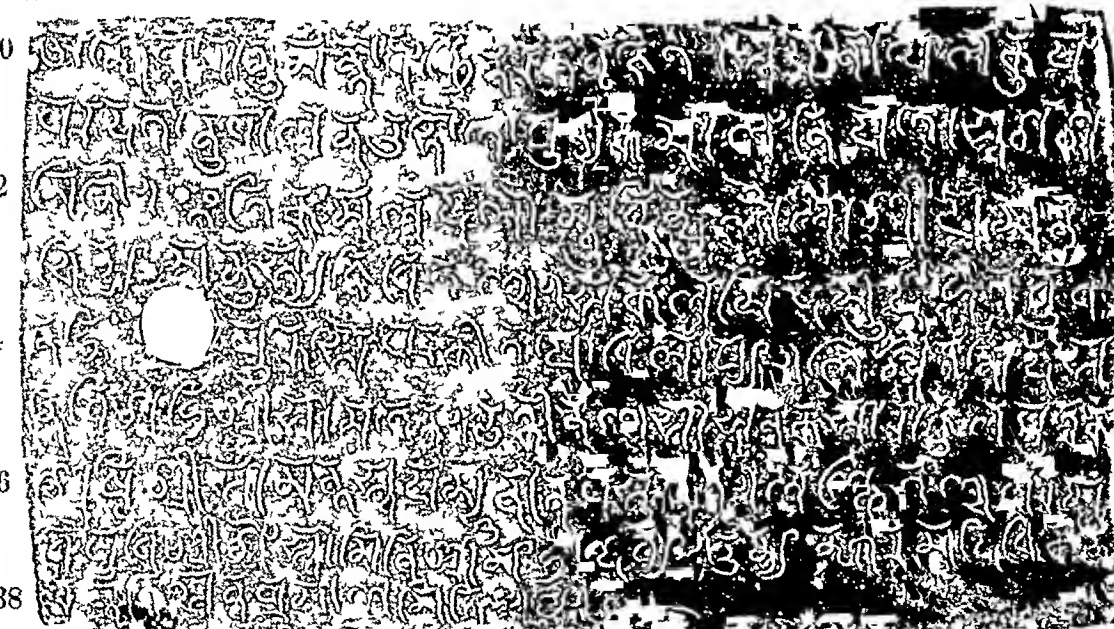
u, b

2 22
24
26
28



iii

30 30
32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38



No 14 —PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

Pattan is a substantial village with a population of about 1,500 souls in the Multāi *tahsil* of the Betul District, Central Provinces. It lies about 10 miles south of Multāi, on the Multāi-Amrāoti road. Tradition says that the original village was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muhommadan saint Sulaiman Shah¹. Even now when excavations are made, large size bricks, beads of onyx and coins are found, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. The present plates were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. Mr Rajaram Jain, Head Master of the local Vernacular Middle School, first brought them to notice in the beginning of the next year. Finding himself unable to decipher the record, he made fairly accurate eye copies of it, one of which reached the hands of Mr M A Suboor, of the Central Museum, Nagpur. The latter took immediate steps to acquire the plates for the Museum and thoroughly cleaned them when they were received. They are now deposited in the Museum. I edit them here as desired by Mr Suboor.

They are five copper plates of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6 9" by 4" and is about 1" in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1 9" from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, the ring had been straightened, and its seal, which is a round disc, 3" in diameter, separated from it. The usual band, to which the seal must have been rivetted, is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 *tolas* and that of the seal 8½ *tolas*.

Some of the plates have cracked at the edges. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. The letters were deeply cut. Some of them show through on the reverse, especially in the case of the first and last plates which are somewhat thinner than the rest. Many letters in the right half of l 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. The record consists of 47 lines. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines incised on it. The seal contains the usual Vākātika legend in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those of the Tīrōḍi plates². They include the signs for the initial short *i* in l 27, long *ī* in l 46 and for the initial short *u* in l 28. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *ī* is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case by a curve turned in the opposite direction, cf *Bhāgīratthy*, l 7, and in another by a dot in the circle, cf *Śī Pravarasēnasya*, l 19, the *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are added at the foot of the letters *m* and *kh*, see *°m-Āptōryyām Ōkthya*, l 1, *Āśvamēdha*, ll 2-3 and *Varadākhēta*, l 20, the medial *ō* is cursive in *Lōhanagar*, l 20, the medial *au* is everywhere bipartite, see *Gautamīputra*, ll 8 9, the subscript forms of *n* and *ṇ* are not distinguished, while those of *j* and *b* have no notch on the left, see *utpannasya*, l 18, and *suvarṇna*, l 45, -*ārjjava*-, l 10, and *āyur-bbala*, l 27, a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal line at the top (see *Pravarapurāt*, l 1, *dattam*, l 23, etc). The *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and

¹ Betul District Gazetteer, p 256² Above, Vol XXII, pp 167 ff.

in l 3 of the legend on the seal. Punctuation is marked by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. It abounds in mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives, etc., most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of orthography, we find *sunōh* everywhere written for *sūnōh* (see ll 4, 9, 15 and 16), *Bhārasīnānām* for *Bhārasīvānām* in l 8, *atyantya* for *atyanta*, ll 4 and 10, *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Prithivī*, l 14, and *vice versā* in *kṛiyābhī*-, l 35, similarly *li* is used for the vowel *li* in *-kṛipt* *ōpakkṛiptah* in l 33, the dental *n* is used for the lingual *n* in *kārunya*, l 10 and *puny*, l 38, the *anusvāra* before a sibilant is incorrectly changed to the dental nasal in *ansa*, l 5, and to the guttural in *vanśā*, l 6 and *saptāvīnśē*, l 43. Other instances of orthographical mistakes are furnished by *datyā*, l 28 *dhimātra*, l 11, *agrāhāra*, l 30, *vēshu*, l 32, etc. In many cases rules of euphony have not been followed or have been violated, see for instance *-nyulāh ājñā*, l 24, *gunai samupāśasya*, l 12, *aganayamāna svalpām*, l 36, etc. For mistakes of declension, see *samrāt* for *samrājah* in l 3, *pūrvvāyā* for *pūrvvayā* in l 25, etc., and for those of conjugation, notice *kārayita* for *kārayit*, l 36 and *kuryyāmah* for *kuryyāma*, l 37. Attention may also be drawn here to the verbal derivatives *vyñāpyēna* for *vyñāptyā* in l 23 and *kārāvaka* for *kāraka* in ll 46-47, and the nominal derivative *rājaka* for *rājākīya*, l 22. The writer has violated the elementary rule of concord in *sutāyāh* *Prabhāvatiguptāyām*, l 17 and in *ēshā pratisrīstah*, ll 26-29, and of compounding in *mūrdhn-ābhishiktān*, l 7. His carelessness is responsible for the repetition of *pūtra gala bhaktitra* in ll 11-12. As regards the orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that the consonant preceding *r* and *y* is doubled in *parāḥkrama*, l 6, *sarvāddhyāsha*, l 24, etc., and that following *r* is similarly doubled in *varddhamāna*, l 13, *dharmma*, l 12, etc.

Like several other Vākātaka records, the present plates contain the word *drishṭa*² in the beginning. They were issued by the *Mahārāja Pravarasēna* II, of the Vākātaka dynasty from *Pravarapura*³. His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called *Dēvagupta*. The present plates record the royal grant of 400 *navartanas* of land by the royal measure⁴ in the village of *Asvatthakhēta* for the maintenance of a *sattra* or charitable hall in honour of the footprints of *Mahāpurusha* (Vishnu)⁵. The village was situated on the road to *Varadākhēta* in the division (*bhāga*) of *Lōhanagara*. The gift was made at the request of *Nārāyanarāja*. The charter was written on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of *Kārttika* in the twenty seventh (regal) year. The scribe was *Kālidāsa* who was serving under the *Sēnāpati* *Kātyāyana*. The record was engraved⁶ by the goldsmith *Īśvaradatta*.

¹ The Chammak plates use the word correctly, see *C I I*, Vol III, p 237

² In the present record its masculine form *drishṭah* is used, whereas everywhere else its neuter form *drishṭam* is met with

³ Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression *rajayilē dharmmassthānē*, 'at the victorious office of justice', occurs in it as it does in similar other Vākātaka grants, cf. above, Vol XXII, p 170

⁴ *Rājaka mānēna*, l 22, like *rāja mānēna* in the Karnūl plates of the Chālukya *Vikramāditya* I (*J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 240) denotes a royal measure as distinguished from local measures which were called '*viśhaya-māna*' as in the Sankhādā plates (first set) of *Dadda* II (above, Vol V, p 39). The second set of the Sankhādā plates of the same king mentions a *brihan māna* 'larger measure' (*Ibid*)

⁵ For a similar grant of a slightly later period see the *Pōdāga* inscription, above, Vol XXI, p 156. For *Mahāpurusha* or *Mahapūrusha* meaning Vishnu see the *Bhagavata Purāṇa*—II, l 10, V 15, 4 and 6, 17, 16 17, VIII, 5, 32, etc.

⁶ With *khātam* 'engraved' cf. *lshatam* in the Rithpur plates of *Bhavattavarman*, above, Vol XIX, p. 103

who was a servant (*santaka*)¹ of Kaundarāja. It is stated at the end that Pītāmaha and Nanda caused the charter to be drafted.²

Till now the latest known year of Pravarasēna II's reign was the twenty third, furnished by his Dudiū³ and Tirōḍi⁴ plates. The present plates therefore increase his reign by about four years. Kaundarāja, whose servant Īśvaradatta incised the present charter, is evidently identical with Kōndarāja,⁵ the son of Śatrughnarāja, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chammak plates was made.

The mention of Kāldāsa in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name. The date of the latter has been for more than a century the subject of controversy, and various theories have been advanced, attempting to fix it in periods ranging from the first century B C to the sixth century A D. Of these the theory which places him in the Gupta age and makes him a contemporary of Chandragupta (II)-Vikramāditya is gradually gaining ground and receiving general acceptance. But nothing short of a contemporary inscriptional record mentioning the poet's name would remove the doubts of sceptics in this matter. The earliest epigraphical mention of this name, so far known, was that in the Aihole *prasaṣṭi* of Pulakēśin II, Śaka 556 (=A D 634).⁶ This is, therefore, the first time that the name Kāldāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period.

Kāldāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant, but that does not *per se* disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet. Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sāndhivagrāhika* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents. Thus the writer of the recently published Tirōḍi plates of this very Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Rājyādhipāṭika*) himself.⁷ The Añjanavatī grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, was written by his Minister for peace and war.⁸ So there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the writer of the present plates was identical with Kāldāsa, the great Sanskrit poet. Recent researches have, again, shown that Kāldāsa was for some time at least connected with the Vākātaka court. From certain passages in the *Kuntalēśvaradautya*,⁹ a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kāldāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*¹⁰ of Rājaśekhara, the *Śṛiṅgaraprakāśa*¹¹ and the *Sarasvatī-lanlābhārāṇa*¹² of Bhōja, and the *Auchityavichāracharchā*¹³ of Kshēmendra, it has been conjectured with great probability that Kāldāsa was sent as an ambassador by his patron Vikramāditya to the

¹ *Santaka* which is connected with the Pāli word *santika* meaning 'proximity, presence' occurs elsewhere as a technical territorial term (see *C I I*, Vol III, pp 118, 120 and 132). It is used in Vākātaka grants in the sense of a subordinate officer or a servant.

² Cf *C I I*, Vol III, p 99 note 3. The word *Kārūṇa* used here corresponds to *Kārūṇa* which occurs elsewhere, e g, in the Fiklingi Stone Inscription, *J B B R A S*, Vol XXII, p 167.

³ Above, Vol III, p 262.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XXII, p 174.

⁵ *C I I*, Vol III, p 237.

⁶ Above, Vol VI, p 3.

⁷ Above, Vol XXII, p 174.

⁸ Above p 18, also *C I I*, Vol III, p 99, note 3.

⁹ The name occurs as *Kuntalēśvaradautya* in the *Auchityavichāracharchā* of Kshēmendra (*Nirṇayasāgara* Press ed, p 130), but it is there probably a mistake for *Kuntalēśvaradautya*.

¹⁰ Gaokwad's Oriental Series, Second edition, pp 99-61.

¹¹ *Śṛiṅgaraprakāśa*, Chapters XXII-XXIV, Intro, p xxi.

¹² *Nirṇayasāgara* Press ed, p 168.

¹³ *Kāvyamāla*, *Guchchha I*, *Nirṇayasāgara* Press ed, pp 139-40.

court of a Kuntalēśa (lord of Kuntala) ¹ He stayed there for some time and when he returned, he reported to his patron that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him (i.e., Vikramāditya) This lord of Kuntala is probably none other than the Vākātaka king Pravaraśēna II, for it was during his reign that Gupta influence was at its highest at the Vākātaka court ² It seems that the Vākātaka princes had assumed the title of Kuntalēśa since the conquest of Kuntala by Prithivishēna I ³ It may be noted in this connection that the author of the *Sētubandha*, who is none other than this Pravaraśēna II, is called Kuntalēśa in the Sanskrit work *Bharatacharita* ⁴ According to a tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Sētubandha* ⁵ Kālidāsa composed the Prākṛit work for Pravaraśēna by the order of Vikramāditya This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha The idea of writing the *Mēghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to his mind at Rāmtēk near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the *Mēghadūta*) which, we know, was a holy place visited by the Vākātakas ⁶ It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālidāsa was attached to the office of the *Sēnāpati* as stated in the present record There is, thus, *primā facie*, nothing against, and much in favour of, the identification of the scribe of the present grant with the illustrious Sanskrit poet

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, and not the engraver, must have been responsible On the other hand, Kālidāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes ⁷ and his works contain fewer instances of solecism ⁸ than those of his predecessors and successors It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālidāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and contemporary of, and not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas Thus we know of Namidāsa a *Sēnāpati*, Chamidāsa the Chief Minister, as well as Chakradāsa and Gōladāsa the scribes of the Poona and Dudiā plates respectively

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant Varadākhēta is probably Warūd in the Morsi *tālulā* of the Amraoti District, about 12 miles due south of Pattan Lōhanagara, the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lōni about 9 miles south-west of Warūd The name of the village Asvattha khētaka, in which the donated land was situated,

¹ For a full discussion on the subject see A. Rangaswami Sarasvati 'Further glimpses into Gupta Literary History' *Quart. J. Mythic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 93 ff., K. S. Aiyangar *Vakatalas and their Place in Indian History*, pp. 40 f., V. V. Mirashi, *Kalidasa* (Marāṭhī), pp. 37 ff., N. Lakshminarayan Rao, 'The Gupta contemporary of Kāṣṭhavarman', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 200 f., K. S. Ramaswami Sastri 'King Pravaraśēna and Kālidāsa', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, pp. 99 ff.

² Note for instance that in both the Poona and Riddhapur plates of the Vākātaka Dowager Queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the genealogy of the Guptas, and not that of the Vākātakas is given in the beginning

³ See the inscription in the Ajanta Cavo A.VI, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 125

⁴ जलशय्यान्तरगोदमार्गमलज्वन्म गिरि चौर्यदत्तः ।

लोकिल्ल कान्तमपूर्वसेतु वनम् कीर्त्त्य सह कुन्तलेश ॥ Canto I v 4 Trivandrum Skt Series

⁵ Nirnayasāgara Press ed., p. 3, see also the colophon of the last chapter, *ibid*, p. 497

⁶ The Riddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 58 ff.) were issued from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri

⁷ *Kumārasambhava*, Canto I, verse 27

See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 214

can no longer be traced, its site seems to be occupied by the modern village of Pattan. It may be noted in this connection that it lies on the way from Multāi to Warūd (ancient Varadākhēta), and thus, answers to the description of its situation in the present plates.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टः¹ [।*] स्वस्ति ॥ प्रवरपुरात्² अग्निष्टोमातोय्यामोवथ्यषो-
- 2 ङ्क्षतिरात्रवाजपेयवृहस्पतिसवसायस्त्रयचतुरश्व-
- 3 मेधयाजिन. विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सन्नाट³ वाकाटका-
- 4 नाम्भाराराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(स्त्र)नोः सु(स्त्र)नोरत्यन्त्य(न्त)स्त्रामिभ-
- 5 हामैरवभक्तस्य अन्त⁴भारभनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्घनशि-
- 6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवङ्गा⁵नाम्भारारक्षमाधिगतभा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 गौरत्या(त्य)मलजलभूर्धर्मा(र्धा)मिषितानान्दशस्वमेधावष्टयस्त्राता-
- 8 नाम्भारशी(शि)वा⁶नाम्भाराराजश्रीभवनाग[दौ]⁷हित्रस्य गौतमीधु-
- 9 त्रपुत्रस्य⁸ वाकाटकानाम्भाराराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु(स्त्र)नोर-
- 10 त्यन्त्य(न्त)माहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्जवकारुण्य(ण्य)शौर्यविक्रमन-
- 11 यविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभ[क्तित्व]⁹पात्रगतभ-
- 12 क्तित्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्भ्यादिगुणै[ः*] समुपेतस्य

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-
- 14 त्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरदत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्भाराराजश्रीप्रियविसे-¹⁰

¹ Read दृष्टम् as in other Vākātaka grants

² Here and in many places below, rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

³ The letter ट् is clear on the original plate. Read सन्नाज

⁴ Read अस

⁵ Read वङ्गा⁶

⁶ The box at the top of the letter त्वा is not completely incised

⁷ The right curve at the top is not sufficiently raised for want of space

⁸ All the other Vākātaka plates discovered so far read गौतमीधुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous. See, above, Vol XXII, p 175. The reading in the present grant shows that the adjectival expressions from अत्यन्तस्त्रामिभहामैरवभक्तस्य onwards qualify रुद्रसेनस्य

⁹ This expression is unnecessarily repeated

¹⁰ Read युधिष्ठिरस्य,

- 15 नस्य सु(सु)नोर्भगवत्तत्क्षपाणिप्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसु-
 16 दयस्य वाकाटकानामहाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु(सु)नो-
 17 म्(म्)हाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाः¹ प्रभाव[ति]गुप्ता-
 18 यामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोप्रसादधृतिकार्त्तशुगस्य वाकाटकाना-

Third Plate, First Side

- 19 म्परमसाहेस्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] ॥
 20 लोहणगराभागे वरदाखेटमार्गे अश्वस्य(त्य)खेटके
 21 सन्नाहणपुरोगो ग्रामो वक्तव्यः [1*] अत्र ग्रामे रा-
 22 जकथमानेन⁴ भूमेर्निवर्तनशतानि⁵ चत्वारि महापुरुषपा-
 23 दमूलसत्तोपयोव्य⁶ नारायणराजविज्ञाप्येन⁷ दत्तम्⁸ [1*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 24 यतोस्मत्सन्तकास्त्वर्वाङ्मनियोगनियुक्ताः आज्ञासच्चा-
 25 रिक्कुलपुत्राधिष्ठाता भट्टाणां वाच विवृतपूर्वा(र्व)याज्ञया-
 26 ज्ञापयितव्याः [1*] विदितमस्तु य(वी) यथे(धै)पाश्चाभिरात्म-
 27 नो धर्मायुर्वलविजयैश्वर्यविहृषये इहासुखहिता-
 28 र्त्त्यमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्वा(त्वा) उदका-
 29 पूर्वस्मत्तिसृष्टः⁹ [1] अथास्योचिताम्पूर्वरा[जा]नुमता चातु-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 30 त्रै(र्वै)द्याया(य)हारमर्थ्यादान्वितराम.¹⁰ [1*] तद्यथा अकरदायो अभट-

¹ The medial *u* sign is faintly seen on the plate

² Read सुताया

³ So in the Seom and Chammak plates Read प्रसादधृतिकार्त्तशुगस्य

⁴ Read राजकीयमानेन

⁵ The engraver has cancelled a wrongly incised stroke on the left of *tu*

⁶ Read *yogyāni* and *dattam*

⁷ It is better to read विनय्या

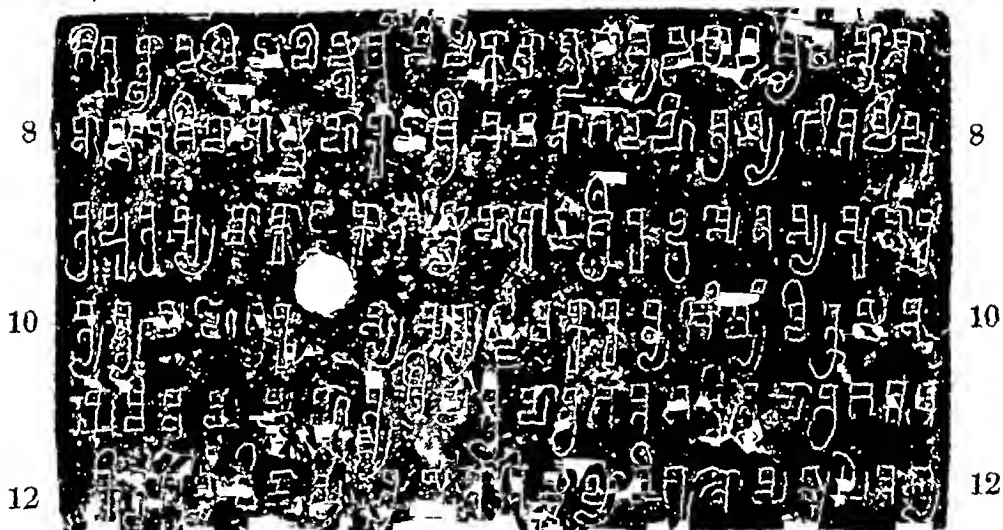
⁸ The engraver first incised the subscript letter as *cha* and then tried to convert it into *chha* by adding a vertical stroke in the middle of the rectangle Contrast the proper form of *chha* in l 42

⁹ The feminine form *या* in l 26 seems to qualify some word like भूमि प्रतिष्ठत is, therefore, required here The writer has, however, used the masculine form throughout, as he has blindly copied the usual draft for the grant of a village (ग्राम) [The intended reference here may be to the *agrahāra* mentioned in l 30 in which case *śh=āmābhīh* should be corrected into *śhō=smabhih* Apparently the 400 *navarānas* of land constituted the *agrahāra* granted to the temple and an expression like *agrahārīkṛtīya* has been omitted before *dattam* in l 23 As such an *agrahāra* would be mainly inhabited by Brahmins, the objections raised by Prof Mirashi in this note and the next do not seem to be justified—Ed]

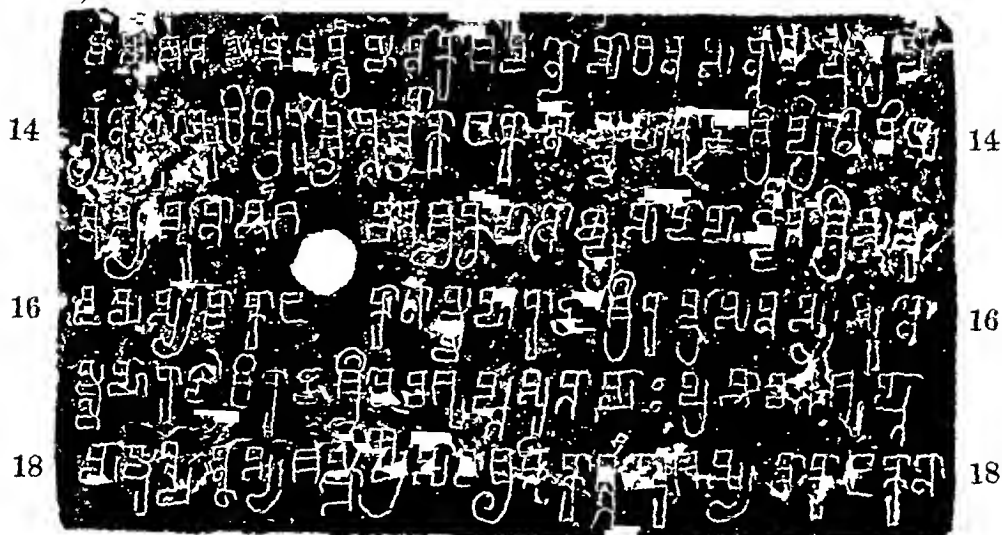
¹⁰ Read मय्यादा वितराम । The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brāhmanas versed in the four lores See also ब्राह्मणैर्वैदितस्य in ll 36 37 below Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of the gift of a whole village



ii, a



ii, b



20 20
22 22

24 24
26 26
28 28

30 30
32 32
34 34

- 31 च्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्यः अपारंपरगोत्रलिखद्. अयुष्यक्षीरसन्दोह[ः*] अ-
 32 पा(चा)रासनचर्माज्जा(ह्वार)र अलवणक्षेत्रिखनक सर्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरीहा-
 33 रपरिहृत[ः*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिस्सक्ति(क्ल)सोपक्ति(क्ल)सः आचन्द्रादित्यका-
 34 लीय. पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुज्यमान(नो) न कोनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य
 35 सर्वक्ल(क्ल)याभिस्स(स्स)रक्षितव्यपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [1*] य[श्चा]स्सच्छासनम-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 36 गणयमान[ः*] स्वयामपि परिवाधा कुर्व्यात्कारयौत वा² तस्य ब्राह्म-
 37 णैर्वैदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रहं कुर्व्यामः(म) [1*] अस्मिन्³ धर्मादरका-
 38 [र*]णि अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन⁴कृतपुन्या(पुन्या)
 39 नुकीर्तनपरिहारात्⁵न्न कीर्तयाम[ः*] व्यासगीतौ चान्न श्लोकौ
 40 प्रमाणौकर्तव्यौ [1*] सदत्ताम्यरदत्ता व्या(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [1*]
 41 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत[म्]⁶ ॥[1*]

Fifth Plate

- 42 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[1*] आच्छेत्ता
 43 चातुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥⁷ [2*] साव्यत्सरे⁸ सप्तविंशे⁹
 44 कार्त्तिकवहुलपक्षसप्तम्याम्¹⁰ सेना तिकाव्यायन-
 45 सन्तकोन लिखित(तं) कालि¹¹दासेन [1*] [कीर्णराजसन्तकोन सुव]¹² रण-
 46 कार¹³ ईश्वरदत्तेन खातं ॥ अस्य शासनस्य कारा-
 47 वकी पितामहनन्दै ॥

¹ As the stroke for medial ā at the side of r was not quite clear, the engraver seems to have added another at the top

² Read *Lārayāda*

³ Read अस्मिन्

⁴ Read परिपालन कृत-

⁵ The *anusūtra* is superfluous

⁶ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

⁷ Read *vasē* [1*] *st* ॥ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*,

⁸ Read सवत्सरे

⁹ Read सप्तविंशे

¹⁰ Read सप्तम्या

¹¹ What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle for *m* dia *s* is probably due to a fault in the plate

¹² The letters in the brackets and those in the next two lines can be read with certainty on the original plate

¹³ Read सुवर्णकारेश्वर¹⁰,

The Seal

- 1 वायव्यकाश(ल)न(ला)मस्य
- 2 क्षेमप्राप्तपथियः [1*]
- 3 राज्ञःप्रवरसेनस्य
- 4 शासनं विमुखासन(नम्) [11*]

No 15 —TANDIVADA GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA 16TH YEAR

By R S PANCHAMUINI, M A, Madras

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of four copper plates received by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from M R Ry M Ram Krishna Kavi Garu, M A, Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, in the year 1917. They are included in Appendix A of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, a C P No 6 of 1916-17 and described in a slip attached to the impression as follows: "There are four copper-plates oblong in shape and bearing a ring hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at about $\frac{3}{4}$ " from the proper right margin. They have writing on the face (small, the first and the last plates being blank on the outer faces). All the engraved faces have very slightly perceptible runs. The plates have an average thickness of about $\frac{1}{16}$ " and measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and a little over 2" in height. It is much to be regretted that the seal of this record, the dynasty of which is not known, is missing."

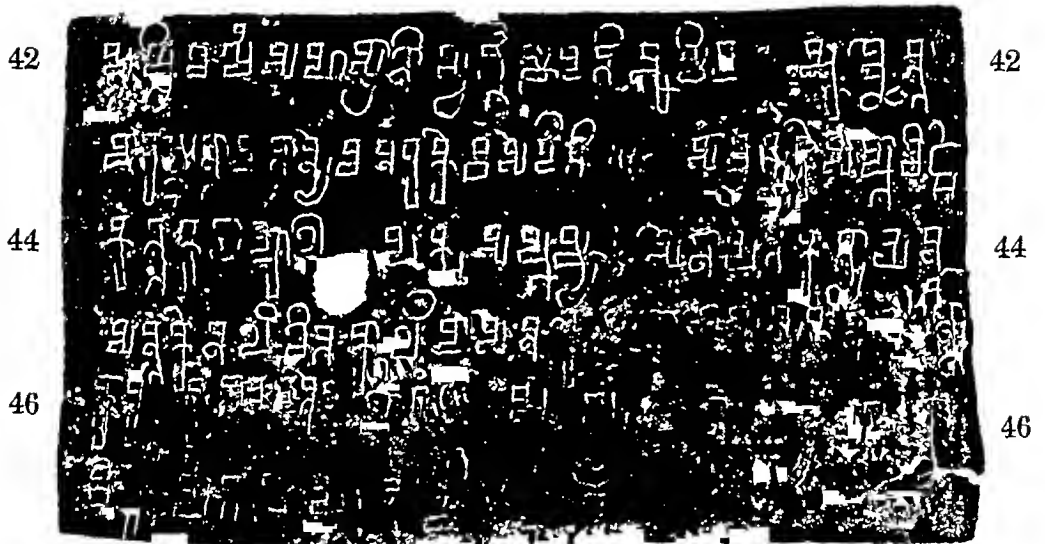
The alphabet is of an early Southern type. It resembles the characters of the Chulukya plates¹ of Vikramāditya Varman, the Pulamūrū grant² of Mādhanavarman the Kopperam plates³ of Pulikēśa II and the Gōdāvarī plate⁴ of Prithivīmūla. The letters of the British Museum plates⁵ of Chārudāyī and the Ipūr plates⁶ of Dēvavarman's son Mādhanavarman are angular in shape and more antique than those of the present inscription. The Pulamūrū grant⁷ and the Peddācūgi plates⁸, both belonging to the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I, appear to be written in more developed characters. Thus the alphabet of the present inscription may be said to belong to the period between the dates of these two sets of inscriptions, i.e., to the beginning of the 7th century A D. The letters *t* and *n* are not distinguished here by a loop as both have a similar shape except that the right curve of *t* is continued on the left side at the bottom. The medial long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by an inside curl at the top as in *Prithivī Mahārāja* (l 8) and *Prithivīśarmmanah* (l 11). The initial *a* is used thrice (ll 11, 19 & 21) and *ā* in two places (ll 23 & 28). Orthography is generally free from errors. The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the three verses at the end.

¹ Above, Vol IV, p 193² M D R, 1913-14, C P No 7, J A H R S, Vol VI, pp 17 ff³ Above, Vol XVIII, p 257⁴ J B B R A S, Vol XVI, p 111.⁵ Above Vol VIII, pp 143 ff⁶ Ibid, Vol XVII, p 137.⁷ Ibid, Vol XIX, p 254⁸ Ibid, Vol XIX, p 258.

vv,b.



v



Seal



The object of the record is to register a grant of the *agrahāra* village 'Tāndivāda in Pāgunāra-vishaya made from Pishtapura by Prithivī-Mahārāja of the Kāśyapa gōtra who bore the *biruda* Śrīrama,¹ son of Vikramēndra and grandson of Mahārāja Ranadurjaya, to Bhavaśarman of the Kīmakāyana gōtra, who was the son of Prithivīśarman and grandson of Vishnuśarman and was a resident of 'Kōndamañchi, on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the 46th year of his reign. The *Ājñāpī* of the grant was Rāmalenrurāja. The donor is extolled as meditating on the feet of his parents, a *parama-brahmanya* and as having subdued the whole circle of the *sāmantas*. His father Vikramēndra is not given the regal title *Mahārāja*, which perhaps indicates that he did not rule at all or his rule was very short and uneventful. The donee is described as a scholar well-versed in the Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Nyāya, Upanishad and Yōga and in 'three thousand sciences' (त्रिसहस्रविद्या) and as the author of twenty commentaries (*vyākhyāna*). His father, Prithivīśarman, had mastered the three thousand sciences and could expound and comment on them and his grandfather, Vishnuśarman, had studied the Śruti and Smṛiti and performed the *Agnishitōma* and other sacrifices.

There is no clue in the record to find out the exact period when Prithivī Mahārāja lived. The language, phraseology and the 'formal elements'² of the inscription are strictly official and unostentatious and remind us of the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallava kings, the plates of the Śālanakāyanas and the Vishnukundins, the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, etc. As stated above, the alphabet belongs to about the beginning of the 7th century A D. Since it is known from the Aihole inscription³ and the Timmāpuram plates⁴ that Pishtapura passed to the Eastern Chālukyas after its conquest by Pulikēśin II and remained in their hands since then, the present record must be assigned to a period prior to that event. A clear understanding of the political situation in the East Coast before the time of Pulikēśin (II)'s expedition will help us to determine the most approximate time when Prithivī-Mahārāja might have lived.

The earliest epigraphical reference to Pishtapura is found in the Allahābād Pillar inscription⁵ of Samudragupta (4th century A D) which shows that the city was held by Mahēndra⁶ at the time of the Gupta king's southern expedition. The Rāgōlu plates⁷ which may belong palaeographically to the 5th century A D, were issued from Pishtapura which was evidently the capital of the Kalinga king Vāsishthīputra Śaktivarman who calls himself "an ornament of the Māthara family". The Kindōppa grant of Anantavarman 'Lord of Kalinga' who belonged to the

¹ See note 1, p 99

² Dr O Stein opines that the "formal elements" in inscriptions "serve as a guide for chronological considerations, when other sources are lacking", see the *Ind Hist Quarterly*, Vol IX, pp 215 ff

³ Above, Vol VI, p 4

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol IX, p 317

⁵ C I I, Vol III, p 7

⁶ This Mahēndra has been conjectured to be a king of the Pallava family (*The Gōdarī Dist Gazett*, p 18). This does not, however, seem likely, since (Pallava) Vishnugōpa of Kāñchi is mentioned separately in the same epigraph. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Pallava territory had extended in the north beyond Kammarāshtra, the modern Guntur District, since the Śālanakāyana Hastivarman was holding the Vēngi country (i.e., the Kistna District) at this period. We know that the Chandālūr plates of Kumāravishnu and the Ōmgōdu grants 1 and 2 mention Kammarāshtra as the district under the control of the Pallavas. The towns of Palakkada, Dasanapura and Menamātura from where the Sanskrit charters were issued, were probably situated in this district (J Dubreuil *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 66). And Kudrahāra *vishaya* of the Śālanakāyanas is identical with Gudrahāra of the later inscriptions, which comprised portions of the Kistna District.

⁷ Above, Vol XII, pp 2 f. The alphabet is similar to that of the Kūdagera plates of the early Kadamba king Śiva Māndhātavarman. Compare also the Bṛhatprōshtha inscription of Umāvarman and the Kōmarti plates of Chāpāvarman which are assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century A D. (*Ancient History of the Deccan* by J Dubreuil, p 94).

Viśiṣṭha lūla is also stated to have been issued from Vijaya Pīṣṭapurādīlūṣṭhāna¹. After Anantavarman, Pīṣṭapura appears to have been a bone of contention between the Kings of Kalinga and the Viśnukundins of Dendakūru who had succeeded the Śīlāukūyanas in the Kṛtṇa and a part of the Guntur Districts, and ultimately to have passed into the hands of the latter whom the Chālukya is of Bidānu conquered in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Since, as stated above, the present charter belongs paleographically to this period, it is necessary to find out exactly when and in what capacity Pīṭhāvī Mahārāja ruled at Pīṣṭapura during the Viśnukundin supremacy in the east coast. This object cannot be accomplished, as is evident from the sequel, without a full discussion of the genealogy and chronology of the Viśnukundin kings.

The most important document of the Viśnukundin family is the Pulōmbūru grant of Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhyavarman III issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in the 18th year² of the king's reign. During the period of about seventy years in the sixth and the seventh centuries to which the record may be assigned on paleographic grounds, lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna occurred in the following years: (1) A.D. 593, February 21, Saturday, (2) A.D. 594, February 10, Wednesday, (3) A.D. 612, February 22, Tuesday, (4) A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday, (5) A.D. 639, February 23, Tuesday and (6) A.D. 678, February 23, Friday. Of these, on (1) and (3), the eclipse was not visible in India, (2) is too early for the 18th year of a king who was defeated, as shown below, in about A.D. 631, by Pulikēśa II or his brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, (5) and (6) are too late for the king who had been defeated with his territory annexed to the Chālukya dominion prior to them. Hence the date of the Pulōmbūru grant may be equated with A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday on which day the lunar eclipse was visible in India³. It is noteworthy that this grant furnishes a few synchronisms for determining the genealogy and chronology of the Viśnukundin dynasty. Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhyavarman is described with the significant epithet *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-paravajra-gatavijayakara-ratik* (l. 8) 'who delighted himself in playing with the maidens in the palace of Trivara-nagara', i.e., the city founded by Trivara who has been identified in the sequel with Mahāśaya Triśardīva of Mahīkōṭa. Secondly, Śivarman, the donee of this record, figures as the father of Rudraśarman who was the recipient of a gift in the Puḥḥūmr grant of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasimha I. In addition to these, other historical and astronomical considerations gathered from the published charters of the family and contemporaneous history will help us considerably in the study of the family. These are: the archaic method of dating the inscriptions in seasons and fortnights, the Viḥātaka Viśnukundin relationship in the time of Mādhyavarman I, an ancient work⁴ on prosody called *Jānāśraya-Chhandōrūchī* written presumably under the patronage of Janāśraya Mahārāja of the Pulōmbūru record which quotes a verse from the *Aṣṭāṅgurpūṇyā* of Bhīṣma, and lastly, the Eastern Chālukya conquest of Kalinga which has an indirect bearing upon the subject. The cumulative evidence of all the points proves, as shown below, that the

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153.

² This regnal year is expressed by the numerically symbol 𑀓𑀲 which appears to have been made up of 𑀓 standing for 40, (see Kaye in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52 and Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* plate IX) and 𑀲 which resembles the one in the Chiklull plates (l. 26) for 8. Mr. D. C. Sircar, however, takes it to be a single symbol for 40 which lacks epigraphical support (*Ind. Hist. Quarterly* Vol. IX, p. 275, l. n. 2).

³ See Sells' *Eclipses of the Moon in India*.

⁴ Scholars have attempted to identify this place with Tewar in Central India (above, Vol. XVII, p. 331). This is unlikely, since Tewar is known to ancient literature and epigraphy under the name of Tripura or Tripura.

⁵ Similar instances are not rare in inscriptions. Pravarapura was the city founded by Viḥātaka Pravaraśena and Yayātinagara by Yayāti, otherwise known as Mahāśaya-gupta of the Sōnavatī family.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subramaniam for drawing my attention to this work.

Viṣṇukundins ceased to be an independent ruling power by the middle of the 7th century A D and that Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavarman was the last king and a later member of the family different from the homonymous king who was probably the originator of the dynasty

Of the five copper plate inscriptions belonging to this family, the Īpūr plates (set I)¹ bears a date in the seventh fortnight of the hot season (*gṛhṃa*) and the Īpūr plates (set II)² in the seventh fortnight of the rainy season (*vāsa*). Similarly the Chikkulla plates³ are dated in the eighth fortnight of the hot season (*gṛhṃa*). This dating presupposes the division of a year into three seasons of eight fortnights each, which is mentioned in the earliest extant works *Vedāṅgavyūṭisha* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The latest epigraphical instances giving similar dates belong to about the 6th century A D⁴.

From the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates we get four generations of kings, viz., Mādhavarman I, his son Vikramēndravarmān I, his son Indrabhattārakavarman, his son Vikramēndravarmān II. In both the records Mādhavarman is described as a performer of one thousand *Agnishlōma* and eleven *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The Īpūr plates (set II) furnish us with the genealogy Mādhavarman I with the above epithets, his son Dēvavarman, his son Mādhavarman II, the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya. On account of the common epithets and the relatively early script of the record, Mādhavarman II may be supposed to be the grandson of Mādhavarman I through his another son Dēvavarman. The Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant should be studied together. The former supplies the pedigree for two generations only, viz., Gōvindavarman and his son Mādhavarman, while the latter supplements it by adding Gōvindavarman's father Vikrama[ma*]hēndravarmān⁵. In both the inscriptions, Mādhavarman is given the additional adjunct *Trivara nagara*, etc.,⁶ which distinguishes him from the homonymous king Mādhavarman I, mentioned above⁷. *Trivara* is evidently the Sanskritised form of *Tivara*, a Sōmaśrāmī king of Mahākōśala who flourished about this period and who is the only king of that name known to Indian History. He is also mentioned under this Sanskritised name in the Kōndēdda and the Nivinā grants⁸ of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarājadēva. Dr N P Chakravarti who has edited the Nivinā grant is inclined to think that Tivara-dēva of Mahākōśala was a contemporary of Dharmarāja, grandson of Mādhavarāja II whom he has identified with Mādhavarāja Sanyabhūta of the Ganjām plates dated in the Gupta Era 300 (A D 619 20)⁹. The only known regnal year of Mādhavarāja, son of Mādhavarāja II, being twenty-six, Dharmarāja may have to be placed in the middle

¹ Above, Vol XVII, p 334

² *Ibid*, p 337

³ *Ibid*, Vol IV, p 193

⁴ The Halsi plates of the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 28). See also above, Vol XVII, p 337, f n 7 and Vol IV, p 195, f n 4

⁵ Vikrama[ma*]hēndravarmān is presumably the Vikramēndravarmān II of the Chikkulla plates

⁶ I find from the impressions of the Pulōmbūru grant, and of the Īpūr plates (set I) that the *z* sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long

⁷ This descriptive clause does not occur in connection with Mādhavarman of the Chikkulla, Rāmatīrtham and Īpūr (set II) plates. This is significant and I take that it is a *vyāvartaka dharma*, which differentiates him from his namesake though there are other adjectives common to both

⁸ Above, Vols XIX, pp 267ff and XXI, pp 34 ff

⁹ Above, Vol XXI p 36.

of the 7th century A.D. and accordingly his opponent Tivaradēva would belong to that period.¹ It is thus clear that Mādhavavarman of the Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulāṣībūra grant, who was a contemporary of Tivara, must be considered to be one and the same person and that he was a later member of the family, in spite of the fact that he bore some of the epithets of Mādhavavarman I.² It is noteworthy that the alphabet employed in both the charters belongs roughly to the same period and from the examination of individual letters, it does not appear to differ much from that of the Rāmīrtham and the Chikkulla plates, whereas the script of the second set of the Īpūr plates is undoubtedly more archaic as remarked by Dr. Hultzsch.

Since Vikramēndravarmā is described as an ornament of the Vishnūlundi and the Vālātaka families, his mother must have been a Vālātaka princess.³ According to Dr. Dubrion, this Vālātaka princess was the daughter or the grand daughter of Rudrasena II whose son Pravarasena II placed his relative Vishnukundin Mādhava (I) on the throne of Vengi by uprooting the Śālanakāyanas in the 5th century A.D.⁴ But neither Rudrasena II nor his son Pravarasena II is known to have conquered any of the territories in the East Coast. On the other hand Harishena, the last Vālātaka king (c. 500 A.D.) is stated in the Ajantā inscription to have conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trisāta, Tāta and Āndhra, and it is very likely that he contracted some matrimonial alliance with Mādhava I and with his help defeated the Kings of the East Coast as stated above.

Indrabhūttārīkavarman, who has been identified with Indrabhūttārīka of the Gōdāvari plates of Prithvīmūla,⁵ was an opponent of Adhirāja Indra who may possibly be the same person as the donor of the Īrjūngi plates⁶ dated in the year 39 of the Ganga era. If the view of some scholars⁶ that the era was started in about A.D. 196 be correct the date of the grant could be about A.D. 335. According to the Chikkulla plates Indrabhūttārīka defeated all the *dāyādās* in battle. We do not know of any *dāyādās* excepting the members of the collateral branch, viz., Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman II. Since, as shown above, the Vishnūlundins ceased

¹ Fleet and Kulhorn have placed Tivara in about the 8th century A.D. (*C. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 293; also Vol. IV, p. 238). The Sirpur Lalchumana Temple inscription of Mahasamugha (above Vol. XI, p. 184) is written in characters of about the 8th century A.D. Hence his grand uncle Tivara would belong to the middle of the 7th century A.D. More likely he lived in the beginning of the 7th century. Tivaradēva appears to have had a long reign since there is a reference to Tivara-nagara in the Īpūr plates (set II) dated in the 37th regnal year (i.e. A.D. 610) of Mādhavavarman III whose 18th year has been equated with A.D. 621. This date would no doubt be too early for him if it is assumed with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (above Vol. XVIII, p. 210) that Chālagupṭa mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha as the contemporary of Govinda III (A.D. 760-814) was the son of Nannavadeva and brother of Tivaradeva of Mahāśāla. But for reasons stated above, he cannot be identified with the brother of Tivaradeva.

² The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has expressed a similar opinion in *M. F. R.* for 1912-13, pp. 6 and 102. [But the description of Mādhavavarman in the two sets of plates as a 'performer of eleven *śarvāṅga* sacrifices and one thousand *kratus* or *agrichomas*' seems to show that he may not be different from Mādhava I of the other Vishnūlundi charters. It may also be pointed out that according to Dr. Hultzsch, the palaeography of the Īpūr plates (first set) is earlier than those of the Punnirtham and Chikkulla plates (above Vol. XVII, p. 334).—Ed.]

³ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 74. We know that the principality of Vengi and Kudrahira was held by the Śālanakāyanas up to the 5th century A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. V, pp. 28 ff.)

⁴ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237.

to be an independent ruling power before A D 631,¹ all the kings of the family must be accommodated in the interval of about 131 years (*circa* 500 631). According to our scheme of the genealogy there will be only six kings in the main line who can be very reasonably fitted in in this period. But if the kings Dēvavarman and Mādhavavarman II are also to be included, there will be in all eight kings among whom the regnal years 10, 27, 48 and 47 are so far known for four kings. Granting that these are the last regnal years of the respective kings, the periods of their reign will cover at least 132 years which is in excess of the allotted interval and we will be driven to the contingency of eliminating the remaining four kings from the family. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman II belonged to the collateral branch and held a small principality in the Vishnukundin territory.

Vikramēndravarman II, the eldest son of Indrabhattāraka, as stated in his Chikkulla plates, appears to have become king even as a child, which perhaps indicates that his father died young leaving his eldest son only a child and consequently his rule might not have extended beyond 27 years. The next king was Mahārāja Gōvīndavarman who bore the *biruda* Vikramāśraya. Lastly his son Mādhavavarman III was the most powerful king of the family who bore the distinguished *biruda* Janāśraya Mahārāja.

Mādhavavarman III, Janāśraya Mahārāja, must have been the last crowned king of the Vishnukundin dynasty from whom the Eastern Chālukyas conquered portions of their eastern possessions. He must have lived some time after Bhāravī, the celebrated author of *Kirātārjunīya*. For, there is an ancient work on prosody called *Janāśrayī Chhandōvichitī*² which quotes the verse अथ वासवस्य वचनेन, etc., of Bhāravī³ under the *Udgatā prakarana*. The work must have been named after Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Vishnukundin family, who is the only king of that name in the whole range of Indian History.⁴ We know from the *Avantisundarikathā* that poet Dāmōdara was introduced to the presence of prince Vishnuvarddhana by Bhāravī.⁵ Consequently Bhāravī must have lived in the Court of Vishnuvarddhana who is no other than Kubja-Vishnuvarddhana, the younger brother of Pulhēsm II.⁶ Since Ravikīrtti compares himself to Kāldāsa and Bhāravī in the Aihole inscription of A D 634, Bhāravī must have been well known as a great poet by A D 634. It is probable that he flourished about 600 A D⁷ and Janāśraya, Mahārāja lived some time after that date. This date can be determined to some extent by the following synchronism. The king is stated in the Pulōmbūru grant to have endowed the village Pulōmbūru in Guddavādī-*viskhaya* upon Śivaśarman, son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of

¹ [In spite of the arguments of the author, it is not impossible that the Vishnukundins were struggling hard to maintain their independence in some portion of their territory even after A D 631. The description of Indravarmān in the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates as 'having gained victories in several *chāturdanta* battles' might also indicate the same state of affairs.—Ed.]

² The work is published partially in the *Tirumalai Śrī Venkatesa* by Mr M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M A.

³ *Kirātārjunīya*, XII, 1.

⁴ The opening verse in the work describes the king with the *biruda* Janāśraya, as having celebrated several sacrifices. This is in keeping with the account given in the Pulōmbūru grant and the Ipūr plates (first set). See *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* 1925-26 to (1927-28, Madras), Introduction p 1 and R No 5043. [From the information available at present it is not certain whether Janāśraya refers to a different ruler or is an abbreviation of Avani Janāśraya which was a surname of the Gujarāt Chālukya king Pulakēśārāja.—Ed.]

⁵ See the correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kathā* in *Ind Hist Quarterly*, Vol III, p 169.

⁶ As Vishnuvarddhana is called merely *rāja sūnu* in the *Avantisundarikathā*, p 6, it is probable that he had not yet become king.

⁷ This date is rendered plausible by the fact that Dāmōdara, after staying with Vishnuvarddhana for a short period, went to the court of the Gaṅga king Durvinita, whose last date in the Gaṅga chronology cannot be beyond A D 605.

Rudrasarman of the Gautama *gōtra* and Tattirika-*śākhā*. The same village was granted by the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I in his 15th regnal year (A.D. 618) to the *pūriāgrahārī* Rudrasarman of the Gautama *gōtra*, who was the son of Śivasarman and grandson of Dāmasarman. It is evident that this Rudrasarman was the son of Śivasarman, the donee of the Pulībūbūru grant. The word *pūriāgrahārī* indicates that he was in the enjoyment of the village for some time after his father, and that he had lost it during some troublous period, or his title to the village was contested and confirmed by a fresh order after the change of political power from the Vishnukundins to the Eastern Chālukyas. This latter event took place probably some time before A.D. 631 when the Koppuram plates¹ of Pulikēśin II were issued. For, we learn from this copper plate grant that Kmmīnarāśtra, which had been included in the Pallava and the Vishnukundin king doms formerly, formed part of the Chālukya country at the time. A study of the political history of the Kalinga kingdom at this period would help us in fixing the date more precisely. The Chīpurupalle grant² of Kubja Vishnuvardhana records the gift of land by the king from his camp at Cherupūra in Plakāśchaya to two Brahmins, Vishnūvarman and Mādhyavarman, sons of Durgasarman, who belonged to the Gautama *gōtra*, in his 18th regnal year, i.e., A.D. 632. In the Achyutapuram plate³ of the Eastern Ganga king Indrayarman bearing a date in the year 87 of the Ganga era, the donee is stated to be Durgasarman of the Gautama *gōtra*. This date may be equated with A.D. 581 provided the initial year of the Ganga era is accepted to be A.D. 496. It is very likely that the donees of the Chīpurupalle grant were the sons of the donee in the Ganga record⁴. If this is correct, the southern portion of the Kalinga country must have been conquered and annexed by the Chālukyas some time between A.D. 581 and 632. This period is brought into a narrower compass by the statement in the whole inscription (A.D. 634) that kings of Kalinga and Kōśala submitted of their own accord to the increasing power of Pulikēśin II (A.D. 610). It may be noted that the Varshavartana *śākhā* of the Ganga grant was situated close to the Plakāśchaya (or *rāshtra*) and that the latter district had been a debatable ground between the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Ganga for a long time. The Eastern Ganga appear to have occupied it for some time after the date of the Rāmavarman plate of Indrayarman (c. 555). It is probably to wrest back this province that Mādhyava III started on an expedition to the Eastern region (*prāgdiś*) as recorded in his Pulībūbūru grant, the result of which is, however, not known. The conquests of South Kalinga and the territory of the Vishnukundins must possibly have been effected in one and the same campaign by Pulikēśin II. Since Tivradēva lived as shown above, in the middle of the 7th century⁵, it is possible that Mādhyavarman⁶ of the Vishnukundin

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

³ Above Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

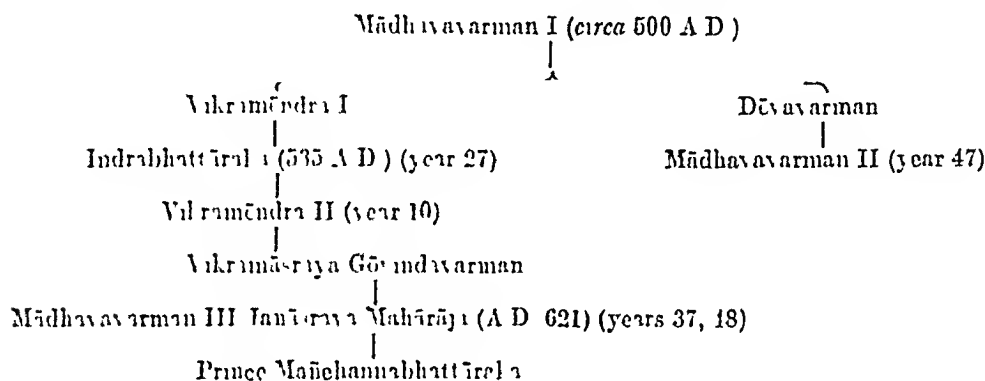
⁴ [But it may be noted that while the two sons of Durgasarman of the Chīpurupalle plates were followers of the Tattirika-*charana*, which is a branch of the Yajurvēda, Durgasarman of the Achyutapuram plates was a Brāhmana of the Chhandōga school which is a *śākhā* of the Samaveda — I d.]

⁵ Prof. V. V. Mirashi postulates two Tivradēvas in the Sōmayāsi family and thinks that Tivara who was a contemporary of the Vishnukundin Madhava was an earlier member and lived between A.D. 525-568 (above Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff). But among the Sōmayāsi kings there is only one Tivradēva known so far (above, Vol. XI, p. 187). And such an early date is not possible for Madhava who must have been an immediate predecessor in time of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I (*ibid.*, p. 21, fn. 3 and Bhandarkar's *Northern India*, p. 293, fn. 3).

⁶ The Kōndāṭṭa and Nivini grants of Dharmarāja mention a certain Mādhyava, who contemplated to oust the elderly relations (*jyēṣṭhan bhāvan*) from the country, but being foiled in his attempt took shelter under Tivradēva and was ultimately defeated along with his master at the foot of the Vindhya hill. Since this Mādhyava is supposed to be a prince of the Śailōdbhava family, he cannot be identified with the Vishnukundin king of that name, though it happens that the latter had also contracted some political or matrimonial alliance with Tivradēva.

family ruled for some time after A D 619, the date of the Ganjām plates, and was subsequently defeated by Pulikēsin II or Kubja Vishnu. As we have shown above that the date of the Pulōmbūru grant would fall in A D 621, we may conclude that the Chālukya conquest of the Vishnukundins was accomplished between A D 621 and A D 631.

With the facts set forth above, the genealogy¹ of the family with known regnal years and approximate dates for a few kings is given below for easy reference.



The name of Vikramāditya, the father of Prithivī Mahārāja of the present record may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Vishnukundins among whom that name is found twice. It is not impossible that Prithivī Mahārāja's father Vikramāditya was a subordinate of Vikramādityavarman who was the grandfather of Mādhavavarman, the donor of the Pulōmbūru grant. This surmise finds support from the fact that Pishtapura, the capital of Prithivī Mahārāja, was situated within the limits of the Vishnukundin dominions which comprised the country to the south of Kāhuga up to the present Guntur district which was the northern limit of the

¹ Dr. Hultzsch's arrangement of the genealogy (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 331 and 337) comes into conflict with the pedigree given in the present record. According to him, Gōvindavarman's father would be Mādhavavarman, whereas his name is given as Vilramāditya in the Pulōmbūru grant. A recent writer on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. IX, pp. 275 f.) thinks that Mādhava III of the Pulōmbūru grant is identical with Mādhava I as both are stated to have performed eleven *Asvamedha* and one thousand *Agnishtoma* sacrifices. He holds that the family rose to political power in A D 500 under Vilramāditya, grandfather of Mādhava and continued to rule till the 8th century A D when it was completely overthrown by the Chālukyas. This view is not tenable. For, he has not taken into account the palaeographic evidence of the charters while constructing the history of the family. According to him, Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant would be earlier than the Ipūr plates (set II) whose script has been declared by Dr. Hultzsch to be more archaic than that of the other charters of the family (see also *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1913-14, pp. 6 and 102). Further, he has not considered the important synchronism with the Mahāśāla King Tivāraditya in the time of Mādhava (III) and the references contained in the *Janasrayī Chhardāśvadeśa* mentioned above. And we find from the records of Pulikēsin II, Kubja Vishnuvarddhana, Jayasimha I, Tivāraditya, Indravarmān and his successors that portions of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Krishna and Guntur Districts, which comprised the Vishnukundin territory, were held by the Chālukyas since the first quarter of the 7th century A D and it is impossible that the Vishnukundins could have ruled as independent kings in that region after A D 631 when, according to the Koppāram and the Timmāpuram plates, the Eastern Chālukya rule had been fully established. [See note 1 on p. 93—Ed.]

Pallava territory, as can be gathered from the situations of villages or divisions mentioned in the Rāmātīrtham, Chukkulla, and Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūrū grant and also from the stone inscription of Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman at Vēlpūrū in the Sattenapalle Taluk of the Guntur district. Simultaneously with the subjugation of the Vishnukundins by Pulikēsin II and occupation of their territory by his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Prithivī Mahārāja, the ruler of Pishtapura, appears to have held out against the Chōlukyan attack for a while and finally to have sustained a crushing defeat in the fight. For, we definitely know from the Timmāpuram plates that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana was in possession of Pishtapura which is mentioned as his secondary capital (*tāsaka*). It is, therefore, quite plausible that Pulikēsin II captured the fortress of Pishtapura from the hands of Prithivī Mahārāja who must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. This period perfectly agrees with the palaeographical evidence of the record.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription is the only early record that makes mention of Ranadurjaya as a historical person. We know that many of the ruling families in the Eastern Deccan, who flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., trace their descent from Durjaya or Ranadurjaya whose time and place in their genealogy are, however, not certain on account of the varying accounts given in their records. The Kākatiyas,¹ the Kondapadumati² and Velanāndu³ Chiefs each claim for their ancestor Durjaya or Ranadurjaya. The Garavapādu grant⁴ of Ganapati mentions Prōla as a descendant of Ranadurjaya Durjaya who belonged to the Karikāl āniaya. The most important document of this later period, which gives a glimpse into the period of Ranadurjaya, is the Tsandavōlu inscription⁵ of Buddharāja which appears to embody a genuine historical tradition. It is stated in it that the Kondapadumati chief Buddharāja was the hon. of the mountain, the Durjaya family—which shows that Durjaya was the originator of his family—and had for an ancestor one Buddharman who belonged to the fourth caste and was a servant of king Kubja Vishnu of the lunar race who conferred on him the country west of the hill which contained 73 villages. Kubja Vishnu is, evidently, the brother of Pulikēsin II, who ruled from A.D. 615 to 633 in the Vēngi country. Buddharman's date, accordingly, falls in this period. Durjaya, who was his ancestor, must have lived some time before the 7th century A.D. Since Karikāla is said to be his lunar ancestor whose date has been approximately fixed to fall in the 5th century A.D.,⁶ it is possible that Durjaya lived in the intermediate period and most probably in the 6th century A.D., and his grandson Prithivī-Mahārāja, who had a long reign of at least 46 years, must have begun to rule in the latter half of that century.

The record does not disclose the name of the dynasty to which Prithivī Mahārāja belonged. It only states that he belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Durjaya was a descendant of Karikāla Chōla. The Chōla king Panyakumāra of the Cuddapah District belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and Karikāl āniaya.⁷ The Chōla Satyāditya, son of Vikramāditya, was of the same gōtra and family.⁸ The Chōlas of Tanjore also are known to have

¹ Above Vol V, p. 142; *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 692, above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 33 ff., the pedigree given in the Pithāpuram Pillar inscription is a jumble of confused traditions. It contains two Ranadurjayas among the ancestors of Prithivīśvara.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 346.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 340.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, p. 345.

⁸ *Ibid.*

2

2
 4
 2
 4

ಶ್ರೀ ಪತಿ ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನವಸುಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು

v,a

6
 8
 6
 8

ಶ್ರೀ ಪತಿ ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನವಸುಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು

v,b

10
 12
 14
 10
 12
 14

ಶ್ರೀ ಪತಿ ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನವಸುಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು
 ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು ಪುಷ್ಪಾಸುತನುಜನು

16

18

16

18

16
 18
 19

22

24

20

22

24

20
 22
 24

26

28

26

28

26
 28

belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* ¹ It is therefore very likely that Ranadurjaya was a Chōla and his ancestors had settled in the Eastern Deccan, like their brethren in the Rēnāndu country, in some early period It may be noted that Ranadurjaya was a member of the fourth caste as can be gathered from the Tsandavōlu inscription referred to above

Of the places mentioned in the record, Pishtapura is well known as the ancient name of Pithāpuram in the East Godavari District Pāgunāra *viśhaya* in which the village Tāndivāda was situated is the same as Pāvunavāra-*viśhaya* of the Vandaram plates² of Ammarāja II, Pāgunavara-*viśhaya* occurring in a grant³ of Bhīma II, and Pāgunavara-*viśhaya* of a record⁴ of Vishnuvardhana V This *viśhaya* appears to have comprised the modern Tanuku Taluk of the Kistna District as can be seen from the stone inscriptions at Juttiga in that Taluk ⁵ Tāndivāda might be identical with Tādiparru in the Tanuku Taluk ⁶ Kōndamañchi, where the donee resided, I am not able to identify

TEXT

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति⁸ [!]^{*} श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरात्सकालजगदवनसमुद्भूतकीर्ति-
- 2 चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो⁹(द्यो)तितदिगत(न्त)रस्य म-
- 3 हाराजरणदुर्जयस्य सूनोस्त्वमति-
- 4 शयितशक्रविभूतेर्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतनय[!]^{*}

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डल(लो) निज-
- 6 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरम[!]^{*}
- 7 काश्यपसगोत्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो सातापितृपा-
- 8 दानुज्जात[!]^{*} श्रीप्रिथिवी¹⁰महाराजः पागुणारविषये ताण्डि-
- 9 वाडग्राममधिवसतसे(सतस्स)र्वसमवेताक्किटि(टु)म्बिनस्स[मा]ज्ञाप-

¹ See the Tiruvālangādu plates and the Kanyākumārī inscription and the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p 40

² Above, Vol IX, p 133

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 213

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913 14, C P No 6

⁵ Nos 734 and 736 of 1920 of the *M E R* for 1921

⁶ *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, p 344

⁷ From an ink impression

⁸ This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the third line of the text.

⁹ [There is also a root *yut bhāsanē* —B C C]

¹⁰ Read °पृथिवी°

Second Plate, Second Side

- 10 यति यथा। अतिस्मृ(स्मृ)तिपारदृश्वनः यथावदनुष्ठिताग्नि(ग्नि)टो-
 11 मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुगर्भान् पुत्राय¹ असक्तदिज्ञा-
 12 प्रयोगप्रायमाणद्रविणसूचितत्विक्स-
 13 दस्यसमृद्धेः त्रिसहस्रविद्याध्ययनप्रवचनव्याख्यान-
 14 शीलिन प्रियिवो(पृथिवी)गर्भान् पुत्राय वेदवेदाङ्गन्याय(यो)प-

Third Plate, First Side

- 15 निपद्योग(गा)वबोधनिर्भन्तोऽतवुज्ये विविधाध्वरावभृदा-
 16 ं पवित्रीकृतविग्रहाय देवपितृभनुष्यसमर्चन-
 17 समानोतरात्रिन्दिवाय कौण्डमस्त्रिग्रामनियामिने
 18 त्रिसहस्रविद्याय विग्रतिव्याख्यानाय कामकायनम
 19 गोत्राय छ(च्छ)न्दोगमन्त्राचारिणे भवशर्माणि ग्रामादौयु-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 20 रारा(रो)ययगोमिहज्ये सर्वकारपरितरिणाग्रारी-
 21 लाल्य ग्रामीयन्दत्त² न कौचिदपि बाधा जगणीया [1*] प्र-
 22 [व³]र्मानविजयराज्यमवल्लरे पट्चत्वारो(रि)जे
 23 कार्त्तिकपोर्णमास्यान्वर्माप्रदानमेतत् [1*] आज्ञासि[?] त्रीगम-
 24 लेष्टिराजः [1*] अत्र व्यामगीता[?] श्लोका. [1*] बहुभिर्बसुधा दत्ता

Fourth Plate

- 25 बहुभिन्नानुपालिता [1*] यस्य यन्त्र यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य
 26 तदा फलम् [11*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता(त्ता) वा यज्ञाद्रज्यं युधिपि(ष्ठि)र ।
 27 मही महीमता जेष्ठ धर्माच्छ्रेयोनुपालन [11*]
 28 आम्फोटयन्ति पितरो वलान्ति प्रपितामहा³ ॥(1)
 29 भूमिदाता कुले जात' (1) स नन्वाता भविष्यति ॥

¹ Read पौत्राय² The *visarga* is faintly visible in the impression³ Generally the reading of this *pāda* is *pratalgants pātūmahuh*

TRANSLATION

(Lines 18) Haal! From the illustrious Pishtapura, Śrī Prithivī-Mahārāja—who has meditated on the feet of his parents, who is extremely pious, who belongs to the Kāsyapa-gōṭha, who has subdued the whole circle of the Sāmantas by his ever increasing prowess and has as his ornament the distinguishing fame acquired by the rise of victory of his arms, who is the lord of wealth¹—dear son of Vikramēndra who had excelled Indra in prosperity, who was the son of Mahārāja Ranadurjaya who had lighted the whole region of the quarters by the beautiful moonlight, the fame arising from the protection of the whole world,

(Ll 8 10) commands all the *kutumbins* assembled together, who are the residents of Tāndivāda in Pāgūnāra *vishaya*, that

(Ll 10 21) this village (i.e., Tāndivāda) has been made into an *agrahāra* and conferred, free of all imposts, for the increase of our life, health and fame, upon Bhavasarman, who is a student of Chhandōga (*school*), belongs to the Kāmakāyana-gōṭha, has studied three thousand sciences and (*written*) twenty commentaries, a resident of the village Kōndamañchi, is spending days and nights in worshipping the gods, the *pitris* and mankind, whose body has been purified by the water of sacred ablution in various sacrifices, whose intellect has been clarified by the knowledge of the Vēdas, Vēdāngas, Nyāya, Upanishads and Yōga—son of Prithivīsarman whose habit it was to study, teach and comment on the three thousand sciences, and whose prosperity was revealed among the priests (*ritvij*) and assistants (*sadasya*) by the riches given away in sacrifices frequently performed (*by him*)—grandson of Vishnuśarman whose mind had been purified by the due performance of *Agnishitōna*, and other (*sacrifices*) and who had mastered the Śruti and Smṛiti

(Ll 21-24) No one should create any obstruction (*to this*) In the 46th year of the ever prosperous and victorious reign on the full moon day of Kārttika, this religious gift was made Śrī Rāmalenrurāja was the executor (*of the order*)

(Ll 24 29) Here are the *ślohas* sung by Vyāsa (Then follow three of the customary verses)

No 16 —A NOTE ON THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATE OF KHAMBHA II

By RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.

On page 186 of part IV, of Volume XXII of the *Epigraphia Indica* Dr. Altekar has published an article on the Bhore State Museum Plates of Khambha II of the Chālukya dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 1001. There is no facsimile of the original attached to the article, but as the editor of the Plates has remarked, the order in which the different parts of the grant occur, is topsy-turvy. Thus after specifying the date, the writer at once proceeds to the specification of the donor and the village granted without mentioning the donee. Then are mentioned certain dignitaries followed by some verses describing exploits of the dynasty of the donor. After the imprecatory verses, the grant closes with the bare names (without specification of *gōthas*, etc., of the donees) clearly as an after thought. It is thus evident that the grant is not a regular and officially issued

¹ Śrirama may also be taken as the *biruda* of the king. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, whom I consulted, thinks that Rama Kāsyapa might be one of the sub-divisions of the Kāsyapa *gōtra* in which case, the expression will have to be rendered 'who belonged to the illustrious Rama Kāsyapa-gōtra'.

charter, and cannot be considered as indicating the existence of a feudatory Chālukya king in the Śaka year 1001 for reasons given below —

In the first place it is very unlikely that an inscription dated in the 11th year of the powerful Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI, who had already started his own era (named the Chālukya Vikrama Era) should be without any mention of this paramount sovereign. In fact the first line specifying the date appears to have been written in smaller characters than the other lines and may possibly have been inserted later. The most important reason why the inscription appears to me to have been written somewhere in the middle of the 12th Century is the mention of certain officers and queens in lines 12 to 15. The two queens mentioned in line 14, namely, Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi appear to be identical with the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi of the Sinda King Chāvunda II referred to on page 111 of the Vol. XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is interesting to see that one Munjaya Sāhami also occurs in the Benachamatthi inscription referred to above, while in the present inscription the same Munjaya appears to have been referred to as the minister (*amātya*) of the Mahārāṇī Siriyā Dēvi. There are at least two other Sāhamis (Prakrit form of Śidhanī, a counsellor). It is therefore incorrect to take with Dr. Altelaar that Siriyā Dēvi was called Munjēva Mahārāṇī because she was a daughter of Munja. The intended reading of the end of line 14 and beginning of line 15 should be “*Rānī Mahalā Dēva(śa)lāyā damlanāyala Sinha*”. There seems to have been some confusion here in the name of the queen. The name Mahādēvi being that of the step mother of Chāvunda II himself, the writer probably confused it with the name Dēvalā, of one of his queens.

As regards the language, there appears to have been some mixture of words in Marāṭhī which again may indicate a later date. The word *carla* in line 9 and *lāruḷadonēm* in the same line are clearly Marāṭhī. The sense of the whole phrase from *varanāḷha*¹ is that all dues including the dues from artisans and oilmen were to be given to the donors. The phrase *agumthitapushpam* (not *pushyam*) *rājadasa(śa)ram* in lines 10 and 11 is explainable only in the light of the subsequent verse in lines 28 to 30 and means that an interview with the king should be with unstrung flowers, the stem *gunṭh* being a Marāṭhī adaptation from *grath* in Sanskrit. The propriety of such a reference is shown in lines 28 to 30 where it is mentioned that ‘any future king of my family should be interviewed by you with flowers not strung (into a garland) and requested on my behalf that he should maintain his religion (and continue this gift)’. There are passages in Sanskrit literature² which support the existence of this custom of approaching a king with an offering of unstrung flowers.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the grant belongs to the middle of the 12th century A.D. and was probably forged in the interest of the persons mentioned in the post-script of the grant. It is, however, not understood how the names of queens and ministers in places over 200 miles away are included, unless we suppose that the Sinda Queens had some private estates managed by their ministers in the locality of Bhor³.

¹ Cf. *Malavilagnimitra* Act IV, where Vidushaka pretends to have been bitten by a snake, while spreading out his hand for a bunch of Aśoka flowers, as he wanted to see the queen with the customary flower offering.

² [There is certainly room for suspicion about the genuineness of the Bhor Museum Plates of Khambha. But a great difficulty in accepting the identification proposed here is that the name of the husband of the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi is expressly mentioned as Khambha in these plates. Neither the name nor the genealogy of this ruler has any similarity with that of the Sinda chief Chāvunda II. It seems unlikely, even considering the grant to be a forged one, that the forgers would make use of the names of the two Sinda queens alone. If they were aware of the names of the queens one would expect them to know the name and family of their husband as well, who was the governor of a number of districts.—Ed.]

No 17 —THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI

By RAO BAHADUR K N DIKSHIT, SIMLA

These plates were discovered on 20th June 1931 at the village Gaonri three miles to the north east of Narwal (the Narhwal of the maps), the headquarters of an estate of the same name, eleven miles to the south east of Ujjain, on the Ujjain Dewas Road. They were discovered in the course of cutting the channel or sluice of a tank at the village, and found their way into the hands of the Raoji Sahab of Narwal Estate. Having come to learn of their existence from Pandit Surya Narayan Vyas of Bharati Bhavan, Ujjain, I approached the Raoji Sahab, who very kindly sent the plates to me for decipherment and publication.

The plates, which are five in number, consist of two sets of which three constitute one grant (marked B) and the other two another (marked C). The plates of the set B measure 15" to 15½" by 10½" to 10¾". Each of the plates is ½" in thickness. The rims have been raised to protect the writing and there are two holes ½" in diameter on one side through which rings were passed. The set C consists of two plates measuring 12½" to 12¾" in length and 9¾" to 10" in breadth, which have holes similar to those in the plates of the set B for passing the rings. The first set weighs 552 *tolas* and the second 218. The rings of the first set are still with the Raoji Sahab, but those of the second set were in a very fragmentary state of preservation when discovered and are stated to be made of iron, but it is likely that they were of copper. No seal appears to have been found with them. It appears that the labourers who found the plates considered them to be of iron and they thought of making blades of shovels out of them, but the Rao Sahab, having come to know of this, ordered them to be brought before him and had them cleaned with chemicals. On receiving them at the Indian Museum, I had them cleaned again, when I discovered the most interesting fact that the outer side of the first plate of the bigger set (marked A) was a palimpsest and contained regular lines of writing which in spite of the attempt made by the Paramāra engravers to obliterate it by rubbing were still quite legible. Much of this older inscription can be read from the original plate, and the inked impressions are sufficiently legible, in spite of the thinness of the letters. It shows an earlier record of the Rāshtrakūtas preceding the date of the Paramāra grant by 52 years. It has been seldom¹ found that one and the same copper plate bears the inscription of two different kings, particularly as the injunctions which one ruler caused to be recorded and expected his successors to respect them could not with propriety be broken by himself in respect of the donations of previous rulers. In the present case, however, the occurrence of a fresh grant on an old copper-plate record after obliterating the writing can be explained by the state of warfare between the Rāshtrakūta kingdom of the Deccan and the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. It seems probable that the Rāshtrakūta charter was either snatched away from the possession of the donees or, being an office copy, seized from the Rāshtrakūta treasury in course of the invasion of the Deccan².

¹ Dr Fleet records a palimpsest in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VII, pp 251 ff., but the cancelled grant is practically identical with the renewed grant, which was necessitated by some flaw in the original. [Similar instances are found in the Khoh Copper plate Inscription of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the year 193 (C I I, Vol III, p 126) and the copper plate of the Eastern Chālukya ruler Māngi Yuvarāja noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908, pt II, paragraphs 12-13. I can also give at least one example where the plates belonging to an earlier ruler were made use of by a later king of the same dynasty by obliterating the original record, cf C P No 6 of 1924-25 (*An Rep on S I E*, 1924-25, pp 78-79) of the time of the Ganga king Anantavarman Chōḍaganga which originally contained an earlier grant of his grandfather Vajrahasta. What necessitated the obliteration of the original grant or if it was at all issued is not known.—Ed.]

² This event must have occurred sometime about 973 A.D., as Dhanapāla mentions in his *Tāilyalachchhī*, that the work was written at Mānyakhūṭa when it was looted by the people of Mālwa.

by the Paramāra King Siyaka and consigned to the Mālwa treasury along with other treasure and booty brought back from the campaign. Subsequently Siyaka's son Vākpati-Muñja utilised the plates for engraving a fresh inscription after obliterating the Rāshtrakūta record. It is thus that we can explain the find of a plate granting a village in the Deccan carried away about five hundred miles from the place of its origin.

The characters of the Paramāra grants (B and C) are Dvānāgarī, regular for the period and locality of the inscription. There is little to record about the Rāshtrakūta grant (A) as well, except that the characters are of the northern instead of the southern type to which most records of this dynasty are to be attributed. As regards orthography, no distinction has been observed between *ca* and *ba* and *sa* is often confused with *śa*.

The Paramāra records (B and C) open each with two verses one in praise of Śiva and the other in that of Viṣṇu. Then follows in prose the genealogy of Vākpati-rāja. As in other records of Vākpati such as the Dharampurī¹ plates only three predecessors of his, viz. Krishnarāja, Vairisimha and Siyaka are mentioned but not others known from other stone inscriptions. Vākpati is said to have Amōghavarsha as 'another name' of his, which is interesting in view of the fact that in the Harsola grant² of his father Siyaka the latter is probably to be credited with the epithet Akālavarsa. Then follows the specification of the villages granted, which in grant B is said to be Vanikā in the Āvaraka Bhōga and Hūna Mandala, while in grant C it is stated to be Kaḍahichchhaka³ in the Bhulī of Maddhuka, in the east Pathala of the Ujjayani-Vishaya and the Avantī Mandala. The latter village can be easily identified, as its situation can be located with certainty, being to the east of Ujjain. The village Karcha or Kadacha three miles to the north of Narwal and a similar distance to the north west of Gaonri can be confidently identified with Kadahichchhaka. The Maddhuka Bhulī in which the village granted was situated may perhaps be identified with Mahū or Mhow, the well known cantonment near Indore which would be about 40 miles from Narwal. As the Hūna Mandala of the first plate must evidently refer to the country ruled over by the 'Hūnas' in Mālwa, it must be taken as the northern part of the Mālwa plateau. The queen Āvalladēvī of the Kalachūri King Karna is said to have been the daughter of a Hūna king. The Āvaraka Bhōga may possibly have been identical with the country round the town of Agar, north east of Ujjain, close to which there is a place called Awār. Vanikā is to be identified with the village of Benkā, 15 miles north west of Awār. The place of the king's encampment is specified in the second set as Pūrṇa Pathala, which appears to have been situated on a river named Pūnyābhra, which I am unable to identify. The officer who conveyed the grant in the first set was Rudrāditya, who is also mentioned in the Ujjain plates of 1036 V S.

The donors in the set B are stated to be 26 Brāhmanas who received portions of the village of Vanikā out of an aggregate of 78 parts. On an average, thus, each Brāhmana received three parts, although two Brāhmanas seem to have received only one part each and as many as 9 of them two parts each. The Brāhmanas belonging to the *Rig Vēda* seem to have received special preference, inasmuch as four of them received as many as 19 shares. The first-mentioned person is a Brāhmana named Sarvinanda hailing from the village of Kanōpā⁴ in the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 43 ff.

² Above Vol. XIX, p. 226.

[See p. 102 above—Ed.]

³ The Pūrṇa seems to have been defeated both by Siyaka, the father of Vākpati (above, Vol. I, p. 223) and by Vākpati himself (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 156).

⁴ This place should be looked for in the modern Patna Division, particularly in the Shahābād District of Bihar, its present equivalent being something like Kanpa or Kanwa.

country of Magadha who received as many as eight parts. It is worthy of note that the sole recipient of the second grant which is dated about five years later, is the identical Sarvānanda. It is therefore likely that the Brāhmana settled down in the village of which he was the sole proprietor and carried with him the charter which conferred on him the title of the second village as well as that of the other grant of which he was the senior partner. It is noteworthy that the provenance of the plates is within three miles from the second village, while its distance from the first is about 40 miles.

The most important information contained in these plates is regarding the migration of Brāhmanas from various parts of the country to Mālwā where they were recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince. In several instances the donees seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal, which (contrary to the current belief that there were no Brāhmanas left in Bengal in the 12th century A D) appears as a country where Brāhmanas studying different Vēdas were flourishing. Thus we find a Brāhmana named Dōnāka, hailing from Vilagavāsa falling within the southern Rājha country, who received as many as five shares. Another person is said to have migrated from Kulāñchā, which in the form of Kōlāñcha and Krōdāñcha occurs as the original place of Brāhmanas who received grants in Assam, North Bihār and Orissa. I propose to identify this with Kulaneh in the Bogra District of North Bengal. Another locality mentioned in these plates is Sāvathidēsa or Śāvathikā which is most likely the tract more or less corresponding to North Bogra and South Dinājpur in Bengal. An inscription of Indrapāl,¹ a king of Assam, refers to this Sāvathi (which is apparently the same as Śrāvastī) and mentions the presence of a place called Vaigrāma in it. The identity of the latter has now been completely established by the find of a copper-plate of the Gupta period found at Baigrām at the north west corner of the Bogra District, in which the place is mentioned as Vāyigrāma. There can be no doubt that Sāvathi, Śrāvastī or the Sāvathidēsa included the northern part of Bogra District. In the present case the two villages in this tract are Dardurikā and Mitāla pātaka which it is possible to identify with Dadra in Panch Bibi Thana of the Bogra District and Mitail or Matialpārū both of which are in the Bogra District. Most of the Brāhmanas mentioned in the plates from Bengal just referred to are stated to have belonged to the Chhandōga śākhā (of the Sāma Vēda), which is significant in view of the preponderance of the adherents of this Vēda among the Brāhmanas of Bengal. Madhyadēsa which is roughly equivalent to the United Provinces is the original home of at least three of the donees but the place name Yaka or Ayaka stated to be included within the Madhyadēsa cannot be identified. Uttarakuladēsa in which the village Paundarika was the home of a Brāhmana must be some tract to the north of the Ganges. Śravanabhadrā, stated to be the home of two Brāhmanas, also occurs in the plates of Bhōja found at Tilakwādā² near Baroda and must be some place in northern India, near Kanauj, as the family of Śurāditya in the Tilakwādā plates is stated to have come from Kanauj. It is also mentioned as Sōnabhadrā in the Madhyadēsa in the Sakhlō³ plates of the Kalachuri Ratnadēva III, being the original home of a family of Brāhmanas also of the Vatsa lineage. Khētaka is undoubtedly the modern Khērā in Gujarāt, while Nāndipura in the Lāta country is certainly the modern Nāndod on the Narmadā. Khēdāpālīkā and Khadupālīkā may indicate a place-name like Khedāvala or Khedaulia, being perhaps the original place of the modern Khedāval Brāhmanas. Other places like Kharijūrikā, Sōpura, Dapura, Ānōha, Avivā and Rājakiya grāma may be found in the neighbourhood or within the province of Mālwā. The

¹ Kāmarūpa tasanatali, p 137

² Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, pp 324 f

³ Above, Vol XXII, pp 159 ff

name Khajuriya is very common around Ujjain. Madhupālikā may be same as Majhwalī, a village name common to U P. There is thus a vast amount of information regarding the original places of Brāhmanas in the present plates which will be of great importance to the social history of this period.

The date of the donation of the grant B is mentioned as the full moon day of Kārttika in the (Vikrama) year 1038, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, which is equivalent to Sunday, the 16th October, A D 981. The date on which the grant was actually written and conveyed appears to be nearly nine months later, being mentioned as the tenth day of the bright half of the second Āshādha of V S 1038. Obviously the year is to be considered as Kārttikādi or Southern and the equivalent date accordingly is July 3, Tuesday, A D 982, as there was no intercalation in the month of Āshādha in Samvat 1038 according to the Northern reckoning. The second grant (C) was made at the winter solstice (Udagayana) in the year 1043 V S which fell on 22nd December, A D 986, while the charter was issued on the thirteenth day of the dark (half) of the month of Māgha which is equivalent to Friday, the 31st December, A D 986 taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. The dates of these plates slightly advance our knowledge of the reigning period of Vākpatirāja for whom we already have 1031 and 1036 V S as the dates of his Dharampurī¹ and Ujjain² plates, but the tragic end of Vākpatirāja in the Chālukya capital must be dated several years later than the date of the second grant.

The plates are all engraved only on one side, the last plate in grant B containing on the back only the words *Vanikā grāma śāsanam tāmrapatrām cha tri(tri)m* stating that the plates of the charter for the village Vanikā were three in number. On the first plate the obliterated Rāshtrakūta inscription (A) consists of 22 lines. The inscription fortunately contains all the most important information about the record, although there must have been at least two more plates in the beginning, one giving the genealogy and possibly one more at the end containing the concluding portion and the imprecatory verses. The donor Suvarnavarsha-dēva (Gōvinda IV) is stated to be the son of Nityavarsha (Indra III). The date of the grant is mentioned in detail as Sunday the full-moon day of Māgha in the Śaka year 851 Vikrīta-samvatsara, when the moon was in the constellation of Āślēshā and there was an eclipse of the moon. This date is identical in every particular with that of another Kanāda inscription of the same ruler, viz., the Kalas³ inscription and is equivalent to Sunday, the 17th January, A D 930, when there was an eclipse of the moon. The inscription records that on the great occasion of the lunar eclipse, the king after having made grants of land, learning, food, desire fulfilling tree, medicine, etc., and having weighed himself (against precious commodities) ordered the donation of the village of Payalipattana situated in the western boundary of Mānyakhēta or Malkhed the Rāshtrakūta capital. The object of the donation was to establish a *sattra* or charitable feeding house where a thousand Brāhmanas belonging to different denominations were to be fed, thus 360 were the Karnāṭaka Brāhmanas of Malkhed, 300 belonged to the Kaṇva-śākhā, 240 were Brāhmanas from Karahātaka (apparently those now known as Karhādā Brāhmanas in Mahārāshtra), 72 were Brāhmanas of the *Chatuś Charana* or all the four *Charanas* and 28 Brāhmanas are mentioned as *Sahasrasāmānya* or common to the thousand. The reference to the donations of this king in the phrase *prati prayachchhatā* = 'daily giving away (to Brāhmanas, etc.) incessantly

¹ *Ma. Ant.*, Vol VI, pp 48 ff

² *Ibid*, Vol XIV, p 160

³ *Above*, Vol XIII, pp 329 ff.

charters of villages respected (by all) by the hundred' is borne out by his Cambay Plates¹ issued about four months later, when he granted 600 villages and 3 lacs of gold coins to Brāhmanas and 800 villages and 4 lacs of gold coins to temples. The arrangement of the donor is stated to be that the proceeds of the village granted were to be utilised for the feeding of a thousand Brāhmanas every day (apparently at Mānyakhēta). There is mention of some ceremonies on the *Alshaya pūrnāmāsī*, which is probably the same day as the full moon of Māgha, the date of the present grant.² The boundaries of the village granted beginning from the east were the villages Kanigrāma, Maṇḍavaka, Nandasura, Nandalagrāma, Nāsapūra, Yamalagrāma, Vēllavaśa, Dhammanagrāma, Sēllavi and Kapitthakhēda. None of these localities I have yet been able to identify, but they are apparently to be looked for in the western part of the Deccan plateau.

Table of the Brāhmana donees of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja V S 1038

Serial No	Name of Donee	Father's name	Original place	Vēda and Śākhā	Gōtra and Pravara	Parts of village granted
1	Sarvānanda	Dikshita Lōkānanda	Kanōpā in Magadha	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Sāmkṛitya	3 8
2	Mūlasthāna	Brahmapandita	Ayaka in Madhyadēśa	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Vāsishṭha	3 3
3	Lōhina .	Īśvara	Kāvada	Yajurveda, Vājimādhyaṇīna	Gautama	3 3
4	Chandrāditya	Pitavāsa	Chauramba .	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Śāndilya	3 4
5	Śābara	Ranāditya	Kulāśchā . .	Do	Do .	3 2
6	Agnihōtrin Lōhapa	Vāsudēva	Avivā in Aśurēśa-maṇḍala	Do	Vatsa	5 4
7	Dōnāka	Gōsarana	Vilvagavāsa in Dakṣiṇa Rādha	Do . .	Pārāśara	5 ³ 5
8	Anantāditya	Surāditya	Khadupālikā	Yajurveda, Vājimādhyaṇīna	Maudgalya	3 2
9	Vāmanasvāmīn	Dikshita Hari	Paundarika in Uttarakulā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Gārgya .	5 3
10	Ātuka .	Risula	Umvarāchāra	Yajurveda, Vājimādhyaṇīna	Agastya .	3 1
11	Purushōttama	Lihā . .	? in Madhyadēśa	Do .	Maitrēya .	3 4
12	Gōvindasvāmīn	Dēvasvāmīn	Madhupālikā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Kāśyapa	3 3
13	Shiṣṭa .	Mitrānanda	Śravaṇabhadrā	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Vatsa .	5 4
14	Śankara .	Dēvāditya	Dardurkā in Śāvatthukā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Bhārgava	3 2

¹ Above, Vol VII, pp 26 ff

² [See p 108, note 1 below --Ed.]

³ This is apparently a mistake for 3, as this gōtra is never found to have five pravaras.

Table of the Brāhmarā donees of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja V S 1038—contd

Serial No	Name of Donee	Father's name	Original place	Vēda and Śākhā	Gōtra and Pravara	Parts of village granted
15	Mādhumathana	Achala	Mithlapātaka in Savathukādēśa	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Parāśara	3 2
16	Svayamtapa	Śrīmrāsa	Khēdāpālikā	Do	Maum	3 3
17	Nānāyaka	Madhu	Khēṭaka	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Bhāradvāja	3 4
18	Jāmaṭa	Viṣṇu	Ānōha	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Bhārgava	3 2
19	Dēdēka	Do	Do	Do	Do	3 2
20	Āvasthika Sarvadēva	Lōhata	Sōpura	Sāmavēda, Kauṭhuma	Śāndilya	3 2
21	Varāha	Śrīdhara	Kharjūrikā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Māhula	3 4
22	Āsāditya	Māhula	Dapura	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Vārāha	3 3
23	Bhāila	Hari	? in Lātādēśa	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Kāśyapa	3 1
24	Dēvāditya	Lūdāditya	Rājakiya	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Vatsa	5 2
25	Muhājāla	Īsvata	Nāndipura in Lātādēśa	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Bhāradvāja	3 2
26	Amātta	Gurākara	Śravanabhadrā	Do	Vatsa	5 3
					Total	78

A —Fragmentary grant of the Rāshtrakūta Suvarnavarsha (Gōvinda IV)

'Śaka 851

TEXT

- 1 परमेश्वरश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षादेवपादानुष्ठानपरममहाराजकासहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमत्सुव-
- 2 र्णवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवत्सस[श्री]महत्समनरेन्द्रदेव कुशली सव्वानिव [यथा]सम(स्व)ध्य-
भानकाश्वपति-
- 3 विषयपतिग्रामकूटमहत्तरायुक्ताकोपयुक्ताधिकारिकान्समादिशत्यस्तु वः सविदितं
यथा मा-
- 4 न्यखेटराजधानीस्त्रिरतरावस्थानेन मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुत्र्यशोभिहृदये पूर्व-
[साम]-

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI

A—FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF THE RASHIRAKUTA SUVARNANARSHA (GOVINDA IV) SAKA 851



- 5, पि देवभोगाग्रहारान्प्रतिपालयता प्रतिदिनं 'च' निरवधि नमस्त्यामशासनानि
शतसः(शः) प्रयच्छ[ता]
- 6 मया भक्तनृपकालातीतसंवत्[शत]शतैष्वष्टकेकपंचमशदधिकेष्वातोपि सप्तसराणां
दृष्ट प्र-
- 7 वर्तमानविकृतसम्बत्सरान्तर्गतमाधपौर्णमास्यां एवा आश्वेधानक्षत्रस[स्था]नि शशि-
(शि)नि सी-
- 8 म[ग्रह]णमहापर्वणि पृथिवीदानविद्यादानाहारदानकल्पवृक्षना(दा)नभैषज्यदाना-
नानि(दानानि) दत्वा(त्वा)
- 9 तुल्लोपुष्पाद[नु]त्तरता मया प्रथमं करोदकातिसर्गेण सहस्रप्रमाणमहाजनाय
(सर्वस्य, (त्राय्यं))
- 10 --[मान्य] खेट[कण्णी]टकप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाना श(ष)ष्टाधिकशतत्रयं वाजि-
कायप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां
- 11 शतत्रयं करहाटकप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाना चत्वारिंशदधिकं शतत्रयं चतुश्चरणा-
मान्यषष्टि-
- 12 वर्गत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाना द्विसप्ततिः सहस्रसामान्यत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानामष्टाविंशतिरेवं
सहस्र(स)त्रा(त्रा)ह्म-
- 13 णेभ्यः श्रीमान्यखेटपश्चिमाघाटव्यवस्थितपयलोपत्तनं सहस्रमालाकु[ल] सधान्यहिर-
ण्यादेयं
- 14 सदण्डदोश(ष)न्दशापराध समस्तो[त्प]त्तिशुक्लोत्पत्तिसहितं पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुस्तीम-
पर्यन्तमाचन्द्रार्क [क्षत्रप्रतिपाल]-
- 15 णीया¹श्वास्य पूर्वदिवस[सा]दि(?) प्रा[ग्]द्विखेत्त कारिग्रामः मण्डवकानन्दसुर-
नन्दलग्रामश्च
- 16 ना[स]पुरयमलग्रामवेत्तवशवम्भग्रामसेत्तविकापित्यखेटग्रामाः एव श(स)र्वाघाट-
विश्वपयलोप-
- 17 त्तन रा(स)हस्र(स)महाजनस्य लभत कार्पयतो शु(भुं)जतो भोजयतो वा न
कैःचि(कैश्चि)द्व्याधतिः(घात) भूयः व्या[?]न्यावर्त[व्या]²
- 18 ब्र(त्र)ह्मणामः [पुण्यविध्य]र्त्यकानि च भवन्ति ॥ स(रा)मवचनं ॥ सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले त्या(पा)लनी-
- 19 यो भवद्भिः[?] सर्वानितान्माविन. पार्थिवेन्द्रान्मृत्यो-भूयो याचते राममद्रः ॥
व्यवस्था तात् ॥ श्रीमत्सुवर्णवर्षदे-

¹ The reading of the last five letters is doubtful

² Probably the intended reading was *vyaghat bhūtv=ānyatha kartavya*

- 20 वस्याच्चय[पूर्ण]मास्यां [देव]प्रौत्यर्थी[1*] सिद्धिरस्त्वित्येतेन श्रेयोर्थव्रत्र)प्रशा-
प्रसाद(दां)प्रकविस्तीर्णवासां स्वर्चतो
21 [परिवर्णितविशेष...] श(स)हस्रव्रा(व्रा)ह्मणभोजनं प्रतिदिनं प्रवर्तनीयनिनि
(मिति) ॥ धर्माभिष्टयै तेन
22 यच्च वणं मया ..कीयस्य...स निन च...

B.—Plates of Vākpatī Muñja V S 1038

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्री° [1*] याः स्फूर्त्वात्फणभृदिपानलमिलदूम्भ[प्र*]भाः प्रौक्तसम्भूर्धव(व)ह्रश्चाङ्ग-
कोटिघटिता याः सैद्धि(सैद्धि)केयोपमा. [1]* याश्चच(च)द्विरिजा-
2 कपोलशुलितः[*] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठश्चयः १ श्रेयान्ति-
(यांसि) पुष्पान्तु वः ॥ यक्षस्त्रीवदनेन्दु(न्दु)ना न सुखित यन्मा-
3 द्रितम्भारिधेर्वीरा यन्न निजेन [ना]भिसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिज्ञतं [1*] यच्छेपा-
हिफणासहस्रमधुरस्यासैर्न चाश्यासितं तद्राघाविरहा-
4 तुरं सुररिपोर्वैश्वर्यः पातु वः ॥ परमभेदारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
लक्ष्मणराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभेदार-
5 कामहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिद्धि(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभेदारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-
6 ध्यातपरमभेदारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभद्रमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमहावपति-
राजदेवभृथीवल्लभ-
7 श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः शुभलो ॥ यथा ह्यणमंडले आवरकभोगसम्ब(स्व)हपूर्व-
भोक्तृभिर्भुक्तभुक्तिक्रमेण यथासम्ब(स्व)[ह्य]मा-
8 नः[*] समस्ततलकैः सहित(ति) वणिकाग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तशजपुष्पां(पा)न्त्रा-
(त्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासि[पट्ट]किलजनप[दा]-
9 दीद्य वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः सन्नि(संवि)दितं यथा श्रुतीत(ता)दृतुंस(त्रिंश)दुत्तर-
साहस्रिकसम्ब(संव)त्सरस्मिन् कार्त्तिक[व्यां सोम]ग्रहणपूर्वणि-
10 ज्ञात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य सन्सा(संसा)रस्यासारता
हृद्वा । वाताम्नविभ्रमभिदं वसु[धा]३धिपत्यभापातमान-

¹ [The reading appears to be=āśhaya punyam=astv=abhīprītyaribam —Ed]

² Expressed by a symbol

³ First dh was written, then the scribe put the ā sign without deleting the : sign.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

- 11 मधुरो विषयोपभोगः [1^{*}] प्राण्यास्तृणाग्रजन्वि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा
परमहो परलोकयाने [11^{*}] भ्रमत्सन्सा(त्संसा)रचक्रा-
- 12 ग्रधाराधाराभिमां श्रिय [1^{*}] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषा पश्चात्तापः पर फलं ॥
इति जगतो विनश्चरं सकलमिदमाकलय्या(य्यो)परिलिखि-
- 13 तग्रामः स्वसीमादणकाष्ट(ष्ठ)यूतिगोचरपर्यन्त(न्तः) सव्यभोजाकुल(लः) स-
हिरण्यभागभोग(गं) सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतः उ-
- 14 परिलिखितग्रामेस्मिन् कल्पिताश्च अष्टसप्ततेर्भध्यात् मगध(घ)देशान्तःपातिकणो-
पामष्टग्रामविनिर्गतसालत्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-
- 15 प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसर्वानंदाय पण्डितदोक्षि[त^{*}]लोकानन्दसूनवे
अशाष्टौ^१ मध्यदेशान्तःपातित्यकमष्टग्राम-
- 16 विनिर्गतवासिष्ठसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभूलस्थानाय आव-
स्थिकत्र(त्र)ह्मणपण्डितसूनवे अशत्रयं
- 17 ३ कावडमष्टग्रामविनिर्गत(गं)तगौतमसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणलोहिणाय इ(ई)श्वरसूनवे अशत्र-
- 18 य ३ चौरभ(व)मष्टग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शा)डिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणचंद्रादित्यपि(पी)तवामसूनवे अंशचतुष्टय ४
- 19 कुलाचाग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शा)डिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
शाव(व)राय रना(णा)दित्यसूनवे अशत्रयं २ अश्विसमडलान्तःपा-
- 20 ति अविवाग्रामविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपंचप्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपंडिता-
ग्निहोत्र(त्रि)कलोहपाय वासुदेवसु(सू)नवे अंशचतुष्ट-
- 21 य ४ दक्षिणराढान्तःपातिविल्लगवामविनिर्गतपारास(श)रसगोत्रपंचप्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदोनाकाय गो-
- 22 चरसु(सू)नवे अशपंच^२ ५ खडुपक्षिकाग्रा[म^१][वि[नि^{*}]]र्गतसौहृदसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणअनन्तादित्या-
- 23 य सुरादित्यसु(सू)नवे अ-

Second Plate

- 24 शत्रय २ उत्तरकुलदेशान्तःपातिपौष्टरिकमष्टग्रामविनिर्गतगाग्यसगोत्रपंचप्र-
वरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवाम-
- 25 नद्या(स्त्रा)भिने दीक्षितहरिसूनवे अशत्रयं ३ उभ्वराचरविनिर्गत अगस्त्यस-
गोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

^१ Read अगाष्टक^२ Read अशपंचक

- 26 ए आतुकाय रिसिउलसूनवे अंशमेकां १ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिमैत्रेयसगोत्रल(त्रि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपुरोत्तमाय
- 27 लीहासूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ मधुपालिकाग्रामविनिर्गतकास्य(श्य)पसगोत्रल(त्रि)-
प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगोविन्द्या(स्वा)भिने देवशा(स्वा)मि-
- 28' सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ अथवाभद्रविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणसिद्धटाय भिचानंदसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 29 शावधिकान्तःपातिददुरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस(शं)कराय देवादित्यसूनवे अंशद्वय
- 30 २ सावथि[का*]देशान्तःपातिमितिलपाटकविनिर्ग(गी)तपराशरसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवा-
जिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमधुमयनाय अ-
- 31 चलसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ खेडापालिकाविनिर्गतभौनिसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्वयंतपाय श्रीनिवास-
- 32 सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ खेटकाविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणनेनैयकाय मधुसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ आ-
- 33 नोहभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजाम-
टाय विश्वसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ तथा तस्यैव भा-
- 34 त्रे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेदेकाय अंशद्वयं २ सोपुरविनिर्गतशांडिल्यसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरकौथु-
भशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआवस्थिकस(शं)र्वदेवाय लीहटसून-
- 35 वे अंशद्वयं २ खर्जूरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतमाहुलसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवराहाय श्रीधरसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 36 दपुरविनिर्गतवाराहसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआशादित्याय
माहुलसूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ [ला]टदेशविनिर्गत-
- 37 कास्य(श्य)पसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमाइलाय हरिसूनवे
अंशमेकां १ राज[कीयग्राम]विनिर्गतवत्स-
- 38 गोनपंचप्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशा[खि*]ने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेवादित्याय लीलादित्यसूनवे
अंशद्वयं २ लाटदेशान्तःपातिनान्दिपुरविनिर्गतभार-
- 39 द्वाजसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमुंजालाय इ(ई)श्वरसूनवे
अंशद्वय २ अथवाभद्रविनिर्गतवत्स-
- 40 सगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरवाजिमाध्या(ध्य)न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणामात(त्य^२)गुणाकरसु(स्)न-
वे अंशत्रयं ३ एवममुना क्रमेण उ-

44



- 41 परिलिखितग्रामोय उपरिलिखितत्रा(त्रा)ह्मण्यः पदं(दिं)शतिभ्यः मातापित्रोरात्म-
नश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृद्येऽदृष्टफल-
42 मङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्कवर्णवर्णितसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रति-
पादित इति भत्वा तंनि(तन्नि)वासिप-
43 द्वि(द्व)किलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगः(ग)कारहिरण्यादिकं सर्वमात्राश्रयविवे-
यैर्भूत्वा सर्वदा एतेषां उ-

Third Plate

- 44 परिलिखितनिव(व)धक्रमेण समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बु(बु)[ड्डा]श्म-
हंशजैरन्यैरपि भा-
45 विभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोय(य)मनुमन्तव्यः ॥ पालनीयश्च । उक्तञ्च ।
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
46 सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थय-
47 शस्कराणि [1*] निर्माय्वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा(सा)घुः पुन-
रा[द]दीत ॥ अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदाहरेद्वि-
48 न्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमीदनीय [1*] लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्तलिलबु(बु)द्वचंचलाया दानं
फलं परयशःपरिपालनं
49 च [1*] सर्वानितान्भावितः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
50 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ इति कमलदलावुवि(स्वुवि)न्दुलीलां
श्रियम्-
51 तुचिन्त्य मनुथजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बु(बु)ड्डा नहि पुरुषैः
पर-
52 कीर्तयो विलोभ्याः ॥ इति सम्ब(संव)त् १०३८ द्विशेषादशदि १० स्वय-
माज्ञा-
53 दापकश्चात् श्रीरुद्रादित्यः ॥ स्वहस्तोय श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥

C —Plates of Vākpatī (Muñja) V S 1043

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्री[1*] याः स्फूर्जत्फण्यद्विषानलमिलद्धूम(स्त्र)प्रभाः प्रीतसन्मूर्ध्निव(व)धशशांकको-
टिघटिता याः

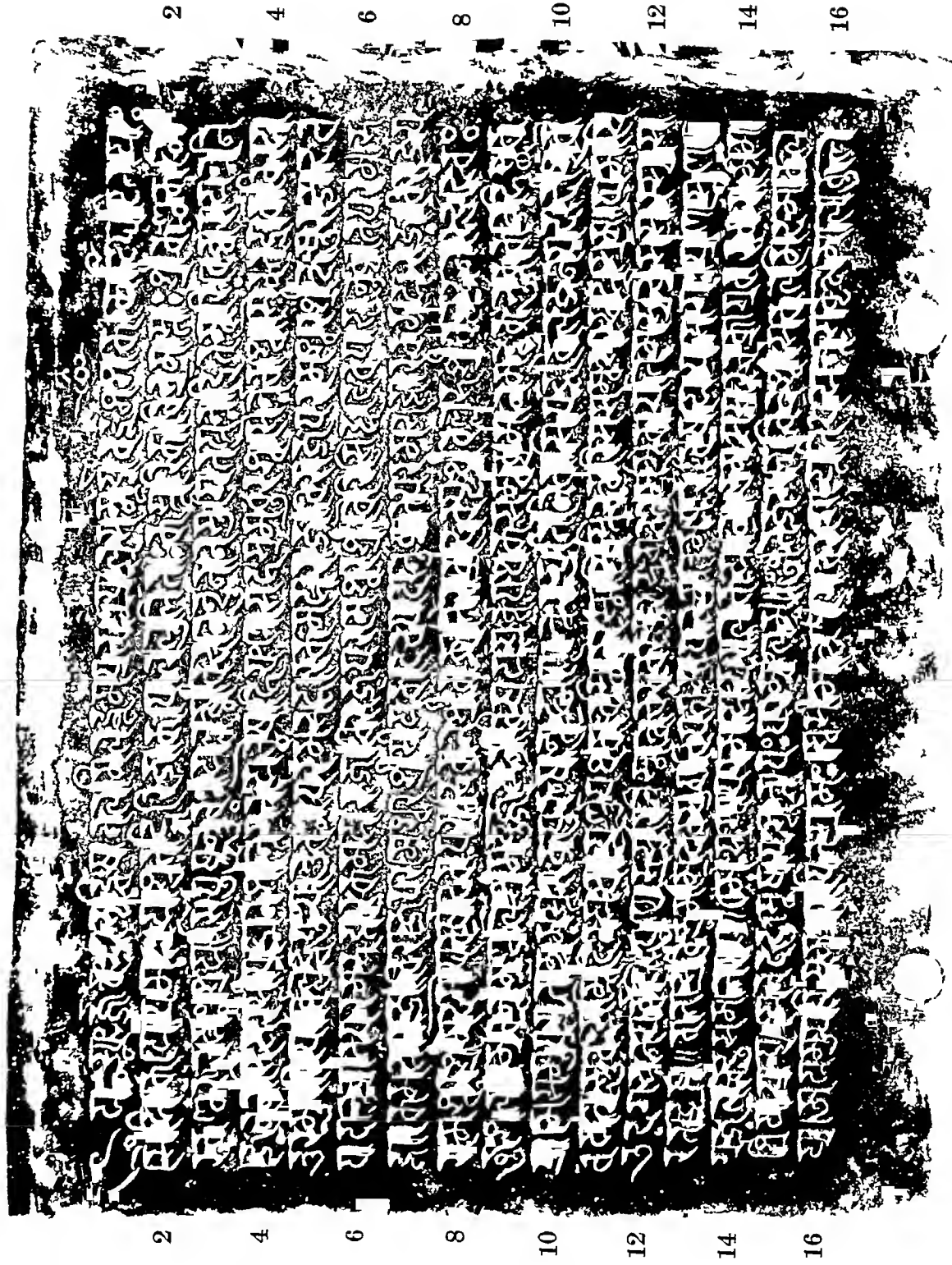
- 2 सैहिकेयोपमाः । याश्चक्षिरिजाकपोल्लुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठ-
काठी-
- 3 रकण्ठरुचयः श्रेयसि पुण्यन्तु वः ॥ यत्तन्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखित(तं)
यन्नाद्रित वारिधेर्वीरा यन्न नि-
- 4 जेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन गान्ति(न्ति) गतं । यच्छेपाङ्गिकाणामहस्रमधुरश्यामैर्न
धाश्वसै(सि)तं तद्राधाविरहा-
- 5 तुरं सुररिपोर्वैल्लक्ष्मणः पातु वः ॥ परममदारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकण्ठ-
राजदेव-
- 6 पादानुध्यातपरममदारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिमिह(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातप-
रमम-
- 7 दारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमीथकदेवपादानुध्यातपरममदारकमहाराजाधिराजप-
- 8 रमेश्वरश्रीमदमीधवर्षदेवापरामिधानश्रीवाक्कातिराजदेवपृथ्वीवज्रमश्रीवज्रमनरेन्द्रदेवः
- 9 कुशली ॥ श्रवन्तीमण्डले श्रीमदुज्जयनीविपत्रपूर्वपत्रकमम्ब(म्ब)ध्यमानमधुकुमुक्त(क्तो)
कडहिच्छका-¹
- 10 ग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ध्रणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादीच
वो(वो)-
- 11 धयत्वस्तु वः मन्वि(संवि)दितं यथा । पूर्णपयकावास्थितेरक्षाभिन्विचत्वारिस-
(रिंश)सम्ब(संव)त्सरसहस्रे² माघे भासि
- 12 उदगयनपर्वणि । पुण्याम्बरसगिति भ्रात्रा चराचरगुणं भगवत(न्त)मन्वि(न्वि)का-
पतिमभ्यर्च्य स(सं)सारस्थामा-
- 13 रता दृष्टा ॥ वाताम्नविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यभापातमात्रमधुरो विपयोपमोग¹ ।
प्रोणास्तृणा-
- 14 यजलवि(वि)दु(न्दु)समा नराणा धर्म. सखा परमहो परलोकायाने ॥ भ्रम
त्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारासिमां
- 15 श्रिय । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पचात्ताप. परम्फलम् ॥ इति जगतो
विनश्वरं सकलमिदमाकल-
- 16 व्य । अथमुपरि समारोपितग्रामः । स्वसीमादण्णोचरगोयूतिपय(र्य)न्तः स-
हस्रमालाकुल-

¹ The reading appears to be *Kadahiethala* —Ed]

² Read चित्रलारिमदधिके सप्तसहस्रे

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI
C—PLATES OF VAKPATI-MUNJA V S 1043

2



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

20

22

24

26

28

विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ॥ १ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २४ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २६ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २७ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २८ ॥

18

20

22

24

26

28

Second Plate

- 17 अतुष्ककटवि[शु]द्धः समस्तमागभोगकारिहरित्यादायसमेतः ॥ मगधातः/पातिकाणी-
पात्रासविनिर्ग-
- 18 ताय । स(सं)कृतिमगोत्राय व(व)हुचे आह्ला(श्रवता)यनसा(शा)खाय । त्रिप्रव-
राय । दीक्षितलोकानन्दसु[ता]य । ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
- 19 सर्वानन्दाय । पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यथशोभितृदये अष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्का-
ण्यवक्षितिसम-
- 20 कालं परया भक्त्या सा(शा)सनेनोदकपूर्वसर्व(सं)प्रतिपादित इत्यवेत्यात्रत्यज-
नपदैर्यथा(थो)त्यव्यमानभा-
- 21 गमोगादिकामात्राश्रयविधेयैर्भू(भू)त्वा सदा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामा-
न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्या(बुद्ध्या) ।
- 22 अस्मदस(श)जेरन्यैश्च भाविभोक्तृभिरस्त्वदत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा
- 23 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं ॥ यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै-
- 24 र्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि की नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत ॥ सर्वानेता-
- 25 न्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते राममद्रः । सामान्योयन्मर्मसिर्तुर्नृपाणां
काले काले
- 26 पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अस्मत्पुलकामसुदारसुदाहरिर्ज्ञेयैश्च दानमिदमव्यनुमोद-
नीयम् ।
- 27 लक्ष्म्यास्ताडित्यलिलबुद्बुदचंचलाया दान फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥
इति कामलदलाभेवुवि(स्वुवि)-
- 28 न्दुलोलं त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुजजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्या(बुद्ध्या)
नहि पुरैः परकीर्त-
- 29 यो विलोप्याः ॥ सम्ब(संव)त् १०४३ साधवदि १३ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

No 18 —MALLAR PLATES OF MAHA-SIVAGUPTA

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , AND PANDIT L P PANDEYA

Mallār is a large village with a population of over 2,000 souls, 16 miles south-east of Bilāspur, the headquarters of the Bilāspur District in the Central Provinces. It was an important place in former times as can be judged by the ruins of an old fort near by, with a moat all round and a number of old tanks on all sides. It still contains numerous ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist

final form of *t* occurs in ll 19, 24 and 25, punctuation is denoted by a vertical line hooked at the top. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end the whole record is in prose. Unlike the charters of Tivara-dēva¹ it contains no expressions in common with the formal portion of the grants of the 'kings of Śarabhapura'. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has for instance used in many places the short for the long form of medial *r* (see, e.g., *lshutisa* and *mahanya* in l 1, *kuśah* in l 5, etc.) and, in some places of medial *u* also (see *sunu*, l 4, *suryya* l 23, etc.), the *anusvāra*, *visarga* and final consonants are omitted in many cases, see *sapādita* l 2, *mahābhyudaya* l 3 and *purushā* l 9, the unaspirated consonant is used for the aspirated one in—*palam* and *vice versā* in *abhish-ītham* both in l 20. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* before *v* in *paradattām=vā* l 27 and to *n* before a sibilant in *vanśa* l 4, *Taradamsaka* l 11 and *nṛisānsāt* l 19, cases of wrong *sandhi* occur in *anyāns=cha* l 8, *uchchhriya* l 21 and *dānāt=srēyō* l 28, etc. As regards orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar we may notice that the consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled in some cases, e.g., *sauryya* ll 2 3, *sarvva*-l 8, *pittrō* l 14, *ch=āttra* l 22, etc.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahā Śivaguptarāja, the son of the illustrious Harshadēva², who was born in the lunar dynasty and was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). They record the king's donation of the village Kailāsapura in the *bhōga* or subdivision of Taradamsaka to the community of venerable monks from the four quarters residing in the small monastery at Taradamsaka, which had been constructed by Alakā, the wife of Kōra-dīva³. The gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Āshādha at the request of the king's maternal uncle the illustrious Bhāskaravarman.

This Mahā Śivaguptarāja, the son of Harshagupta, is evidently identical with the homonymous king, also known as Bālārjuna and mentioned in several stone inscriptions at Sirpur (ancient Śrī-pura) in the Raipur District⁴. From one of these edited by R. B. Hirralal⁵ we learn that his mother Vāsatā was a daughter of king Sūryavarman of the Varman dynasty of Magadha. As shown elsewhere,⁶ this Sūryavarman is probably identical with the prince Sūryavarman, a son of the Maukharī king Īśānavarman, whose Harāhū stone inscription⁷ is dated in (Mālava) Samvat 611 (A. D. 555). Bhāskaravarman who is called in the present plates the maternal uncle of Mahā-Śivagupta was, thus, a son of Sūryavarman. The name of Sūryavarman is omitted in the later Maukharī genealogy and it is therefore supposed that he must have predeceased his father⁸ or if he came to the throne he left no male issue. The present inscription shows, however, that his son Bhāskaravarman lived to a fairly advanced age. Was Sūryavarman, then, a younger son of Īśānavarman who consequently never came to the throne? Or if he succeeded his father as implied by his title *nṛipa* in the Sirpur stone inscription of Vāsatā, was his son Bhāskaravarman prevented from succeeding him in consequence of a war of succession? These questions cannot yet be answered in the absence of sufficient evidence.

¹ See, above, Vol XXII, p 17, n 5

² The king is named Harshagupta in the legend on the seal

³ The text reads *काकुदेवभाय्यालकाकारिण* but as this gives no satisfactory meaning, we propose to read

काकुदेवभाय्यालकाकारिण

⁴ See Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos 1654 and 1655. Also Hirralal's *List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Nos 173 and 184

⁵ The Lakshmana Temple Inscription, above, Vol XI, pp 184ff

⁶ See Thakurdiya plates of Mahā Pravara-rāja, above, Vol XXII, p 19.

⁷ Above, Vol XIV, p. 115.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p 111

From the Jaunpur¹ and Harābhā stone inscriptions we learn that the Maukharī kings Īśvara varman and his son Īśānavarman ruled the Āndhra country² and defeated the ruling king. As the country of Daśaśina Kōśala (modern Chhattīsgarh), where the early Sōmavamśī kings were ruling, is contiguous to the Āndhra country, it is not unlikely that the marriage of the Maukharī princess Vāsatī with king Harshagupta of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala had a political significance. It may be noted in this connection that Udayana the earliest known king of the Sōmavamśī dynasty was ruling in Central India, as a stone inscription found at Kālāñjara³ records his construction of a temple of Vishnu, evidently at Kālāñjara. It is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of the then Maukharī Emperor and either he or his sons invaded Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattīsgarh during the campaigns of the Maukharī king Īśavaravarma against the Āndhra king who was probably a prince of the Vishnukundin family. In any case we find Udayana's grandsons Nannadēva and Īśānadēva firmly established in Chhattīsgarh. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakhanāśvar at Kharōd in the Bilāspur District records Īśānadēva's gift of some villages evidently to the god enshrined in that temple.⁴ Īśānadēva's nephew Tivradēva is known from two sets of plates found at Rājim in the Raipur District and Balōdā in the Phuljhar Zamindari in the old Simbalpur and present Raipur District, both the places being included in Chhattīsgarh. The villages mentioned in the Balōdā plates cannot be traced but those named in the Rājim plates can be identified in the vicinity of Rājim.⁵ As stated before, Tivradēva's grand nephew Mūhā Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the donor of the present plates, is known from several stone inscriptions at Sirpur. The find spots of these inscriptions and the identification of the villages mentioned in them clearly show that these Sōmavamśī kings were at first ruling in the Western parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. It is not therefore unlikely that the Maukharī kings Īśavaravarma and Īśānavarma were helped in their southern campaigns by these Sōmavamśī princes of Daśaśina Kōśala. This also accounts for the Vishnukundin king Mādhavavarma I's invasion and occupation of the capital of Trivara (i.e., Tivradēva) as stated in his Pulōmbūru and Īpūr plates.⁶ The political alliance between the Maukharī and Sōmavamśī houses seems to have been cemented subsequently by the marriage of Vāsatī and Harshagupta.

There is one more stone inscription of this dynasty which is said to have been found at Bhīṇḍak outside the limits of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, i.e., the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Ranaśśarin, now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.⁷ But one cannot be certain about its find spot, for, as pointed out by R. B. Hirralal, no accurate record has been kept of the provenance of inscriptions collected before the establishment of the Nāgpur Museum. Besides, this inscription is fragmentary. The extant portion unfortunately contains no place name, otherwise it may have helped us in tracing its find-spot. We have therefore to rely on conjecture in this respect. In 1873 while Cunningham was at Bhīṇḍak he was informed that "an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nāgpur during the time of the Rājī about 40, or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib."⁸ Cunningham

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 228ff.

² If the Sūlikas over whom Īśānavarma won a victory are identified with the Chōlās, the Maukharī king must have penetrated much further to the south.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 10 and plate IX, above Vol. IV, p. 257, note 4.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1651. In an inscription at Ārang, the name of Ranaśśarin occurs (see Hirralal's *List*, No. 183), but it cannot be said if he is identical with Bhavadēva Ranaśśarin, or with the brother of Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription (above, Vol. XI, p. 191).

⁵ The Rājim plates record the grant of Pimpripadraka in the Pīnṭhūma bhīṭī (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 295). These places have not yet been identified, but the former is certainly Pīprōd, 3 miles north-west of Rājim and the latter may be Pōndh 6 miles north of Rājim.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 19ff.

⁷ Edited by Kielhorn in *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 617ff.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

conjectured that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva Ranakēśarin must have been the one removed by Mr Wilkinson from Bhāndak on the following grounds (1) It is a long slab just as described to him by the people of Bhāndak and it is of the very same fine grained reddish stone as that of the Wijāsan hill at Bhāndak, (2) Dr Stevenson, who has translated it, received a copy of it from Major Wilkinson who was a resident at the Nāgpur Court and (3) the inscription records that it was attached to the house of Sugata (Buddha) and therefore it probably belonged to Bhāndak which has ancient Buddhist caves. Cunningham's opinion was subsequently endorsed by R. B. Hiralal¹ and we find the stone inscription now relegated to Bhāndak². None of the arguments, however, on which Cunningham's opinion was based appear to be convincing. Inscribed slabs of fine-grained reddish sandstone have been found in Chhattisgarh also. The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I³ and the Kosgaon stone inscription of Vāharēndra,⁴ which are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, are incised on such slabs. As for the statement that such a slab was taken away from Bhāndak we may point out that it may relate to another inscription, viz., 'the Nāgpur Museum *prasasti* of the rulers of Malwa,' as has already been conjectured in the second edition of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*⁵ (published in 1870). This latter inscription was translated in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843 and this date, curious as it might appear, roughly corresponds to the time when according to the account of both the writer in the *Gazetteer* and Cunningham an inscription was removed from Bhāndak to Nāgpur. There are, again, some ancient ruins of Buddhist temples and sculptures at Ārang and Sirpur in Chhattisgarh,⁶ and our present inscription, which records the donation of a village to a Buddhist monastery, shows that Buddhism continued to flourish in Chhattisgarh for at least three generations after Bhavadēva Ranakēśarin. What is more, if we except this doubtful case of the so called Bhāndak inscription, we find no other instance of an inscription of the Sōmavamśi dynasty discovered in ancient Vidarbha in which as shown elsewhere,⁷ the whole country from the western boundary of modern Berār to the eastern one of the Marāthī district of Bhandārā in C. P. was included. This country was in the beginning of the sixth century under the direct rule of the Vākātakas. Harishēna, the last known Vākātaka king, mentions the king of Kōśala among his feudatories.⁸ If the period A. D. 530-550 assigned

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 208, note 20, Vol. LXII, p. 163, Hiralal's *List*, p. 13

² See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1650

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ Hiralal's *List*, No. 210

⁵ 'The date of its (i.e., of the Nāgpur Museum *prasasti*) translation coincides curiously with the time at which an inscription was removed by the Nāgpur Rājā from the famous Snake temple at Bhāndak in the Chānda District.' *C. P. Gazetteer* (Second Edition) Introduction p. liv. Rāj Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally relegated this *prasasti* to Bilhāri in the Jubbulpur District, because the name of the village Mōkhalapātaka granted by it sounds like Dhangatapātaka, Khailapātaka, etc., mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription (see his *List* f. n. on p. 1). But no such name can be found in the list of villages in the Jubbulpore District, while we have been able to trace one closely resembling it in the Chānda District (viz., Mōkhara, 50 miles east of Bhāndak). Vyapura, the name of the *mandala*, in which it was included, may be represented by Wurgaon near Vairāgarh, 30 miles north east of Mōkhara. These identifications would show that the *prasasti* originally came from the Chānda District. For a Paramāra record of a slightly earlier date, found still further to the south, see the Jainad inscription describing the victories of Jagaddēva, a son of Udayāditya (*Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey* 1927-1928, pp. 23-24 and above, Vol. XXII, pp. 51-63).

⁶ See Hiralal's *List*, No. 184

⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 169 and 211. It may be noted in this connection that the *Gaṇēsa Purāna* (*krīdā Phanda, adhyāya* 26, śl. 2) mentions the town Ādīśā (modern Ādāsā near Sonner in the Nāgpur District) as situated in Vidarbha. This clearly shows that the Wardhā was not the eastern boundary of ancient Vidarbha as it is of modern Berār.

⁸ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

to Tivradīva in the article on the Thākurdīyā plates¹ is correct, an inscription of his predecessor is not likely to have been found at Bhāndak in the heart of the Vākātaka territory. We have, therefore, to conclude that the stone inscription of Bhavadīva Rāṇakṣarīn must have been found somewhere in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattīgarh and not at Bhāndak in ancient Vidarbha. When Kiellhorn edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he was informed that the inscription was found at Ratanpur,² but this information also was probably incorrect, for the present Ratanpur was founded by Rāṇadīva I of the Kalachuri dynasty in the eleventh century A.D.³ What seems to have happened is that the stone inscription was first removed to Ratanpur from some place in Chhattīgarh and was later transferred to Nāgpur where it was recorded to have come from Ratanpur.⁴

It has been shown elsewhere on paleographical and epigraphical evidence that Tivradīva flourished from circa A.D. 530 to 550. His grand nephew Mahī Sivagupta Bālārjuna will have to be placed in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Either he or his successor must have been the ruling king when Yuan Chwang visited the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Though the present plates do not mention any place of issue, we know that Śrīpura in the Rāpur District continued to be the capital of Sōmavamsī kings at least from the time of Tivradīva⁵ to that of Mahī Sivagupta Bālārjuna.⁶ It would therefore be interesting to see how far Yuan Chwang's description of the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala suits Śrīpura.

Several scholars have attempted in the past to locate the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. For gusson and Grant identified it with Wairīgarh,⁷ while Cunningham took it to be Chīndā.⁸ But, as pointed out by R. B. Hirakal, 'what is missing at both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhist monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned'.⁹ R. B. Hirakal himself at first identified it with Bhāndak,¹⁰ for he thought that the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala extended in the west to the eastern boundary of modern Berar. He believed with Cunningham that the stone inscription of Bhavadīva Rāṇakṣarīn originally belonged to a Buddhist cave at Bhāndak and following Kiellhorn he held that a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Pinduvamsī line ruled in that place down to the 9th century A.D. Later on, after weighing all evidence R. B. Hirakal concluded that 'both the places (Śrīpur and Bhāndak) seem at present to have an equal claim to the honour of a visit from the great pilgrim of China, but Bhāndak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Śrīpur'.¹¹ But, as pointed out above, Bhāndak was included in ancient Vidarbha and not in Kōśala and must have been under the direct rule of Pulakēśin II, who, in the Aihole inscription, is called the lord of 'three Mahārāṣṭras comprising 99,000 villages'.¹² One of these Mahārāṣṭras must have been ancient Vidarbha, since it is not separately mentioned in the Aihole inscription. From the same inscription we learn that Pulakēśin did not annex Kōśala but only exacted submission from the ruling king Yuan Chwang.

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

² *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 618.

³ See the Ratanpur inscription of Jājñadīva I, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ A similar thing seems to have happened in the case of the Ratanpur inscription of Prithivīdīva II and Brahmadīva, which originally seems to have belonged to Mallār. See above p. 114, n. 2.

⁵ Both the Rājūm and Balēdā plates of Tivradīva are issued from Śrīpura.

⁶ As stated above, there are several stone inscriptions of the reign of this king at Śrīpur.

⁷ *J. R. A. S.* (1875), p. 260.

⁸ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1924), p. 596.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LXII, p. 163.

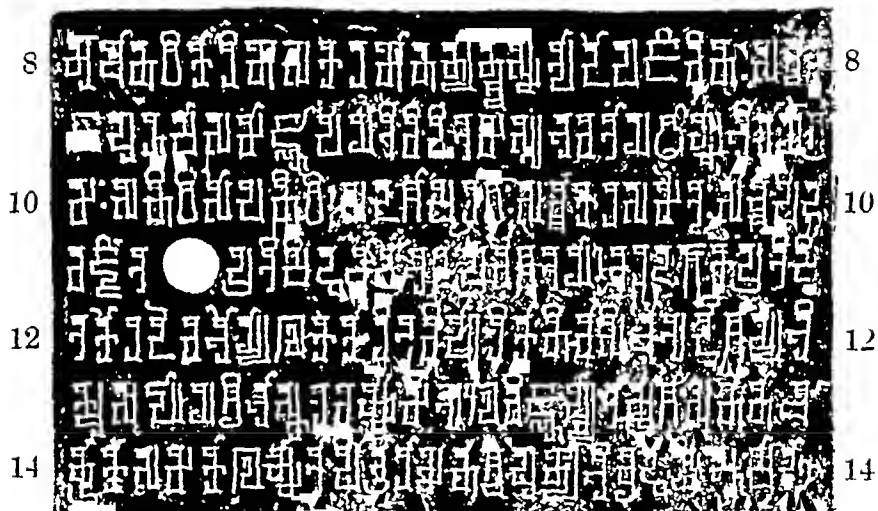
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 208, note 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, p. 166.

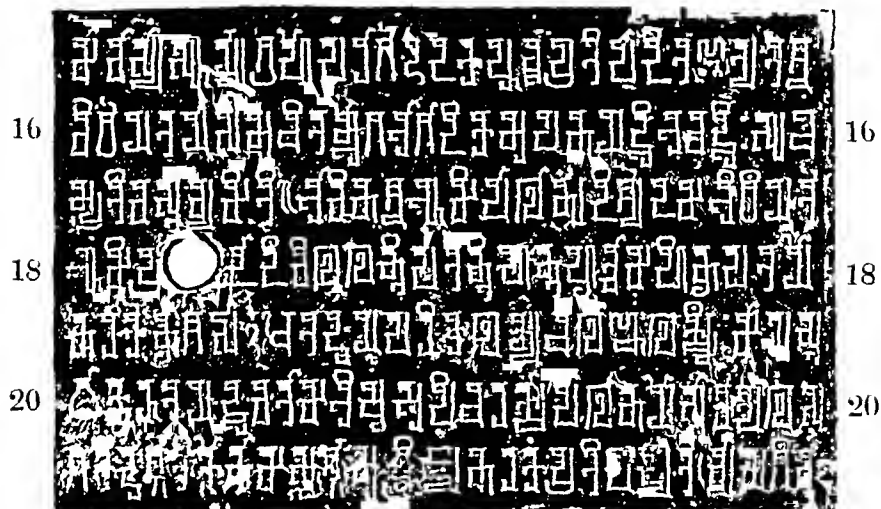
¹² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

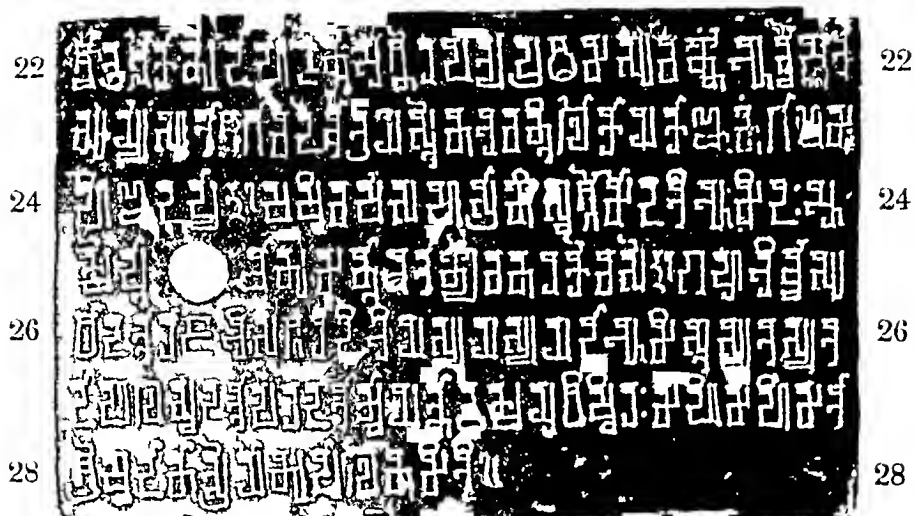


11, a

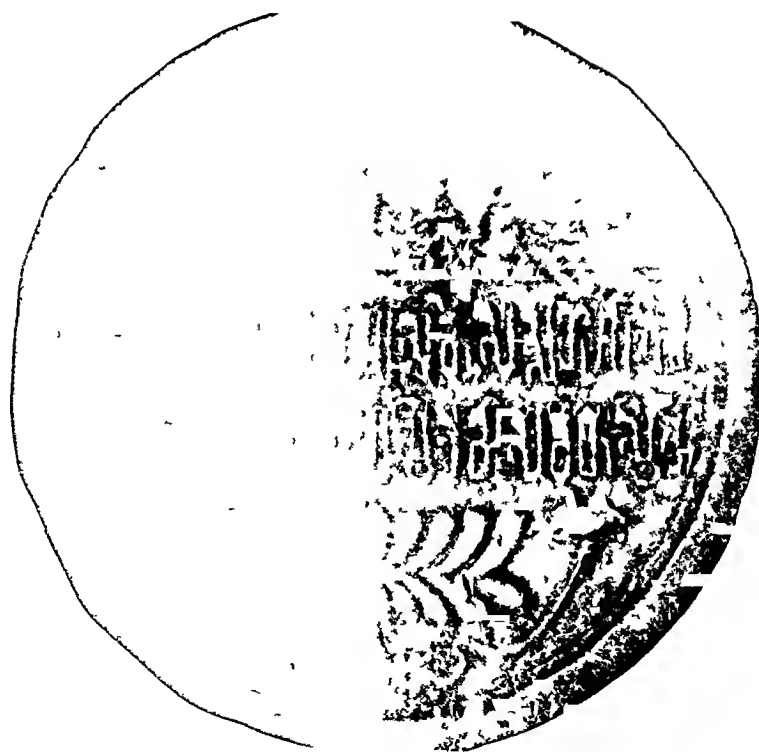


11, b





Seal—From a photograph



ACTUAL SIZE

also mentions the king of Kōsala as different from Pulakēśin II whom he calls the king of Mahārāshtra. So the capital of Kōsala cannot be located at Bhāndak.

From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that 'from Kalinga he went north west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kōsala. The king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence. To the south west of this country, above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po lo mo lo li*'. From Kōsala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An to lo* (Andhra) country, the capital of which was *Ping chi-lo*.¹ This description suits Sirpur better than any other place in Chhattisgarh. Sirpur lies north-west of Mukhalangam on the left bank of the Vamsadhārā, 18 miles from Parlākūmedī in the Ganjām District, which is now generally taken to be the ancient capital of Kalinga. The reigning king, who was either Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna or his successor, was no doubt a Kshatriya, as the Sōmavamśī kings traced their descent from Pāndu, the father of the Epic heroes Pāndavas. Mahā Śivagupta was a devotee of Śiva,² but the present grant shows that he patronised Buddhism also and the same can probably be said of his successor. The mountain *Po lo mo lo li*, which has been rendered by *Bhramara giri*, may refer to Bhamgāra Pavvato (Skt *Bhringāra parvata*) which is mentioned in an ancient Brāhmī stone inscription at Ārang.³ It may be noted in this connection that Ārang lies south-west of Sirpur as required by the Chinese pilgrim's description. If *Ping chi lo*, the capital of the Āndhra country, is identified with Vēngī (which was then the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas), it will be seen to lie almost due south of Sirpur. Sirpur, therefore, answers best to the bearings and other description of the capital of Kōsala in Yuan Chwang's account. It is true that the distance of Sirpur from Mukhalangam, Ārang and Vēngī does not exactly agree with Yuan Chwang's account,⁴ but this is not the only case in which the Chinese pilgrim's distances are found to be incorrect. We have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying the capital of Kōsala in the seventh century A D with Sirpur in the Raipur District.

The present grant is not dated, but as stated above it can be assigned to the first half of the seventh century A D. It records the donation of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āshādha. Taking the month to be *purnimānta* we find that there was a solar eclipse in Āshādha four times in the period A D 600 to 650, viz, A D 606, 616, 633 and 643. Of these A D 633 and 643 would perhaps be too late dates for Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna. So A D 606 or 616 may be the date of the present grant. It does not, of course, admit of verification.

Unlike his ancestors Tivaradēva⁵ and Harshadēva⁶ who are known to be devotees of Vishnu, Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna was a worshipper of Śiva. The seal of the present grant has consequently Nandī, the emblem of Śiva, and not Garuda, that of Vishnu, who figures on the seal of the Rājūm and Balōdā plates of Tivaradēva. It may again be noted that like the afore mentioned grants of Tivaradēva, the present inscription does not mention the title *Trīkaling ādhīpati* which is met with in many records of the later kings of the Sōmavamśī dynasty who ruled over the eastern parts of Dakshina Kōsala.

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol II, pp 200, 209.

² For a similar discrepancy in Yuan Chwang's account, see his description of Harsha, who from his copper plate inscriptions and Bāna's *Harshacharita* is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

³ Hiralal's *List*, No 183. *Bhringāra* which means a cricket is after all not very different from *bhramara*. Or was it some mountain in the *Bhramara lōṭya mandala* in the Bastar State? (Above, Vol IX, pp 179 f). There is, again, a hill named Bhamragarh in the Ahirī Zamindari of the Chūndā District, which also lies South West of Sirpur, but the distance is more than 160 miles.

⁴ Sirpur is about 275 miles as the crow flies from Mukhalangam and about 300 miles from Vēngī. These distances will be somewhat increased if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into consideration.

⁵ Tivaradēva calls himself *Parama Vaishnava* in his plates.

⁶ See v 20 of the Sirpur Lakshmana Temple Inscription, above, Vol XI, p 192.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present plates, *Taradambaka bhōga* in which the donated village was situated is probably identical with the *Talahāri mandala* mentioned in several later inscriptions.¹ From one of these² we learn that the *Talahāri mandala* included Mallā (modern Mallār, where the plates were found). The Buddhist images at present deposited in Mallār are said to have been brought from Jaitpur, a village about a mile to the north of Mallār. The site of ancient *Taradambaka* where the Buddhist monastery was situated is, therefore, probably marked by the modern village Jaitpur.³ As regards *Kailāsapura* granted by the present charter, there is now no village of that name in the Bilāspur and Jaujgir taluqs, but there are several of the name Keshā, which may be taken to correspond to ancient *Kailāsapura*. Of them the one which is nearest to Mallār is Keshā, about 8 miles to the south east, which contains ruins of an old temple.

We edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्रीम् स्वस्वग्रेपक्षिति(ती)गविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमन्त्रि(नी)विविनयस-
- 2 म्पत्त(त्स)पादितराकालविजिगी(गी)पुगुणो गुणवत्स[मा]न्यप्रकृतशो-
- 3 र्थप्रज्ञाप्रभावस(स)भावितमन्त्राभ्युदय[*] कार्ति(र्त्ति)केय इव कृति(त्ति)वासभो
- 4 राज्ञ[.*] जि(ञ्जी)हर्षदेवस्य सु(स)नु[.*] सोमवङ्गसम्भ्रम परमभाने-
- 5 श्वरो सातापितपादानुध्यात[*] त्रि(ञ्जी)मन्त्रागिवगुमराज[*] कुमलि(नी) ॥⁶ त-
- 6 रङ्गकभोगि(गी)यकैलासपुरयामि ब्राह्मणा[न्*] सम्पूज्य सप्रधा-
- 7 न्नाप्रतिवासिनो यथाकालाध्यामिनस्समाहर्तृमन्त्रिघाटगु(प्र)-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 सुखानविकारिण[:*] सवारणानन्या⁷न्यान्मत्पादोपजि(जी)विन. सर्व[रा]-
- 9 जपुसपा[न्*] समाजापयति [।*] विदितमन्त्रु भवता यथाभ्यामिरय ग्रा-
- 10 मः सनिर्घा[:*] सोपनिधिः सदग्रापराध सर्वकारसमेत सर्वपीडा-
- 11 वर्जित[*] प्रतिपिद्विचाटभटप्रवेगयया ॥¹⁰ तरङ्गक¹¹प्रतिष्ठि-

¹ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1231, 1232, and 1230

² Ratanpur Inscription of the time of Prithvīdeva II and Brahmadēva. See above p. 114, note 2

³ This name may represent ancient Chaitanapura. There is a village named Tarūd 11 miles north east of Mallār and 3 miles south of Alaltār in which ruins of temples and tanks are to be seen. Its name would not correspond to *Taradambaka*, but it is not known if it contains any Buddhist remains.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ Read वय

⁶ The *dandas* are superfluous

⁷ Read तरङ्गक

⁸ Read सप्रधानाप्रतिवासिनो

⁹ Read न्यान्म¹⁰ [The synthesis requires सपाद¹⁰ instead of अपत्पाद¹⁰ -Ed.]

¹⁰ This *danda* is superfluous

¹¹ Read तरङ्गक

- 12 तपोरदेवभोय्यल्लका¹कारितविहारिकानिवासिचातुर्दिशार्थमि-
 13 'सुसहाय श्रीभास्वरवर्म्ममातुलविग्रथा ताम्रशसनेनाच-
 14 न्द्रार्कसमकालभ्रातापिचोरात्मनश्च पुण्यामिद्वचये ।² आपाढा-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 15 भावास्यासूर्यगहोपरागे³ उदकपूर्वं⁴ प्रतिपादित इत्य⁵तश्च
 16 विधेयतया समुचितभोगभागादिकमुपनयन्निभ(र्भ)वन्नि⁶ सुख-
 17 अतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुदि(हि)श्वेदमभिधीयते [1*]
 18 भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्ति हत्वा महि(र्ही) नृपतयो
 19 नरके नृशङ्खात्(शसाः) । एतद्व(ह्व)य परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लज्मीः⁶ मायुस्त-
 20 घा क्षुरत्त यज्ञवतामभि(भौ)ष्ठ(ष्टम्)⁷ [॥१॥*] अपि च [1*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्प-
 (त्फ)लं सु-
 21 गतिदुर्गति(ती) [1-] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छ्रिय⁸ नरकां प्रतिपद्यते⁹ [॥२*]
 व्यासगीता(ता)-

Thrd Plate

- 22 चात्त लोकातुदाहा(ह)रन्ति [1*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्यं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी]
 23 सु(सूर्य)सुताश्च गावः [1*] दत्ता¹⁰ नयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य[1*] काञ्चनं
 गाञ्च म-
 24 क्षि(क्षी)ञ्च दद्यात्¹¹ [॥३॥*] पष्टि(ष्टि) वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे भोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
 25 क्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹² [॥४॥*] बहुभिर्वसु-
 26 घा दत्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः [1-] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-
 27 दा फलं [॥५॥*] रुदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ताम्वा¹³ यनाद्रच युधिष्ठिर¹⁴ [1*] महि(र्ही)
 महिभता(तां)

¹ Read कोरदेवमायापका

² Read ताश्च-

³ This danda is superfluous Read पुण्यामिद्वचये आपाढा⁰

⁴ Read 'पराग उदकपूर्वं

⁵ Read इति । अतश्च

⁶ Read लज्मीमायु-

⁷ Metre Vasantatilaka

⁸ Read सुमृज्य

⁹ Metre Anushubh

¹⁰ Read दत्ताम्वा-

¹¹ Metre Indrayajrū

¹² Metre Anushubh, and of the two following verses

¹³ Read परदत्ता वा

¹⁴ Read युधिष्ठिर

28 येष्ट दानात्से(च्रे)योयुपाननमिति¹ ॥६॥²

The Seal.³

1 राजः श्रीर्यगुप्तस्य सुनी⁴ मनुगानिन[1⁵]

2 मासन गिवगुप्तस्य स्थितसामुवनस्थिते[॥⁶]²

TRANSLATION

(Ll 19) Om Hail ! The illustrious Mahā Śivaguptarāja, born in the lunar dynasty, a most devout worshipper of Mahāvara (Śiva), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, who is a son of the king, the illustrious Harshadōva even a Kārttikāya of Śiva, who has acquired all the accomplishments of a conqueror through the perfection of commendable discipline attained by a special study of all the royal lore who has attained great prosperity by his patronage of accomplished persons, exceedingly great valour, intelligence and majesty, being in good health, issues the following command after honouring the Brāhmanas in the village Kaulāsapura of the Taraḍarivāla bhūga (subdivision), to the inhabitants (of the village) together with their Headman, the Collector, the Receiver and other officers— he may be in charge (of the village) from time to time, together with their subordinates, as well as to all other royal officials who may be dependant on him—²

(Ll 9-15) Be it known to you that on the (occasion of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of Āshādhā, this village together with treasure and deposits, together with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences,⁴ together with all taxes free from all obstructions (and) not to be entered by the regular or irregular forces, has been granted by Us for as long as the sun and the moon will endure at the request of (Our) father-in-law Bhārara Varman (and) for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself, a copper character (and) by (a libation of) water, to the Community of venerable (Buddhist) Monks from the four quarters residing in the small monastery situated in the village, which was caused to be constructed by Alakī, the wife of Kōridā—,

(Ll 15-28) Wherefore, offering tribute, vessels, due taxes, requests, etc. (to the donor), you should dwell happily in this village. And this extends to the future rulers of the land—

(Here follow six benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

The Seal

This is a charter, enduring as long as the world of Śivagupta, the son of the king, the illustrious Harshagupta, who shines by his good qualities.

No 19—THE PURI PLATE OF MADHAVA VARMAN SANYABHITA.

By PROF. R. G. BASAK, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA

In February-March of 1913 I published an article in Bengali on a single copper plate inscribed on both sides of it, belonging to the reign of King Madhavarman (Sanyabhita, also Śrinivāsa)

¹ Read °pālanam [16°] etc. ||

² Metre Anuṣṭubh

³ Lit. on our feet

⁴ See above, Vol. IX, p. 17 and n. 1

⁵ See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8

of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōḍa in Kalinga, in the now defunct Bengali monthly magazine, the *Sāhitya* of Calcutta in its Phālguna issue of 1319 B S (pp 889 ff) It was stated in that article that that plate was undoubtedly the second of a set of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the epigraph and that the other two plates (*viz*, the first and the third) had been missing A hole in the plate indicated that that plate and the other missing ones were originally held together by means of a ring It is not easy to say if any seal with any legend was soldered on to it just as, we are informed, the Buguda plates of the same king possessed Both the late Mr R D Banerji and Mr Vinayaka Misra (*I II Q*, 1931, pp 665 ff) omitted to take notice of that plate or my article on the same, while they dealt with the chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings of Kōṅgōḍa This plate is preserved in the Museum of the Varāndra Research Society, Rājshāhi (Bengal) Luckily enough, last year (1935) my friend Dr N P Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, sent to me the impressions of two plates of the length of the above mentioned (Rājshāhi) plate with marks of ring holes of the same dimension on them, and remarked that those two plates must have belonged to an incomplete set and added that they had recently been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta Dr Chakravarti also said in his letter to me that he had inferred that the incomplete Śailōdbhava plate of the Rājshāhi Museum which I previously edited in Bengali, and the newly acquired two plates belonged to the same set I am glad to find that with this discovery of Dr Chakravarti the whole grant of King Mādhavavarman is now completely recovered, making it possible for me to make a contribution on the whole grant to the pages of this journal The second plate was obtained on behalf of the Varāndra Research Society, Rājshāhi, from Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Sadasiva Misra, by my friend Mr (now Rai Bahadur) Rama Prasad Chandra, when the latter, with some other members of the Society, toured in the autumn of 1912 in Orissa, visiting places of antiquarian interest The Mahāmahōpādhyāya got it, as we were told, from the late Mr Padma Charan Mahanti, formerly Superintendent of the Puri Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village Birobaī in the Puri District The provenance of that plate, as well as of the two newly discovered ones, is not known We prefer to call the whole set as the Puri Plates of Mādhavavarman, because we got the second plate at Puri from an inhabitant of the same district

Of the three plates the first and the third are engraved on one side only, but the second plate is engraved on both the sides The first plate contains 12 lines of writing on its reverse side only, the second 11 lines on each of the obverse and reverse sides, and the third 10 lines on its obverse side only Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ " In some places, specially on the reverse side of the second plate, some letters appear to be blurred and illegible Otherwise the inscription is in a fair state of preservation There is a mark of fracture in the second plate

The characters in which the inscription is written belong to what Kielhorn would call 'the Ganjām variety of the northern alphabet'¹ But I should like to differ greatly from his view² that they "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D." Such characters were rather prevalent in Kalinga in the 7th 8th century A.D. They mostly resemble those used in the Buguda plates³ of the same king The age of the script has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere⁴ Of initial vowels we have in this epigraph signs for *ā*, *i*, and *u*, *e.g.*, *āsi* l 10, *ākshēptā* l 41, *iti* ll 12, 14 and 17, *iva* l 20, *unmīlita* l 18, *Utathya* l 31, etc The peculiar sign for medial *ā* in the Buguda plates, pointed out by Kielhorn,⁵ as "denoted by a small hook,

¹ Above, Vol VII, p 101

² *Ibid*, p 102

³ Above, Vol III, pp 41 ff and Vol VII, pp 100 ff

⁴ *Vide my The History of North Eastern India (C 320 760 A D)*, Calcutta, 1934, pp 169 170

⁵ Above, Vol VII, p 101

turned upwards and attached to the top of the consonant sign" also sometimes occurs here. Of individual consonants the sign for *gh* (e.g., in *nāga ghatā vighatta* l 13, *vighattana* l 25) calls for attention. The signs for *n* and *l* are sometimes almost similar (e.g., *mānīla* l 1). The peculiar forms of the conjuncts *lsh* (e.g., in *lakshā* l 1, *palsha lshaya* l 23), *ny* (e.g., in *kāṅgōda* l 23), *ṣh* (e.g., in *yajñar*¹ l 22), and *shn* (e.g., *lrishnā*¹ l 1) are noteworthy. It may also be observed that the sign for *ñ* as the first part of a conjunct differs very little from that for *n* in the same position (e.g., *-ñāchhā* l 8, *-sañchaya* l 1, *mandala* l 6). I could not guess properly the reading of 9 letters, 5 in l 30, 1 in l 31 after the word *gōtrāya*, and 3 letters before *nānā*² in the same line.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. The charter contains, after the introductory words *Om śasti*, 11 verses followed by 12 lines of prose, which again are followed by four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses after which occur two other verses in which the names of the persons who wrote, marked, incised and acted as the *dātā* in the grant are respectively mentioned. The language of the document contains a large number of errors as may be noticed from the corrections proposed in the preparation of the text. All the eleven verses which describe the genealogy of the donor in this grant are identical with the verses of the *Burūda* plates in which contain only one additional verse (v. 2) which glorifies the donor, described therein as *Rājendra Mādhavarman*.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention—(1) No separate signs for *b* and *v* are used anywhere. (2) The consonants *l*, *g*, *n*, *t*, *dh*, *p*, *m* and *r* are doubled after the superscript *r*, e.g., *-chandrārīla* l 33, *vargj* l 30 (but in *-patirga*² l 12, *g* is left single), *[u]lirṇa* ll 12-13, *lirita* ll 21, 24, *°rdhkhana*² l 1, *derppanaya* l 15, *dharmna* l 31 (but in *-patir=mahe*² l 17 *m* is left single), *°muriti*² l 22. It may also be noted that the expected doubling of *j* and *l* in this position has not been made, e.g., *Sanbhār* l 3, *dhraṭ* l 17. (3) No sign of *visarga* has been used, except in a few cases, e.g., *val* l 3, *lrit* l 9, *-pāśah* l 23, etc. (4) The guttural nasal (*ṇ*) is used instead of *anusāra* before *t*, and *ṭ*, e.g., *°nambh*² l 2, *prāṇsu* l 3, *sad-āns*² l 9, *tan*² l 14, *°am* l 12. (5) Nowhere is the sign of *anugraha* used, e.g., *lulajō=Ranabhīta* ll 9-10 (where the second word is a proper name, *Ranabhīta*), *jīlō=Yasōbhīta* l 11 (where also the second word is a proper name, *Yasōbhīta*). (6) The sign of *anusāra* is sometimes neglected, e.g., in *mandala* l 6, *ñāchhā* l 8. (7) Before dental *s*, the *visarga* is changed to *s*, e.g., *tanayas-sulrit*(ti) l 16. (8) Before a subscript *r*, the letter *t* is doubled, e.g., *dharritrī* l 14, *°=charitrā*² l 15, *śa gōtra*² l 18, *°putra*² l 26, *°putrō*² l 32. (9) Final *n* is sometimes changed into *m* and *m*, e.g., *°r garīyīm* ll 12-13 *ā nam* l 25, *°iyu*[*l*°]*-lām=arita*² l 27, *sa laranām* l 28. (10) The sign for final *m* is used, e.g., *śa gōtra*² l 18, *°r=ajasram* l 21, *bhavitām* l 29. But at the end of the verse, *anusāra* (and not final *m* sign) has been used after the word *phala* in l 37.

The inscription is dated in *Samvat* 20 (?) + 3 (=23?), which may be regarded as the regnal year. Some may feel tempted to read the first numeral symbol as representing 10, in that case the regnal year will be 13.

The object of the charter is to record a revenue free grant of the village *Sāla* (or *Māla*?) situated within the *śhaya* of *Thōrana*, made by King *Mādhavavarman* (l 21) of the *Śaṭṭōd bhava* dynasty for the purpose of augmenting the religious merits of his parents and himself, to a *Brāhmana* named *Bhatta Vittadīva* of the *Kauśika gōtra* having *Ulatiya* and other *pravaras*¹, a student of the *Chhandōga charana*, and belonging to the *Kaṭhuma śālīhā*. The grant was written by *Upēndrasīmha*, son of *Kundabhōgin*, marked by *Jayasīmha* and incised by *Chhaddabhōgin* (ll 42-43). It is also stated (ll 13-14) that *Gangabhadra*, appointed to the

¹[See p 120, n 4 below.—Ld.]

duties of the *Pratihāra*, acted as the *dūlaka* of the grant. It may be noted here with advantage that the persons mentioned in ll 42-44 are identical with those mentioned in the Buguda plates of the same king and hence it may be inferred that the latter plates which are undated were not far removed from the date of our plates.

An abstract of the contents of the rest of the grant may be mentioned here. The first verse of the inscription forms an invocation of protection of the god Śambhu (Śiva), which seems to be an indication that the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty were devotees of Śiva. The next verse relates that there was a great person of the name of Pulindasēna who was 'famous amongst the people of Kalinga'. But he is stated (v 3) to have been averse to rulership on earth for himself, although he was a highly accomplished man. By his ardent worship of the god Svayambhū for the creation of a fit and able ruler for the country, Śailōdbhava was created as the lord of the earth, and from him originated a family of good rulers (v 4). In the next verse (v 5) we are told that a ruler of the name of Aranabhīta was born in his family (*kulaja*) and that he was a terror to his enemies. His son was king Sainyabhīta who achieved victory over his enemies with the help of a large troop of elephants (v 6). In his family again (*tasy-āpi vanṣe*) was afterwards born a king of the significant name of Ayaśōbhīta, who had a record of pious deeds at his credit which could not be expected of a king of the Kali age (v 7). His son was king Sainyabhīta who was a great warrior (v 8). He was able, in his prosperous condition, to reduce the sovereign influence of his enemies over their own statal circle (*mandala*) of kings (v 9). This king appears to have also been known by the *biruda* Śrīnivāsa and is described in v 10 to have performed *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices which had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of impious kings of the Kali age, from which it appears that he helped in the restoration of these sacrifices in Kalinga. He was also called Mādhavavarman and is stated to have issued this charter while residing in Kōngōḍa (v 11). After this verse 11, the record contains the formal address by the king to the various administrative officials and other people concerned. From the contents of our grant as mentioned above, and those of the Buguda plates, we obtain the following genealogical tree —

Śailōdbhava

- 1 Aranabhīta (*tat kulaja, i e*, born in his lineage)
- |
- 2 Sainyabhīta
- |
- 5 Ayaśōbhīta (*tasy-āpi vanṣe jātah, i e*, born in No 2's family)
- |
- 6 Sainyabhīta (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivāsa)

We are to notice carefully that Ayaśōbhīta (No 5 above) is not a son of Sainyabhīta (No 2), but a descendant born in his family. We know that the Pārikud¹ plates of Madhyamarāja, and the Purī² (Uttarapārśva Matha) plates and the Kōndīḍḍā³ grant of Dharmarāja contain the same genealogy as above, but only carrying it down respectively to one and two more rulers in succession, viz, (No 7) Madhyamarāja (*alias Ayaśōbhīta* ?) and (No 8) Dharmarāja (*alias Mānabhīta*).

¹ Above, Vol XI, pp 281-287

² *J B O R S*, Vol XVI, pp 176 ff

³ Above, Vol XIX, p 265 J

the remark of Dr Chakravarti¹ who, following the late Mr R D Banerji, says that inspite of palæographic difficulty the Buguda and Ganjām plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler. We are, however, glad to note that he feels inclined to place the Pārikud grant towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century A D. On the above considerations, we have also taken the first Sainyabhita-Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjām grants as identical with the first Sainyabhita of the Buguda and our Puri plates, in whose family Ayaśōbhita (No 5) is described therein as being born. Hence the genealogy of the first six kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty according to our opinion should be settled as follows —

Śailōdbhava

- 1 Aranabhita
- 2 Sainyabhita I (=Mādhavarāja I)
- 3 Ayaśōbhita I
- 4 Sainyabhita II (=Mādhavarāja II, A D 619 20)
- 5 Ayaśōbhita II
- 6 Sainyabhita III (=Mādhavarman=Śrīnivāsa)

With these introductory words I edit the grant for the first time from the original plates and the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist

TEXT

[Metres Vv 1, 3, *Śārdūlavīrīḍita*, vv. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, *Vasantatilala*, vv 4, 12-17, *Anushtubh*, v 7, *Indravajrā*, v 10, *Sragdharā*, v 11, *Āryā*]

First Plate

- 1 Ōm² Svasti [||*] [I]ndō[r=ddhau]ta mṛnāla-tantubhir=iva ślishtā[h*] kara[h*] kōmalaiva-(r=ba)ddh āhār=aru-
- 2 nai[h*] sphurat-phana-manai(nē)r=dī(di)gdha prabhāsō=n(m)śubh[h*] Pārvvatyā[h*] sa-[kaeha*] graha-vyatikara vyāvṛita(tta)-va(ba)
- 3 ndha ślathā Gang āmbha[h*]-pluti-bhinna bhasma kanikā[h*] Śambhōr-jatā[h*] pāntu vah | [||*] Prānsu-mahabha(Prāmsur=mahēbha) ka-
- 4 ra pīvara chāru vā(bū)hu[h*] kṛishn āsma sañchaya vibhēda vishā(śā)la-vakshā[h*] rāj[i]va kōmala dal āya-
- 5 [ta] lōchan-āntā(tah) śyāta(khyātah) Kahnga janatāsu Pulī(lī)ndasēna[h*] || 2 ||*
Tēn=ēttham gunin=āpī satva(ttva) mahatā

¹ *Op cit*, p 36

² Expressed by a symbol

- 6 n=śstham(shtam) bhuvō mandala[m*] śaktō ya[h*] paripālanāya jagata[h*] kō
nāma sa syād=iti [*] pratyā-
7 dīṣṭa vibh-ūtsav-āna bhagavān=āra[dhi]ta[h*] śāśvata tachit(s=tach chitt) ānugu nam
vidhitsu-
8 r=adīśad=āñchihā[m*] Śayambhō(bhū)r=apī || [3 || *] Śa śilā sa(śa) aī ōdbhīdī
tūn=āpy-ālōkya dhi(dhī)ma
9 tī [*] parikalpitā sad vanāś(śamśāli) prabhū[h*] Śailōdbha[vah*] kṛitah[ī 4 ||*]
Śailōdbhavasya kulajū=²Rana
10 bhīta āśīd=yān-īsaknt=kṛitā bhīyām dvīśad anganānām [*] jyōtī(t)gnā pravō(bō)
dha sama-
11 jū śva dhīyā[ū](v=ā)va śū[r]ddham=īkampitō nayana prakṣma jalāśhu chandrah
[ī 5 ||*] Tasy=ābha
12 vad=āvu(bu)dhīpāla śmasya sunu(sūnuh) śrī Śaī(Sai)nyabhīta itī bhūmipatir=
ga[rī]-

Second Plate, Obverse

- 13 vām(vān) [*] vām prā[py]* n aīka śatā nīga ghatī vighatta lav dha(bdha) pravāda
vīja[vām mu]mudt
14 dharittrī || 6 ||* Tasy=īpī van(vām)²[ū]=[tha*] yath ārtha nāmā jātō=³Yaśōbhīta
itī kshī-
15 tī(tī)śāli [*] yāna praru(rū)dhīō=pi ⁴ubhāś=chanttrair=mmprāhta[h*] śāśvata[h*]
Kāli(h) dīrpprāsyā [ī 7 ||*]
16 [Jātō=tha*] tasya tanayā[s]=sukṛitī(tī) samasta ś[ī]māntinī nayana śhaṭpāda puṇḍarīka-
[h*] ||(1) śrī
17 Śaīnyabhīta itī bhūmipatir=marī ūbha kumbha sthali dāyana durlehit īś
18 dhāra[h || 8 ||*] Jātūna yāna kamalākara vet-sva gōttra[m] unmlītam dīnal pīt=
āva
19 mahōdayāna [ī*] saṅkṣipta mandala ruchaś=cha grāh[h*] pranāśam=īśu dvīśhō
graha ga
20 vā va yasya dīptyā || 9 ||* Kālāśair=bhūradhattīpātībhīr=upachit-ānāka pīp ā
21 vatīrai[r]=nītī yāhām kath=īpī prahīyam=abhimatā kīrtī mī(pī)lāir=āśram [*]
22 yajñais=tair=Āśvāmūdha prabhītibhīr=amarā lambhītī ⁵triptim=urvaīm=uddīpt ārātī-
23 prakṣā kshaya kṛitī patunā Śrīnāvāsōna yāna || [10 ||*] Kōngōda kṛitā mukūtah

Second Plate, Reverse

- 24 śārada mīśkara² marī(rī)clu sītī(ta) kīrtī[h [*] sa śrī Mādhava[va*]³māmā nṛpu-mī-
25 na vighattīna[h*] kuśālī || [11 ||*] Āśmīm(Asmīm) bhū mma(ma)ndalē śrī-
sāmānta mahāsūma

¹ The name is *Aranabhīta*

² An example of Prakrit influence

³ There is a superfluous *tasya* here (l 14), and a superfluous *ubha* in l 15

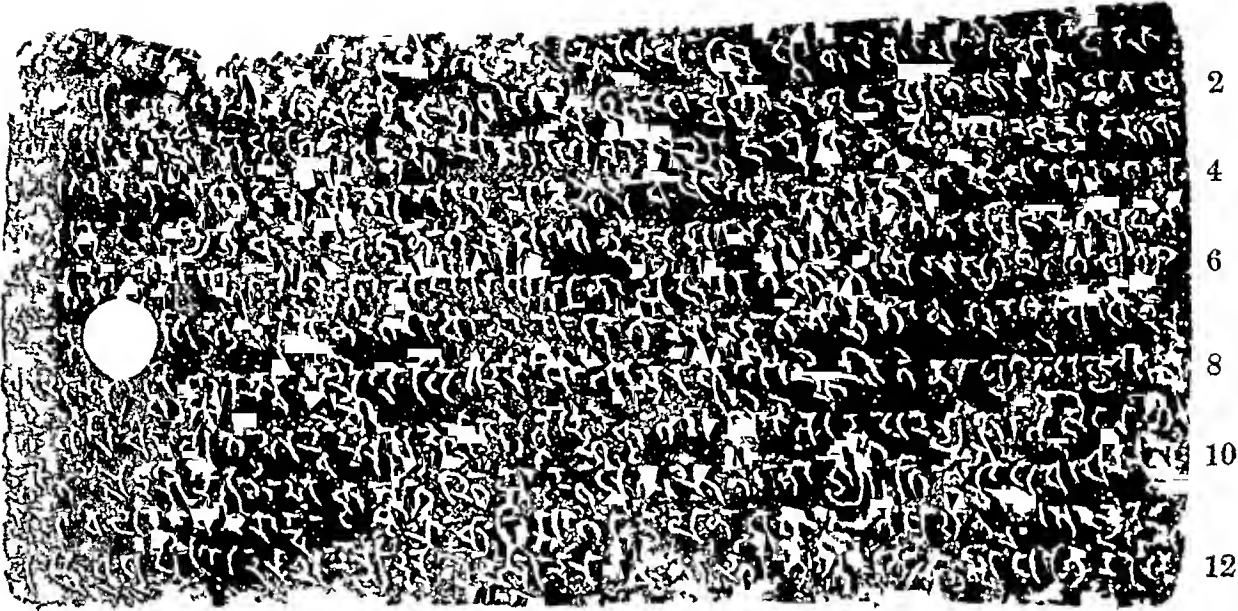
⁴ The name is *Āyaśōbhīta*

⁵ Read *gōttra* - *unmlītam*

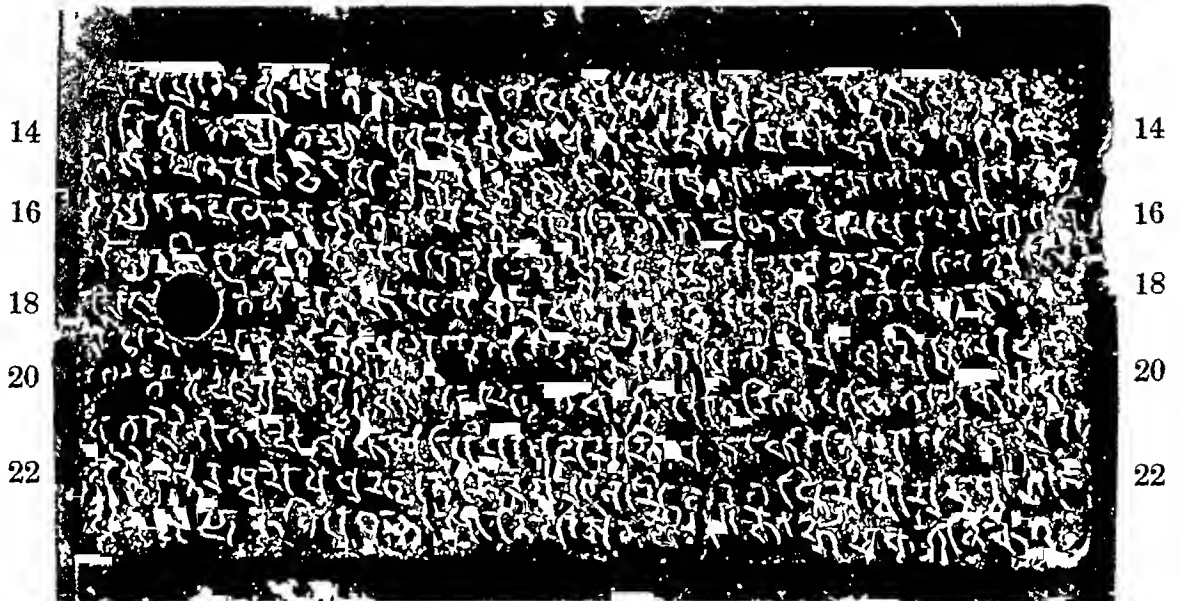
⁶ Read *lambhītās=trī*

⁷ Read *śraṇa nīśā²ara* as in the Buguḍa plates.

PURI PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN SAINYABHITA



n,a



24
26
28
30
32
34

24
26
28
30
32
34

36
38
40
42
44

36
38
40
42
44

- 26 nta mahārāja rājana(nya)ka-rājaputtr [ā]ta(nta)ranga dandanāyaka-dandapāsi-
 27 n=ōparikara ¹vishayapati-tadānyu[kta*]kāmva(kān=va)rttamāna-bhavishyatō vya-
 28 vahārīna[h*] sa-karanām(nān)=vrā(brā)hmana-purōg-ādī[n*] jānapadāms=chātta(ta)-
 bhata vallabha-
 29 jātiyām(yān) yathārham² pūjayati mānayati [i*] Vīditam=astu bhavatām(tā)m
 30 Thōrana vishaya samvandha(mbaddha) Sā(Mā ?)la-grāma[h*]³ — — — — — Kausika-⁴
 31 gōtrāya — ⁵Utathya pravarāya — — — ⁶nānā pravarāya Chchhandōga-charanā-
 32 ya Kauthuma śākhāya Bhatta Vīttadēvasya(vāya) mātā pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puny-ā-
 33 bhuvriddhayē sahla dhārā-pura[h*]sarēn=ākaratvēna ⁷māchandr ārkka-kshiti(tī)-
 sama-
 34 kalam pratipādītō=smābhū[h i*] Yataś=cha tāmvrā(mra) pattakam daśadhā⁸ dharmma-
 gaura

Third Plate

- 35 vā[t*] kalpa-kalp-āntarēn=āpi na ⁹kais=cha paripanthunā bhavitavyam=iti |
 36 uktañ=cha Mānavē dharmmaśāstrē [i*] Va(Ba)hubhīr=vvasudhā dattā rājabhī-
 [s*]=Sagar ādi-
 37 bhūh [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(m)
 ||[12 ||*] Mā bhūva(d=a)phala śa-
 38 nkā vah para-datt=ēti pā[r]thivah(vāh) [i*] sva dānāt=phalam=ānantyam ¹⁰para-
 datt-ānupāla-
 39 nam(nē) |[13 ||*] Sva dattām para dattam=vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta) vasun-
 dharā(rām) [i*] sa vishthāyām kṛmīr=bhūtvā
 40 pitribhū[h*] saha pachyatē || [14 ||*] Shashtim varsha sahasrām svarggē
 mōdātā bhū-
 41 mudah [i*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam=va(kē va)sēt || [15 ||*]
 Lā(Lē)khit=ō
 42 pēndrasin(hēna(simhō)=tra tanayā(yah) Kundabhōgnā(nah) [i*] lāñchhitam Jaya
 sin(sim)hēna [u]tki-
 43 rna[m*] Chchhadābhōgīnō(nā) || [16 ||*] Samyag-ārādhita svāmī prasāda śishta-
 mānasah [i*] dūta-
 44 [kō] Gangabhadrō=[tra*] prāthāya(īyyē) vyavasthitah || [17 ||*] Samvat
 20 (?) 3 ||

¹ Read *ōparika vishaya*² The *rēpha* meant for *ham* has been wrongly put on *pū* by the engraver³ The five letters after this word seem to be *vinirggataya* [The reading of the first three of these five letters is quite uncertain. If the reading suggested is accepted the name of the village granted will have to be considered as missing which is unlikely.—Ed.]⁴ [The reading of the second letter is uncertain. It may be pointed out that the Kausika *gōtra* cannot have *Utathya pravarā* —Ed.]⁵ The letter before this word reads like *lu* [The corrected reading is *Au(Au)athya* —Ed.]⁶ The three letters before this word read like *la'uta* [The reading appears to be *Al ānupravarāya* —Ed.]⁷ Read *ōmāchandr ārkka-*⁸ [Reading seems to be *tāmvrā paṭṭaka-darśanā[d*]* —Ed.]⁹ Read *lāñchit* for *kais=cha*¹⁰ The *pa* of this word looks like *dha*, the *mātrā* having closed up the top of the letter.

TRANSLATION

Om Blessings

(Verse 1) May the matted locks of hair of Sambhu, in which the particles of which are separated by the overflowing waters of the Gaugā (on his head), which are touched by the soft rays of the moon (also on his head) as if by white lotus fibres, of which the lustre is dimmed by the red rays of the entwining snakes bearing sparkling gems on their hoods, and which are darkened because of their knot being set aside on account of Pārvatī's union accompanied with a grasp of His hair, protect you !

(Verse 2) (There was a person) famous amongst the people of Kuluga, named Pulindasēna, tall, with charming arms as stout as the trunk of a large elephant, having a chest as broad as the fragment(?) of a black mountain, and whose eyes were as large as the soft petals of lotus

(Verse 3) By him, though so accomplished and great in spirit, (the rulership over) the circle of the earth was not longed for (By this person) denying the pleasure of rulership, thinking as to who (else) would be the man that would be able to rule over the earth, was worried the lord Śvambhū (Brahmā) the eternal, and (the latter) being desirous of creating (one), according to his heart's desires, granted his prayer

(Verse 4) As (he) was observed as splitting asunder pieces of rock, Śaṅkubhava was made by this wise (god) as the lord with an illustrious dynasty (of rulers originating from him) touched

(Verse 5) A descendant in the family of Śaṅkubhava was Aranabhita, by whom, at the time of the rise of the moon light, the moon was caused to tremble, along with their own intellect, in the waters from the eye lashes of the wives of his enemies who were frightened repeatedly

(Verse 6) Of him who was equal to the lord of gods, (i.e., Indra) the very great line Sainyabhita was the son, by obtaining him who attained victory in such premeditated actions of disposition (even) in havoc caused (amongst his enemies) by rows of many hundreds of elephant-² (as her lord), the Earth felt delighted

(Verse 7) Afterwards, in his family was born King Ayaśōbhita, who a name earned a true import, by whom was purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated dirt on the mirror of the Kāluga

(Verse 8) Then was born his son, of meritorious deed, the king, named Sainyabhita, who is (as it were) a lotus to the beautiful eyes of all ladies, and the edge of whose sword is playfully active in splitting asunder the frontal globes of the huge elephants² (of his enemies)

(Verse 9) By this (king), while in great prosperity,³ is made illustrious his own family, just like a lotus pool (in which the lotuses are) opened by the sun while rising, and on account of his majesty his enemies, with the power of their own circle of kings reduced, meet with destruction, just as all (the other) planets (disappear), with the brilliance of their own discs diminished, on account of the lustre (of the sun)

(Verse 10) By this Śrīnivāsa⁴, who is skilful in the act of destruction of the partisans of his highly insolent enemies, the gods are made to enjoy extreme satisfaction on account of (his) perfor-

¹ This king caused death of his enemies, whose wives were therefore compelled to shed tears of sorrow on account of their widowhood which destroyed for ever their union with their husbands at moon rise

² Elephants played an important part in the army of the Kāluga kings in ancient times

³ It may be noted that the words, *ulaya*, *maṇḍala* and *dīpa* as used in this verse convey by *śrī* the double meanings, (i) prosperity and (ii) rise, (i) the statal circle of kings and (ii) disc, and (i) majesty and (ii) lustre, respectively

⁴ Sainyabhita Mādhavarman had a *virūḍa* Śrīnivāsa, which also means Viṣṇu, as well as an abode of royalty.

mance of) those *Āsvamēdha*¹ and other sacrifices the very mention of which is (now) relegated to the domain of non-existence by kings of the earth belonging to the Kali age, who have accumulated (newly) introduced sins of many kinds, (but) which was liked ever so much by (kings) who were upholders of fame

(Verse 11) This *Mādhavarman*, whose fame is as white as the rays of the autumnal moon and who is competent to crush the pride of his enemies, being in good health, and (while) putting up in his residence in *Kōṅgōda*,²—

(Lines 25 35) duly honours and esteems the illustrious *Sāmantas*,³ *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahā-īājas*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarangas*, *Dandanāyakas*, *Dandapāsīlas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatiś* and *Tadānyuktakas*, the present and the future *vyavahārins* (administrative officers), the *jānapadas* with the *Kaṇanas* and the chief *Brāhmanas* and (also) those of the *Chāta*, *Bhata* and *Vallabha* classes (with the following information) —

Be it known to you that the village of *Śāla*(*Māla*?) situated in the *viśhaya* of *Thōrana*, has been given, free of all dues, by me, to last as long as the sun and the moon endure and the earth lasts, with a libation of water for the enhancement of the religious merit of my parents and of my own self, to *Bhatta Vittadēva* of the *Kauśika gōtra*, having for his *pravaras* *Utathya* and others) belonging to the *Chhandōga charana* and the *Kauthuma śālkhā*

As this was a copper plate grant, no one should stand as an impediment (in its operation) even in future *Kalpas*, out of respect to *dharma* in ten ways⁵ There are verses also mentioned in the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (to the same effect) —

(Verses 12-15) (There are four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses)

(Verse 16) In this (grant) *Upōndrasimha*, son of *Kuṇḍabhōgin*, was the writer, and the charter was marked by *Jayasimha* and incised by *Chhaddibhōgin*

(Verse 17) *Gangabhadra*, whose mind was attached, through favour, to his master whom he served thoroughly, and who was appointed to the duties of the *Pratīhāra*, acted as the *dūtaka* herein.

Samvat 20(?) + 3

NO 20—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHERGADH

By PROF A S ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

Shergadh, where the two inscriptions edited here are found, is a deserted town in the *Atru Nizamat* or *Taluka* of the *Kotah* state in *Rājputānā*. It is about 12 miles to the south-west of the railway station *Atru* on the *Kotah Bina* line of the *G I P Railway*. Within the stony massive walls of the town there are more than three thousand houses in different stages of dilapidation. The present population, however, is hardly more than 300 and so the township presents a dreary appearance even by day. According to local tradition, the present name

¹ This refers to the restoration of the *varnasramadharmas* in the seventh century A D not only in *Kalunga*, but in many other parts of North Eastern India

² Also spelt as *Kaṅgōda* in some of the other grants of the *Śaṭodbhava* dynasty

³ For the meaning and functions of these terms, vide the author's article in *Bengali* on "the administration of the Pāl kings" of Bengal *Prabāsī*, *Āśvina* issue, B S 1343

⁴ *Thōrana*, is also mentioned as the *viśhaya* in which the village of *Ārahanna* mentioned in the *Khurda* grant (*J A S B*, Vol LXXIII, 1904, pp 282 ff) is situated

⁵ [See p 129, n 8—Ed]

of the town was given to it after its capture by Sher Shūh of the Sūr dynasty in the course of his Mālwa campaign. Its ancient name, mentioned in several inscriptions found at the place, was Kōśavarddhana, 'the increaser or the asset of the treasury'. The Inscription B edited below, shows that the city was an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture, contributing a good deal to the royal treasury. It was also an important military station. The present dilapidated township itself was a strong fort in the Hindu period, as its still existing powerful ramparts show. It is also expressly referred to as a fort (*durga*) in the Inscription A. A new fort was constructed outside the old one in the Muslim period. When Dr Mathurallal, the State Historian, Kotah, and myself visited Shergadh in February 1936 in the course of our tour of archaeological explorations undertaken at the instance of the Kotah Government, we came across several Jain, Hindu and Buddhist inscriptions, both in the new and in the old fort, ranging from the 8th to the 13th century A.D. It is clear that during this period the citizens of this flourishing city followed these three faiths.

The inscriptions are engraved on two different stone tablets, built into the present temple of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the Inscription B, has been edited with a short note by Dr D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 175-6. Inscription A has not yet been noticed or published. As one ascends the platform of the temple, the Inscription A is to be seen in the wall on the left near the third stair step. The Inscription B is on a tablet built into a front line pillar of the *mandapa* to the left of the entrance. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing this last mentioned record, has observed that it is inscribed on a stone lying outside the temple of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa.¹ The information supplied to him in this connection was incorrect. The two stone tablets in the temple have been occupying their present position ever since the time of the visit of the *munshi* of Col. Tod to this temple during the second quarter of the 19th century. According to the information given by the present priest, no repairs have been done to the temple during the last three generations.

A — Inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya

The stone on which this record has been inscribed is well dressed and is 27" x 22" in dimension. The record, however, is not complete and its concluding lines have been broken off. The present temple of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa cannot be more than 300 or 400 years old. Hence it would appear that when the temple of the Paramāra period was subsequently repaired, or overhauled, or pulled down, the inscribed tablets were re-set in the new structure in the course of which the lower portion of the tablet of this inscription might have been damaged. To judge from other Paramāra grants, the lost portion of the record consisted probably of not more than two lines and contained the concluding line of the last verse, the stanza beginning with *Iti lamala dal āmbu bindu lōlām*, followed possibly by the name of the *dātāla*, the signature of the donor, and the date of the record given in figures at the end.

The stone has further peeled off to its right, destroying in various degrees the concluding portions of the first twelve lines of the record. Local tradition ascribes this damage to a lightning stroke. With the exception of a portion of the date, the rest of the missing part can be restored with the help of other Paramāra records. The record as preserved to day consists of 24 lines, each line containing about 38 letters.

The characters are the normal Nāgarī of the 11th century to which the record belongs. The duct of writing is good and the medial *ṭ* *mātrās* are graceful. The engraver's mistakes are very few.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175

The Language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed with a few exceptions like *śrī Udayāditya*, l 6, *vuddhvā asmad*, l 19, etc. Grammatical mistakes are also very few. We have *māri pitrōh* for *mātā pitrōh* in l 16 and *anyarh* for *anyarh* in ll 19 and 22. The latter, however, may possibly be the engraver's mistake. The record is partly in prose and partly in poetry, poetical portions consisting of the introductory and the imprecatory verses.

The object of the record is the grant of a village made by the *Parama-Bhattārāla-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramīśvara śrī-Udayāditya* of the Paramūra house. The arrangement of its contents is similar to what we see in many other Paramūra grants. It opens with the two usual verses in the adoration of Śiva followed by the name and genealogy of the donor, and then follows the name of the village granted, an address to its inhabitants, the date, the place, the occasion and the motive of the grant, the name of the donee and the usual exhortations to succeeding monarchs.

Our record describes the donor, king *Udayāditya*, as meditating on the feet of *Bhōjadēva*. The relationship between the two, however, is not stated. A late record from *Udayapur*, belonging to the 16th century A. D., states that *Udayāditya* was the son of *Gyātā*, grandson of *Gōndala*, and great grandson of *Śūravīra*, who belonged to the Paramūra clan.¹ This document would make *Udayāditya* a scion of a minor Paramūra branch, and very remotely related, if related at all, to *Bhōjarāja*. Two official Paramūra documents, however, issued within a generation of the death of *Udayāditya*, contain quite a different statement. Thus the *Nāgpur prasasti*,² issued in the reign of *Lakshmadēva*, a son of *Udayāditya*, refers to the latter as a *bandhu* of *Bhōja*. Till recently this was the only early record describing the relationship of *Bhōja* with *Udayāditya* and it was possible to suggest, especially in view of the genealogy given in the *Udayapur* inscription, that the term *bandhu* may have been used in denoting a relation in general rather than a real brother.³ Recently, however, another Paramūra record, the Jainad stone inscription of *Jagaddēva*,⁴ has been published. This ruler is very probably identical with *Lakshmadēva* in whose reign the *Nāgpur prasasti* was composed. In this record a specific assertion is made that *Udayāditya* was the father and *Bhōja* the uncle of *Jagaddēva*,⁴ which shows that the word *bandhu* of the *Nāgpur prasasti* must be taken as having its normal sense, viz., a brother.

When two official Paramūra documents, issued within less than 25 years of the death of *Udayāditya*, state that he was a brother of *Bhōja*, we have to accept their testimony in preference to that of an early 16th century record, which does not seem to have been properly edited as well.

In the genealogy of *Udayāditya*, as given in our record, his predecessors *Vikpati*, *Sindhurāja* and *Bhōja* are mentioned. The predecessors of *Vikpati* are passed over, probably as being too remote in time. The omission of *Jayasimha*, the immediate predecessor of *Udayāditya*, however, cannot be explained on that ground. It is worth pointing out that no record either of *Udayāditya* or of any of his successors, mentions *Jayasimha*, even when the genealogy is taken back to *Bhōja*.⁵ This can hardly be regarded as accidental. It seems that *Bhōja* left behind no son and in the chaos that followed his death, several of his relations came forward to claim

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol IX, p 549

² *Ante*, Vol II, p 185, cf v 32, तस्य (भोजस्य) वन्द्युदयान्त्योभयद्वयपति ।

³ *Ganguly, History of the Paramūra Dynasty*, pp 133-4

⁴ *An Rep Archaeol Dept, Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28, pp 23 f, *ante*, Vol XXII, p 51, cf v 6, वन्द्युदयान्त्यपति ।

⁵ *Nāgpur prasasti*, *ante*, Vol II, p 185, *Udayapur prasasti*, *ibid*, Vol I, p 222, *Māndhātā plates of Dēva-pāla*, *ibid*, Vol IX, p 108

the Paramāra throne¹, when the victorious armies of Bhīma and Karṇa returned to their home. Udayāditya and Jayasinha were two among these claimants. Jayasinha succeeded in the beginning with the help of Sōmāvara I, the Chāluṅga ruler of Kalyāṇī.² How he was related to Bhōja is not yet known. Probably he was not his son,³ but a distant relative.

The success of Jayasinha must have for a time frustrated the ambition of Udayāditya. He, however, got his opportunity when Jayasinha was overthrown by Sōmāvara II. With the help of the Chāluṅga ruler Durlabha III, Udayāditya succeeded in reconquering Malwa.⁴ If the above conjecture is correct, it is natural that the official record of his time should not describe him as *Jayasinhāditya pādārūḍh*,⁵ i.e. 'Inconquered by Jayasinha'. A pretence of a feudatory of the Chāluṅga, the bitter and long-continued enemy of the Paramāra, would therefore have been regarded as a disgrace to the Paramāra house, and a person so disgraced would not deserve to be included in its official records. Udayāditya, therefore, as a ruler, would not in his own and in his successors' record want to mention the fact of his, and that of his immediate predecessor, Jayasinha.

The date of the grant which bears parts II, 16, is the Damanaka Festival on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama Samvat) year eleven hundred exceeded by

It is unfortunate that there is a discrepancy of the date giving the years in excess of 1100 both in the inscription and in the dated record of the 19, as dated records are badly needed to determine the precise limits of the reign of Udayāditya.

Damanaka is a spring festival when a branch of *dharmapāṣāṇa* is offered to Lord Śiva or Vishnu with a prayer to him and to Madan for the happiness and felicity of the whole of the country. Our inscription agrees with Hōshōdō and Madan's tradition concerning the date of this festival. Other authorities, however, do not agree with it to be placed as early.⁶

The grant made in this inscription, like most of the recorded in the Inscription B below, is made in favour of the temple of Sōmanātha, which is described as being situated in the fort of Kōṣavarddhana, i.e., modern Sherghāṭ. In view of the bearing of Sōmanātha in the Inscription B, it is clear that the temple of Sōmanātha of the Paramāra period was situated where near the modern temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa where the inscription is placed at present. When I visited this temple in February, 1936, it presented a *Śivalaya* in its *mandapa* which is known as Sōmanātha even to this day. It may be that the present temple of Sōmanātha, which was the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of Kōṣavarddhana, as shown by the numerous grants given to it in the Inscription B below, was destroyed by the Muslims, probably when the fort was captured by them during the reign of Sher Shāh. The temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa may have escaped destruction as being of minor importance. Later on when the fury of the Muslim storm had passed over, the *hujra* of Sōmanātha may have been transferred to the neighbouring temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, along with its inscribed tablets recording various donations. It is also possible, though not probable, that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa may be interlopers in their present temple, a Vaishnavite revolution being responsible for the

¹ The expression *rajjā cha Lalya kulē* of the Nāgpur *pramāṇa* make this supposition very probable.

² *Vikramāditya Charita*, III, 67.

³ Udayāditya would have hesitated to describe himself as meditating on the feet of his rival's father.

⁴ *Prithvirajayaya*, V, 77.

⁵ *Smṛiti laustubha*, pp. 19-23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

enthronement of Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa in the sanctum of the present temple when Sōmanātha was relegated to a corner of its *māṇḍapa*

A portion of the inscription recording the details of the situation of the village granted is missing, but the village seems to have been *Vilāpadraka*, since its inhabitants are exhorted to pay the usual royal dues to the temple. It is described as situated in the twelve village subdivision of *radraha*, situated in the *mandala* or district of *Chachchurōṇī*. The last mentioned place is obviously identical with the village *Chāchurnī*, (spelt in Survey maps as *Chāchoni*), situated about 24 miles S S E of Shergadh, on the confluence of the Parvān and the Nirmaj¹. *Vilāpadraka* may be *Bilandi*, a village about 11 miles S S E of Shergadh. Or, it may be identified with the village *Bilwārō*, situated about 25 miles east of Shergadh. I am indebted to Dr Mathuralal, the State Historian, Kotah, for this information.

TEXT²

- 1 ॐ³ स्वस्ति [I⁴] ज[योभ्युदयश्च । जयति⁵]⁶ व्योमकोशोसौ [यः सर्गाय
विमर्ति ताम् । ऐ⁷]न्दवीं सि(शि)रसा लेखा जग-
- 2 [ह्रीं]जाकुमारतिम् । [। १ ॥⁸] तत्पु(न्तु) वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणम-
निशं जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोदाल[तडि⁹]-
- 3 दलयपिङ्गलाः ॥ [२ ॥¹⁰] परममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवावपति-
राजदेवपा[दानु¹¹]-
- 4 ध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपा[दानुध्यातपर¹²]-
- 5 ममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीश्रीजदेवपादानुध्यातपर[ममहारकम¹³]-
- 6 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री¹⁴उदयादित्यदेव[¹⁵] कुमली ॥ चतुरोणीमंड[लान्त-
पाति ॥¹⁶]-
- 7 रद्रहदादयको श्रीकोशवर्धनदुर्गीयश्रीसोमनाथदेव[भु]क्तेश्वर¹⁷
- 8 विलाप्रद्रकग्रामे समुपगतान् समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् प्रति[निवा-
सिपट्टकिलज¹⁸]-
- 9 नपदादींश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं¹⁹ ॥²⁰ यथा कर्मासिकाग्रामावस्थितैर-
स्मा[भि] .. धि²¹]-²²
- 10 कश्चैकादशकासवत्सरे चैत्रसुदि(शुद्ध)चतुर्दश्यां दमनकापर्वणि ज्ञात्वा चराचरगु-
[चं भगवन्तं म²³]-

¹ The name of this river is spelt as Mowaj in Survey maps

² From the original stone and ink impression

³ Expressed by a symbol, which is only partly visible

⁴ Usually स्मि is followed in Paramāra records by the verso जयति व्योमकोशोसौ, etc. Here medial ō sign is partly clear on the letter following ja and the place damaged can accommodate the letters supplied in the text

⁵ Read *śry Udayadityādēva*

⁶ What followed in the text in the portion destroyed cannot be inferred

⁷ The sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Only five letters have been lost in the missing portion of this line of which the last syllable must have been *dh*. Hence it is apparent that the unit and the decimal figures together consisted of four letters only

- 11 वानीपति समभ्यर्च्य ससारस्यासारता दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि [1*] वाताम्रविभ्रम-
मिद वसुधाधिप[त्यमापात*]-
- 12 मानमधुरो विपयोपभोग¹ । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणा धर्म-
सखा परम[ज्ञो पर*]-
- 13 लोकयाने । [। ३ ॥*] अस्मत्सारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमा त्रियं(यम्) ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पचात्ताप. पर फल(लम्) [॥ ४ ॥*]
- 14 इति जगतो विनय्वर स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमगीकृत्य चन्द्राकर्णवर्जितमम-
काल या-
- 15 वत्परया भक्त्या श्रीकोमवर्धनदुर्गीय-श्रीमोमनायदेवायैवोपरिनिष्ठितग्राम स(स्र)-
सीमादृगायू-
- 16 तिगोचरपर्यन्तः सहचमालाकुलः सहिर्यशमागमोगोपरिकरमर्वादायममेतय साद-
(ता)पिचोरात्म-
- 17 नच पुण्ययगोमिहृज्वे¹ । यामनेनोदकपूर्वकतया प्रदत्त इति । तस्मत्त्वा
तन्निवासिजनपदेयवा[प्र*]-
- 18 दीयमानभागमोगकारहिरण्यादिक देवप्रा(त्रा)ध्वजमुक्तिवर्जमाज्ञान्य अपि चैयैर्मृत्वा
सर्वमसुपै
- 19 समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्य चेतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धा² अस्मद्वज्रैरश्वै(न्यै)रपि भा-
विभोक्तृभिरस्त्रप्रदत्तधर्मा(र्मा)-
नुरते ३५६९
- 20 दायोयसुसुतव्यः पालनीयच ॥ उक्तं च [1*] य(व)दुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजसि. सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
- 21 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [। ५ ॥*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्ययगम्भराणि । नि-
- 22 र्मान्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु. पुनराददोत । [। ६ ॥*]
अस्मत्कुलप्राप्तमुदारमुदारहरिश्चै(न्यै)-
- 23 च दानमिदमस्यनुमोदनीय(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तुडिचलयबुद्धु(बुद्धु)दचचलाया दानं
फल परयगःपरिपाल-
- 24 नं च । [। ७ ॥*] सर्वानितान् भाविन पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्द³

¹ This *danḍa* is superfluous

² Read *buddhv aśmad*

³ About the probable extent of the lost portion of the inscription, see the introduction, p. 132,

B —The Sōmanātha Temple Inscription

This record is inscribed on a tablet, 16"×13" in dimension, which is smoothly dressed. The original record was only in 15 lines, each line containing about 30 to 36 letters. At its end, however, there are scribbled two lines, of which the second is extensively damaged. This postscript was written in Samvat 1566 in the reign of Maharāja Śrī Jasaśambhu, who seems to have been some local ruler.

The characters of the record are the Nāgarī ones of the 11th century, to which it belongs. There is nothing particularly worth noting about them, attention, however, may be drawn to the way in which the medial *ū* of *bhū* in *bhūm* has been written in l 8.

As regards the orthography, *s* is usually written for *ś*, cf. *Varsākha* for *Varśākha* in ll 1 and 3, *śrēshthi* for *śrēshthi* in l 1, *sālā* for *śālā* in l 6, *samkhika* for *śamkhika* in l 12. *Sha*, however, is not confounded with *sa*, cf. *Gōvrisha* in l 1, *larsha* in l 2 and *vrishabha* in l 4. The second letter of the conjunct, of which *r* is the first member, is sometimes doubled and sometimes not, cf. *pūrvatah* in l 13 and *mārggādāya* in ll 3 and 4, but *chandrārka* in ll 2, 4, 6 and 7, *Kapardaka* in l 6 and *maryādā* in l 14.

The Language of the record is Sanskrit, but showing many mistakes and some admixture of Prakrit. Wrong case endings, or rather, no case endings, are to be seen in the case of *dattā vrishabha* for *dattā vrishabhāh* in l 4, *ghāna* for *ghānau* in l 5, *svakīyā* for *svakīyau* in l 11. The *sandhi* rules are often neglected, cf. *°dityarh bhattāraka* for *°dityair=bhattāraka* in l 2.

This inscription is a public register of several donations given mainly to the same temple of Sōmanātha, which is the donee of the Inscription A above. In this respect it resembles the first part of the Siyadōnī inscription, inscribed about half a century earlier. Shergadh is only about 125 miles to the west of Siron Khurd, where the Siyadōnī inscription was discovered.

The donors in this record are all private individuals, mostly merchants or landlords. In the Siyadōnī inscription the record of each donation is separated from that of the succeeding one by the interposing of a peculiar punctuation symbol, this has been done only once in the present record, at the end of the second donation in l 4. The dates of the donations have been given only in the first three cases. The latest of these, that of the donation No 3, is Māgha Suddha 13 of Samvat 1084. The dates of the subsequent donations mentioned in the last section of the record have not been given. These, however, seem to have been made on the same day. And since the oilman Thāyāka, mentioned in the donation of Samvat 1084, figures here also as one of the donors, the record as a whole can hardly be much later than Samvat 1100.

All the donations but one are in favour of Sōmanātha temple. The exception is the first donation which was given on the third day of the bright half of Varsākha of Samvat 1074. As the week day is not given, this date cannot be verified, but it probably corresponds to the 2nd of April A D 1017. The donation was jointly given by three merchants named Narsimha, Gōvrisha and Thirāditya to Bhattāraka Nagnaka and consisted of the daily gift of a *karsha*, i.e., about three fourths of a *tola* of ghee, for the purpose of the smearing of his feet. The record states that this quantity of ghee was to be given from out of the *Mandapikā tax*. *Mandapikā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit *lōshas*, but it seems to be the original term from which the Marāṭhī word *mandāi* and the Hindustānī one *mandi*, both meaning market, have been derived. The three merchants mentioned above seem to have constituted the Town Committee in charge of the collection of the market taxes, which were usually collected in kind. The donation given by them was a trifling one, and they may have possessed discretionary powers to make it. Bhattā-

raha Nagnaka, the donee, seems to have been a Saivite rather than a Jain monk, residing in the temple of Sōmanātha. He seems to have dispensed with clothing altogether, though he daily required some ghee for smearing his feet¹

The second gift was made on Vaisakha sudi 3 of Samvat 1075, probably corresponding to the 21st of April A D 1018. The donor Varanga is described as *mārggādāyē kaupṭika*. The last word in this expression appears to be Sanskrit in origin, but it is not found in any Sanskrit dictionary. *Kaupṭika* seems to have been the name of an office connected with the collection of tolls on roads. The donation was made for the purpose of providing incense and sandal in the temple of Sōmanātha, and it consisted of five *vrishabhas*. On the analogy of *varāhas* mentioned in 17, we may conclude that *vrishabha* denotes not an ordinary bull but a coin, probably bearing the emblem of the said animal on one of its sides. The Paramāras are not known to have issued a currency of this description in Mālava during the 11th century. Only one ruler of the dynasty, king Udayāditya of the Inscription A above, probably issued coins, but they bear the image of a seated goddess on one side and the name of the king on the other². In Central India and Rājputānā *gadhiā parsās* were current at this time, but they could not have been described as *vrishabhas*. At the time of our records the Hindu kings of Ohind and the Tōmaras of Delhi were issuing silver and billon coins, having the horseman on the obverse and the bull on the reverse. Whether these coins were current in Mālava and were popularly known as *vrishabhas* we do not know. A currency that could be more appropriately described by this term was issued in Mālava, Gujrat and Kāthiāwār by Skandagupta in the 5th century. One of his silver issues bore the king's head on one side and the bull on the other³. This type was probably imitated by the rulers of Valabhi in subsequent centuries⁴. It is not improbable that some local rulers or private moneyers of Mālava may have continued to issue coins of this type down to the 11th century. Not impossibly the Paramāra administration may also have done the same, though we have not so far discovered their coins of this fabric⁵. Probably coins of such a type are described as *vrishabhas* in our record. Silver coins current in Central and Northern India at this time were usually 60 grains or about one-third of a *tola* in weight. Five *vrishabhas* would therefore approximately correspond to Rs 2. Their purchasing power, however, at the time of the grant would have been approximately equal to that of Rs 10 in the present day⁶. The record does not state whether this amount for incense and sandal was to be paid monthly or annually.

About nine years later than the last donation, viz., on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha of Samvat 1084, i.e., probably on the 12th of January A D 1028 three donations were given to the temple by Thakura Dēvasvāmin. In order to provide oil for the temple lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil mills owned by Thāyāka, who is described as *Tailika rāja*, and who therefore was probably the chief of the guild of oilmen. He further undertook to give a daily gift of a *vōḍrī*, i.e., *vōḍrī* of cowries for providing incense at the *parnasālā*. *Vōḍrī* was equal to the fourth part of a copper *pana*, and since the latter was equal

¹ [Since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon (exist), it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraḷa Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person.—Ed.]

² J A S B, Vol XVI, p 84

³ Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta dynasties*, p 121

⁴ *Ibid*, p 61

⁵ Virasena and Sasanka have issued coins bearing a bull on the reverse, (*Ibid*, pp 147 8, 151 2), but these coins could hardly be meant here. These gold coins could hardly have been known in Mālava in the 11th century.

⁶ For the purchasing power of money at this time, see Altekar *The Rashtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp 378 ff.

to 80 cowries, *lapardaka iḍḍi* must have been equal to 20 cowries. Copper *panas* were slightly bigger in weight than what a modern pice and a half would be. The donation for the daily incense was therefore slightly less than half a pice and its purchasing power would have been equal to that of half an anna of the present day. What exactly the *parṇasālā* was where this incense was to be burnt is difficult to guess. The term usually denotes huts for the hermits. It would appear that there were huts or sheds in the vicinity of the temple of Sōmanātha, where persons like Bhattāraka Nagnaka used to stay. If some of them required ghee for smearing their feet, others may quite possibly have felt the need of incense. The incense provided by Dēvasvāmin may probably have been meant for some worthies of the latter category¹.

The third donation of Dēvasvāmin was the monthly payment of two *varāhas* to be made on the occasion of the *saṃkṛānti*. The object of this donation is not stated, it was probably a contribution to the general funds of the temple. *Varāhas* are obviously the silver coins issued by the Pratīhāra king Bhōja, and probably by some of his successors as well, which on one side had the image of a boar². These coins were also about 60 grains in weight, two of them would be equal to a twelve anna silver piece, if one such were issued to day. The present day value of the donation would be about three rupees and a half.

The lines 8-13 record the donations of several *vāsaniḥās* made to the temple by different individuals. *Vāsaniḥā* was a dwelling house of considerable dimensions, in the *Siyadōṇi* inscription two of the *vāsaniḥās* are described as consisting of four and three houses respectively³. All told, eight houses were given by nine donors. Among these, six were merchants, one a *ma-hallaka* (probably a well to do landlord), one an oilman (who is identical with the chief of the guild of oilmen mentioned in l. 5), and one a *Saṃkṛānta*. What precisely the last word denotes is difficult to say. The term may denote either a worker in shells or a person of mixed parentage, born of a Śūdra mother and a *viśvakarmā* father⁴. Probably we have to take the word in its first sense, since most of the donors are merchants.

For the temple establishment so many big houses were not necessary. It would appear that the temple management was expected to lease them either for residential or business purposes, and utilise the rent for the temple expenses.

Lines 13-15 describe the boundaries of Sōmanāthapalli. *Palli* usually denotes a hamlet, but here it seems to denote an outlying suburb or a ward. Since the boundaries of Sōmanāthapalli are described immediately after the recording of the gift of eight big houses, it is probable that these latter may have constituted either a portion or the whole of Sōmanāthapalli, which was obviously the name of that ward of Kōśavarddhana, in which Sōmanātha temple was situated. To the east of this ward was the temple of Sōmanātha itself, to the south the river, to the west the house of Thākura Kundanaka and to the north a public thoroughfare. During my visit to Shergadh I found that it was possible to mark off a ward of the city in the vicinity of the modern temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, satisfying these boundaries. Some distance to the west of this temple, there are still some houses which are even to day owned by Thākurs. The Pārwaṇ river continues to flow to the south of this ward. The precise road which separated it on the north cannot be singled out. The temple on the east may very probably be the older temple of Sōmanātha rather than the modern one of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. Traces of the old temple, however, are not to be seen to day.

¹ [See above, p. 138, n. 1—Ed.]

² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, para. 110.

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 174, ll. 7 and 32.

⁴ *Brahmavivarta purāṇa* as referred to in the *Sabaraḥkalpadrūma* under the term *Saṃkṛānta*.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ संवत् १०७४ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ अक्ष³यष्टतीयाया मंडपिकादाया-
[त्*] से(शे)ष्ठिनरसिंहगोहपथी⁴रा-
- 2 दिल्यै भट्टारकाश्रीनग्नकस्य पादाभ्यगाय दिनं प्रति धृतकर्षमे[क*]⁵१ प्रदत्त⁶
आचन्द्रा[क] यावत् ।
- 3 संवत् १०७५ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ श्रीसोमनाथदेवाय चंदनधूपनिमित्तं माग्नीदाये
कौस्तिक-
- 4 वरगेन(ण) माग्नीदायात्(द्) दत्त हृषभ⁷ ५ आचन्द्राकं यावत् ॥ छ ॥
संवत् १०८४ माघसुदि १३
- 5 श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य दीपतैलनिमित्तं ठकुरदेवस्त्रामिना तैलिकराजथाइयाकावा-
ण(णी)
- 6 द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचन्द्राकं यावत् ॥ तथा पन्नसालायां⁸ धूपनिमित्तं कपर्दकवो-
डी(ड्री) १ दिनं प्र-
- 7 ति दातव्या आचन्द्राकं यावत् ॥ तथा मासवारके सुक्रांती वराह(ह्री) द्वौ
प्रदत्तौ आचन्द्राकं
- 8 यावत् । [I*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ॥
श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य वणि⁹
- 9 इंदामहिदका[भ्यां] सत्का वासनिका¹⁰ प्रदत्ता ॥ तैलिकथाइयाकेन सत्का वा-
सनिका प्र-
- 10 दत्ता । [I*] तथा वणि[क्*] सोढाकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥
तथा वणिक(क्) साइयाकेन स-
- 11 त्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक(क्)श्रीहरजसोमाभ्यां स्वकीया(यौ)
वासनिकौ द्वौ २ प्र-

¹ From the original stone and an ink impression² Expressed by a symbol³ The letter *ksha* is partly damaged⁴ Dr D R Bhandarkar's reading श्रीरा० is untenable, cf धूप and सोमनाथ in l 3⁵ This *danda* is superfluous Read दत्तमा-⁶ Read दत्त हृषभा⁷ Read पन्नसालाया Dr D R Bhandarkar reads this as पन्नसाला (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol XL, p 176), but the second letter is clearly न्न⁸ Read वणिग्गामिदा⁹⁹ The syllable /d/ is damaged.

- 12 दत्तौ ॥ तथा वणिका(ग्)महल्लकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा
सं(शं)खिकलक्ष्मीधरेण
- 13 सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवपत्निका पूर्वतः देवमर्यादा ।
पश्चिमतः
- 14 [ठ*]कुण्डलक[त्य*] वासनिका मर्यादा । उत्तरतः भार्गमा(स)र्यादा ।
दक्षिणतः नदी मर्यादा
- 15 दा । चतुर्धाटसाधिता श्रीसोमनाथदेवपत्निका ॥ छ ॥ मंगलं महात्रीः ॥¹ ॥

No 21 —UPALADA PLATES OF RANAKA RAMADEVA

By B CH CHHABRA, M A , M O L , P H D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates is one of the nine sets acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1935, some of which have already been published² They are said to have been unearthed by a cultivator, while digging a field, in the village of Upalada in the Parlakmedi Taluk, Ganjāni District I received ink-impressions of the plates from Mr N G Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, for editing the record

These are **three copper plates**, each measuring $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$ They weigh 106 *tolas* Their rims are raised and the writing on them is consequently well preserved The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides The inscription consists of nineteen lines in all, three sides containing six lines each and the fourth only one The plates were originally held together by a ring, about $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter, passing through the hole cut in the centre of each plate half an inch away from the left margin The ends of the ring were soldered under a circular seal This and the ring together weigh 22 *tolas* The central portion of the seal is occupied by the figure of a standing boar, cut in high relief, facing the proper left At the bottom is placed an elephant-goad (*ankusa*), and at the top another weapon that looks like a battle axe Against the hook of the *ankusa* is to be seen an oval shaped object—perhaps a lotus bud The seal does not contain any legend

The **characters** belong to the northern class of about the 11th century, strongly influenced by the Nāgarī script Letters like *n* and *l* show each two different forms, cf *n* in *ānudyāta-*, *l* 2 and *dāna*, *l* 3, and *l* in *kuśahnah*, *l* 5 and *sa-jala sthala-*, *l* 7 The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, though it also contains some vernacular terms in ll 15 18 where boundaries of the donated village are defined It is composed in prose, barring three of the customary verses found in ll 9 15 The **orthography** of the document is as erroneous as its language is faulty To instance the latter, the verb, *ādīśanti* or whatever it be, is missing after *kuśahnah* (l 5), while some such word as *upabhōgyam* is wanting after *sanitatīnām* (l 6) Among the orthographical peculiarities may be noted the usage of *s* for *ś* and *sh*, of *v* for *b*, of *y* for *ṛ* and of *ṛ* for *y* These and some other inaccuracies have been pointed out in the footnotes to the text as well as in the text itself

The record is not dated, but may on palaeographical evidence be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A D It was engraved by the goldsmith Taula

¹ There is a symbol between the two pairs of *danqas*

² See above, pp 73 and 78

The object of the record is the grant of a village called Upalabadā to one Rēvana nāyaka by the Rānaka śrī-Rāmadēva. The donee appears to have been an officer under the said Rānaka and might have received the gift as a reward for some heroic deed on his part. As regards his master, Rāmadēva, we do not know anything from other sources, whilst the present epigraph relates so little of him. His title Rānaka, however, shows that he was a feudatory chief. Some conventional epithets added to his name indicate that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva, had acquired the right to the Pañcha Mahāśābhas and was enjoying the favour of the goddess Agni.¹ Besides, he is styled Tailapa vams ōdbhara 'born in the family of Tailapa'.

It appears that the Rānaka Rāmadēva had not to his credit any achievement worth the name. The same may be said of his father and grandfather, since neither of them is mentioned in the record. The only prestige the Rānaka could boast of seems to be his high descent as conveyed by his attribute Tailapa vams ōdbhara. This Tailapa, as is apparent from the manner in which he is adverted to in the inscription, must have been a great personality or a mighty ruler reputed enough to be the pride even of his indirect descendants and distant relations. Rāmadēva could not have been a direct descendant of Tailapa, for in that case the inscription would have specifically described him so.

Now as to who this Tailapa was, we know of several kings² who bore this name, but the one with whom Tailapa of our record can reasonably be identified is, I think, the famous Chālukya monarch, Tailapa II, who is credited with outstanding military achievements, and whose bitter rivalry with the Paramāra sovereign, Vākpati Muṣṣja, is well known.³ Further support to this identification is lent by the fact that the lāñchhanā, consisting of a standing boar, an elephant-goat, etc., depicted on the seal of the Rānaka Rāmadēva's inscription, is the same as is usually found on the seals of the Chālukya records.⁴ We may thus suppose that the Rānaka Rāmadēva was a feudatory of and related to a Chālukya ruler subsequent to the time of the Chālukya Tailapa II whose death occurred towards A D 998.⁵

Of the places mentioned in the record, Upalabadā, the granted village, is apparently the same as Upalada where the plates have been discovered, while Chikhalī sthūti from where the grant was issued cannot definitely be identified.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁷ svasti [||*] Chikhalī-sthūtau, parama-m[ā]h[ā]śvara- samadhigata-pam-
2 'ehā mahā sa(śa)vda(bda) mātā-pitri-pād-ānūdyātā(ta)-satya sau(śau)rya dayā-

¹ Agni obviously stands for Agni. In Vedic and later Sanskrit literature Agni is invariably a male deity. His mention here as a goddess (dēvī) is owing to the vernacular influence. In Hindi and cognate tongues the word āg 'fire' is feminine. Agnidevī as the name of a female occurs in an early Prākṛit inscription from Sānchi, etc. above Vol II, p 371.

² For instance three kings of the Chālukya dynasty and two of the Kadamba family bore the name Taila or Tailapa (see Index to G. M. Moraes's *The Kadamba Kula*).

³ Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *Hist. of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p 61.

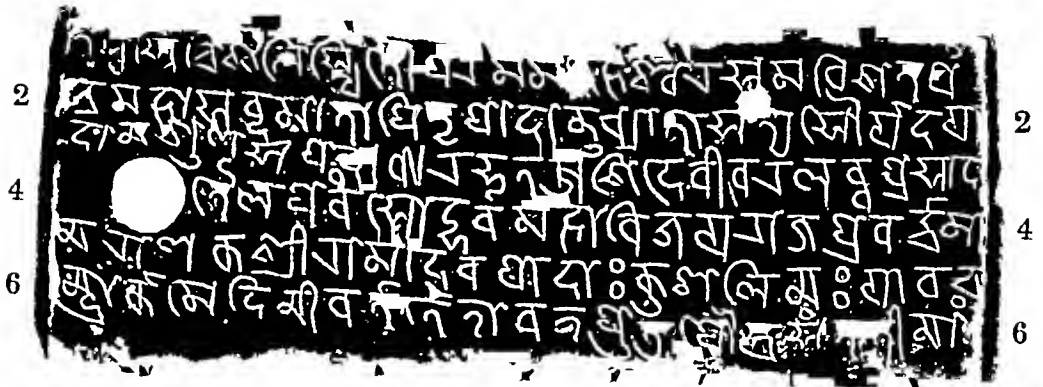
⁴ Cf. above, Vol V, pp 20, 135.

⁵ This locality cannot be far removed from the donated village, as the principality under the Rānaka Rāmadēva may not have been a very large one. Mention of one Chikhalī rāṭaka is found in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III Śaka 984 (above, Vol IX, p 95), but this place is not identified either. Chikhalī grāma of the Kanker Plates of Pamparājadēva (*Ibid*, p 168) is an O P.

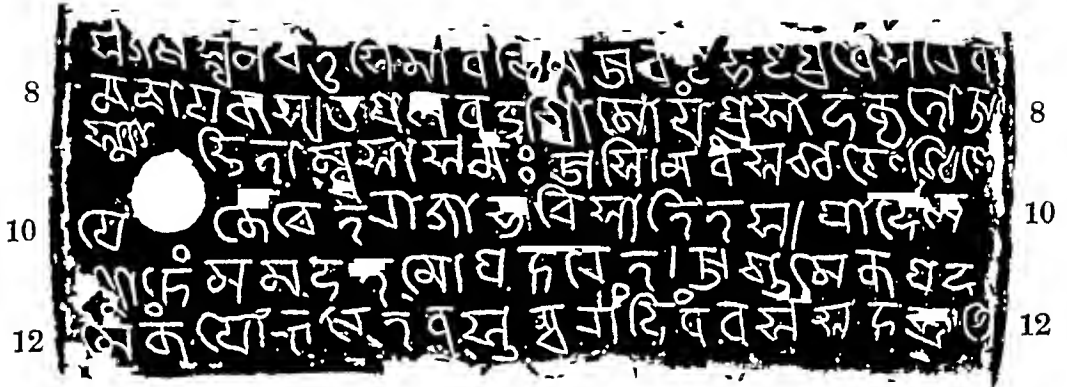
⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

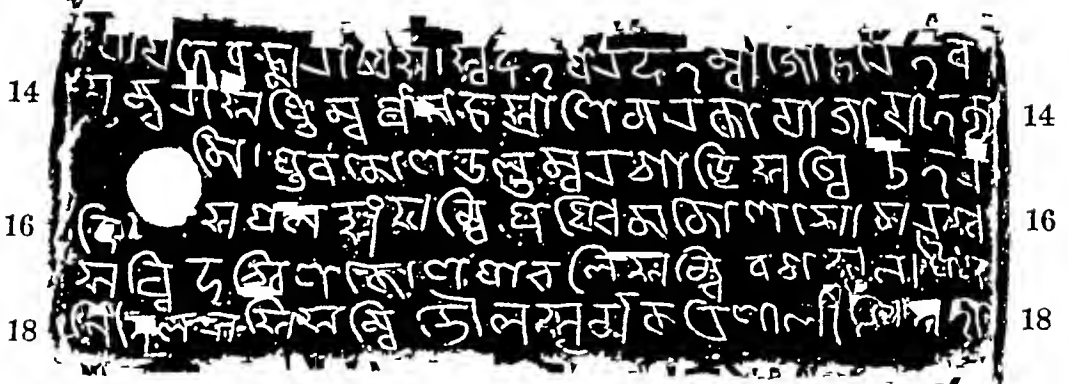
1



11, a

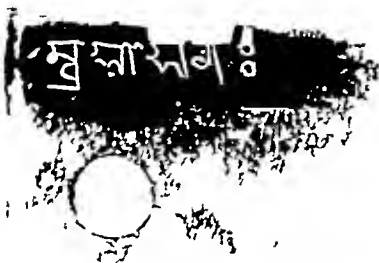


11, b



Seal Actual Size

111



- 3 dāna guna sa[m¹]pad-ādhāra²-bhṛn(bhū)ta-³Agidēvi-vara-lavdha(bdha) prasāda-
 4 Tailapa vams(ś)-ōdbhava-mahāvijaya rāja pravarddhamā-
 5 na-Rānaka śrī Rāmadēva pādāh kuśalmah [[^{*}] yāvacha(ch=chā)-
 6 ndr ārka mēdinī⁴ vartatē⁵ tāvata⁶ putra pautra samtatinām

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 sa jala sthala chatu[h^{*}] si(sī)m āvachhi(chchhi)na(nna)-^{3a} chatta bhatta pravēsa⁷ Rēva-
 8 na(na) [nā ?]yakasya ³Upalabadā grāmō=yam prasāda(dī)kritō ^{3a}-
 9 smābhī[s=^{*}] tāmva(mra)sā(śā)sanah⁸[[^{*}] As⁹ | na vamsa-kha[y]ē khī[n]ē
 10 yē kē chēta rājā bhavisāti [^{*}] tasa | pādē la-
 11 [gnō]=¹ham mama data m=ōpaharēta [(||) Agumēka pada-
 12 m=ekam yō [ha]rēta vasundharām [^{*}] divam varsa sahasrā[n]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 [yā]yatē vrahmarākhasa [(||)¹⁰ Sva datam para datam=vā jō harēta va-
 14 sundharā [^{*}] sashtum=varsha sahasrām narakāyā jāyāta kṛi-
 15 mī [(||) pu(pū)rva-kōna ulumvara-gā[d[?]] ¹¹sandhi[h^{*}] uta(tta)ra-
 16 disa(śi) palatsa¹² sandhi[h^{*}] paśchima kōna(nē) [s]ōma rukha-¹³
 17 sadhdhi(ndhi)[h^{*}] dakhi(kshi)na-kōna(nē) pāchah¹⁴sandhi[h^{*}] Vaga-suta |
 Pakha
 18 [l[?]]itilajasi sandhi[h^{*}] Taula-svarna(ma)karēnā(na) li(h)khitam tā

Thrd plate

- 19 mvra(mra)sā(śā)sanah(nam) [[^{*}]

No 22 —THE MELPATTI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-KAMPAVIKRAMAVARMAN

By V VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B A, MADRAS

This inscription¹⁵ is engraved on a hero stone set up in a field to the north of the railway station at Mēlpatti in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District Beneath the record is cut

¹ The anusvāra is indicated by a mere dot which is to be seen below mā of matā in the previous line

² There appears to be a superfluous vertical stroke after dhā

³ The absence of sandhi here is ungrammatical

⁴ The singular here is ungrammatical

⁵ Above tē a superscript r seems to have been first engraved and then erased

⁶ Read tavat

⁷ Read a chāṭa bhāṭa pravēsyō

⁸ Perhaps we have to read -sasanēna

⁹ Here follow the verses Their text, which is highly corrupt in the inscription, is given without any emendations, as they are quite well known

¹⁰ The scribe seems to have confused two different verses, viz., *Atvamēdha*, etc., and *Suvarnam=ekam*, etc., cf above Vol II, p 310

¹¹ What is meant is perhaps *udumbura-gādā*. *Gādā* seems to be a vernacular term Cf above Vol XXI, p 41, text l 46

¹² Read *pal sha*

¹³ Read -*vriksha*

¹⁴ Probably *pāṭah* is to be read

¹⁵ No 172 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

in bas relief the figure of a warrior advancing to the proper left with a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. Though the stone is exposed to the ravages of the weather, the inscription has not suffered any damage, since the letters, as is usually the case with such stones, are incised deeply.

The language of the record is Tamil which does not call for any special remarks. A few words which occur in the epigraph, however, require explanation. In the Tamil poem *Madurai lāñchi*, the word *lāvudi*¹ is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil *Niṅṅantu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. In our record it is used as a title given to a warrior. The word *erittu*² (l. 6) is used in the sense of 'having defeated'.

The inscription is dated in the 10th year of Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman and records the death of a soldier of Vānaraiyar while attacking the army of Prithvigangaraiyar stationed at Kāvannūr in Miṇṇāru nādu, a subdivision of Paduvūr kōttam. This hero is distinguished in the record by the title 'who took Perunagar'. It may be pointed out here that Dr Hultzsch explained this title occurring in a slightly modified form, viz., 'Perunagar agara londa lāvudi'³ as the chief of *Kondār* of Perunagar-Agaram and took *Kondār* as equivalent to *Kondalār*, a caste of fishermen. That this word is not used as a noun but as a verb qualifying 'Perunagar' will be evident from the present epigraph. The term has, therefore, to be interpreted as 'the *lāvudi* who took Perunagar Agaram'⁴.

This inscription helps us to determine the position of Kampavarman in the genealogy of the later Pallavas. About 35 inscriptions of this king have so far been secured, mainly in the Conjeevaram and Sūdapet taluks of the Chingleput District and Arkōnam, Cheyār, Gudiṇṇattam, Vellore and Wandiwash taluks of the North Arcot District.⁵ These records which are dated from his 2nd⁶ to 32nd⁷ regnal years do not help us much in determining the exact period of his rule. Dr Hultzsch gave a definite lead in this direction by explaining the name of the temple of Nandi-Kampisvara⁸ occurring in a record from Sōlapuram as having been so called after Kampa, the son of Nandi, and thus he postulated that Kampa must have been the son of Nandivarman III and the brother of Nripatungavarman. Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar made a further suggestion and stated that, Nandivarman III might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha Dhruva and the name Kampavarman, just like Nripatunga, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grandfather of Kampavarman.⁹ Since the genealogy furnished in the Vēlūrpalayam and Būhūr plates does not allow us to place him before Nripatunga, and as he cannot be placed after Nripatunga, Mr Ayyar concluded that Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nripatunga or Aparājita or with both.¹⁰

¹ Ll. 493.9

² Compare 'Tellari erinda Nandivarman'. Generally in hero stones, the nature of the death of the hero is also specified as 'vilundu paṭṭar' (i.e., fell and died), 'lonṇu paṭṭar' (i.e., killed and died), 'miṭṭu paṭṭar' (i.e., resented and died), etc.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 and 182.

⁴ For a similar use of the word *londa* cf. the terms 'Madurai konda Parakūṣari', 'Madurai konda Rājakūṣari', 'Kachehiyūm Tañjaiyūm konda Kannaradēva', 'Maduraiyūm Iṭamum konda Rājadhurājadēva', etc., occurring too frequently in inscriptions.

⁵ A stray record has also been found at Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore District (No. 498 of 1908) and another at Olakkūr in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District (No. 357 of 1909) adjoining the Wandiwash taluk.

⁶ No. 402 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ No. 144 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 196. 'Nandikampa' figures also as the name of a village in the inscriptions at Pallickonda in the North Arcot District, dated between Śaka 878 and 885 (Nos. 473 and 469 of 1925).

⁹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49.

This conclusion arrived at by Mr Subrahmanya Ayyar is confirmed by the present inscription as will be shown presently.¹

The name of the soldier who took Perunagar is not given in our record, but he may be identified with Akalanikattuvarāyar who figures with the same title, viz, 'who took Perunagar' in a record dated in the 26th year² of Nripatunga, from Āmbūr in the North Arcot District, not far from Mēlpatti. This soldier, according to the present inscription, died in the 10th year of Kampavarman, while his son and nephew fell in a cattle raid in the 26th year of Nripatunga.³ The question then to be settled is whether Akalanikattuvarāyar died prior to his son and nephew, in other words, whether the 10th year of Kampavarman was prior to the 26th, i.e., the last year of Nripatunga. From the fact that the son and father died in different reigns, one point is clear that, the reigns of Nripatunga and Kampavarman should have closely followed each other. If Akalanika had died earlier, Kampa should have been either a joint ruler with Nripatunga or his contemporary ruling over a portion of the Pallava territory, because according to the Bāhūr plates, he could not be accommodated before Nripatunga, but if, on the other hand, we suppose that Akalanika had died after his son, Kampa's rule should be placed immediately after that of Nripatunga. The latter alternative is not possible, because we know that Nripatunga was a contemporary of Varaguna⁴ (circa 862 A.D.) and that Aparājita lost his kingdom to the Chōlas about A.D. 888⁵ and that within this period of 26 years, both Kampa with a reign of 32 years and Aparājita with one of 18 years could not be accommodated.

One difficulty with regard to the contemporaneity theory is that inscriptions of both Nripatunga and Kampa are found at Uttaramallūr, Kāvčrippākkam and Tiruvorniyūr. That Kampa was an independent ruler and not a subordinate under Nripatunga will be evident from the grants issued in his own name and regnal years. If Nripatunga and Kampa were independent contemporary rulers how could we have the inscriptions of both these rulers in identical villages? This would be possible if these kings were administering the whole of the Pallava dominions jointly or if the three villages mentioned above were on the border land where the overlordship of both the rulers was recognised.⁶

We may approach the contemporaneity theory from another standpoint. The Bānas and the Western Gangas were generally opposed to each other about this time, and their enmity ceased for a time by the marriage of Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Prithvipati I with the Bāna King Bānavidyādharā. The fight at Kāvannūr mentioned in our inscription must then represent, one of the series of fights that were being waged between the two dynasties. There were two Prithvīngaraiyars about this time, one was the chief of Pangala-nādu and the other was Prithvipati I, son of Sivamāra II. Since the former had died by the 8th year of Kampavarman,⁶ we may identify

¹ An attempt has recently been made to prove that Kampavarman was the son of Aparājita and that he ruled from A.D. 907-931 (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, pp. 224 ff). The author of this theory connects a record of Kampa (No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), wherein Nirañjana guru figures as the donor, with another record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kannaṛadēva (No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) which states that Chaturānana pandita received initiation at the hands of Nirañjana guru. The initial mistake of this theory lies in identifying the guru of Chaturānana, viz, Nirañjana with the Nirañjana of Kampavarman's time. The author himself admits that the successors of Chaturānana were known by the same name. On the same analogy the successors of Nirañjana might have been called after their guru and therefore, the two Nirañjanas mentioned above might be different persons. He ignores the implications of the name Nandi Kampa. From palaeographical evidence also Kampa cannot be brought down to 10th century A.D.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

³ No. 360 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the Pallava power ceased about this time, we find the Bānas also who were hitherto subordinate to the Pallavas assuming independence and issuing records in their own name.

⁵ For a similar instance see page 45, *A.R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

the Pirudigangaraiyar mentioned in our record with the latter. Dr Hultsch has identified the Bāna id,ādihara mentioned above with Vikramāditya I, who figures as a subordinate of Nripatunga in the latter's 24th year. This is the latest known date when the Bāna chief figures as a subordinate under the Pallavas. Soon after, Vijayāditya II, the son of the Bāna chief Vikramāditya I mentioned above, seems to have declared his independence, as his records are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord. Since the Bāna chief figures as a subordinate of the Pallava king in the present inscription, this record may be placed prior to the 24th year of Nripatunga and it also seems probable that the 24th year of Nripatunga should have closely followed the 10th year of Kampa without any long interval in the middle.

Since a certain Aparājita, probably named after the king of that name, figures as the donor in the 15th year of Kampavarman¹ the latter might have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Aparājita also. Kampavarman might, therefore, have been a contemporary of both Nripatunga and Aparājita. His position may be said to be analogous to that of the Chōla Pāndya viceroys in the Pāndya country in the 11th century A. D.

Regarding the position of the Pallava territory about this period, it may be stated that, during the time of Nripatunga, it extended from Lālgudi and Nārttāmalaī in the south to Conjeeveram and Gudumallam in the north. Nripatunga's father Nandivarman III was a subordinate of the Pāndya king,² but in the time of Nripatunga the situation was reversed, Varaguna II appears as a subordinate of Nripatunga in his 18th year³, the Chōlas had not by this time risen to the status of an independent power, the matrimonial alliance with the Rāshtrakūtas saved the Pallava empire from trouble from that quarter, and the Gangas, *i.e.*, Prithvipati I and his successors, and the Bānas were also subordinate to the Pallavas. Nripatunga was able to hold this empire intact, probably with the assistance of Kampavarman but towards the close of the reign of the former, we find the several neighbouring powers including the Nolambas rising to prominence with the result that the Pallava dominion diminished to such an extent as to embrace, in the time of Aparājita, the Saidapet, Ponneri and Conjeeveram taluks in the Chingleput District and portions of the Tiruttani taluk in the Chittoor District. This small territory was easily conquered by the rising Chōlas under Āditya I.

The next point for consideration is that Akalanhattuvarāyar figures in Pallava records as a soldier under both the Ganga⁴ and Bāna rulers thus indicating the subordinate position occupied by the two latter rulers under Pallava monarchy.

The Bāna ruler mentioned in our inscription is probably identical with Vikramāditya Vānavidyādihara, who also figures in the 24th year of Nripatunga. His warrior whom we have identified with Akalanhattuvarāyar claims to have taken Perunagar, which is a village about 13 miles from Conjeeveram on the road to Wandiwash. From whom could he have taken Perunagar? The inscriptions of this village do not give us any clue. The Ganga king Durvinita claims victories over his enemies at Andari, Ālattūr, Porulare and Pernagara⁵. The last mentioned village was probably identical with Perunagar mentioned in the present inscription. However, during the 1st year of Nripatunga, the Nolambas attacked the Tondaimandalam region, especially the portion surrounding Āmbūr. Possibly it was from the Nolambas that the town of Perunagar was

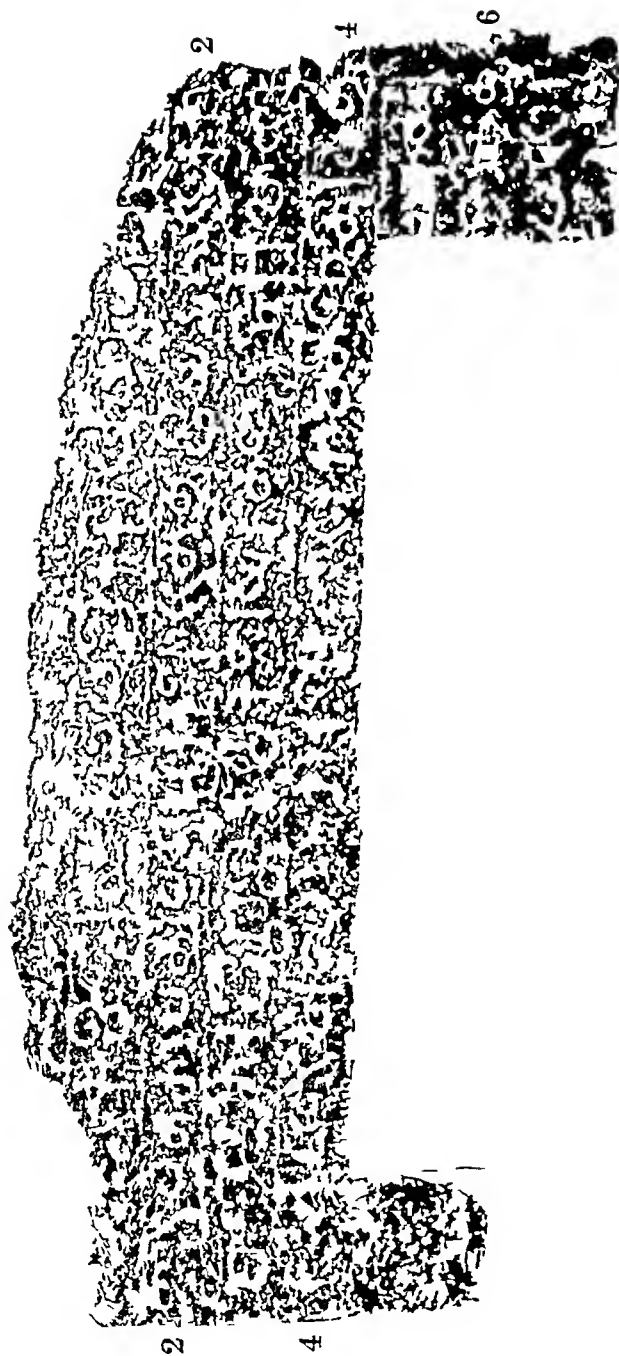
¹ No. 42 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² *Ann. South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, p. 38.

³ No. 100 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ (1) Prithvipati I.

⁵ *Lt. Carn. Vol. XII, Tm. 23, ibid., Vol. IX, Db. 68.*



captured by Akalaukattuvarāyar. This view is strengthened by the fact that a Nolamba is said to have ruled as far as Kāñchī in a record from Hindupur, dated in Śaka 775 (A D 853).¹

The territorial division Paduvūr-kōtṭam was in Tondaimandalam and it roughly comprised the modern Vellore and Gudiyāttam taluks in the North Arcot District. It included the following *nāḍus*, viz., (1) Pangalā-nāḍu, (2) Mugai-nāḍu, (3) Peruntimiri-nāḍu, (4) Miyaṛu-nāḍu, (5) Mēl-Adaiyāṛu nāḍu, (6) Karaivali Āndi-nāḍu and (7) Kūrai nāḍu. Miyaṛu-nāḍu also known as Miyaṛai nāḍu included the present Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District and the surrounding region. The village Kāvannūr may be identified with the village of the same name in the Gudiyāttam taluk.

TEXT

- 1 Kō Viśaiya Kampavikīramaparimarṇku [yā]
- 2 ndu pattāvadu Paduvūr kōtṭattu Miya[ā*]ru nāttu-kkā-
- 3 vannūr² Pirudigangaraiyar dandu nikka Vāna-
- 4 [raiya] padanar Pe[runa]gar-kkonda-kkāvaḍi³ nedurttu-
- ṭ [v-anīyar]
- 6 [e]ṇttu
- 7 paṭṭār [||*]

TRANSLATION

(During the) tenth year (of the reign of) the victorious Kampavikīramaparimar—(when) the army (of) Pirudi-Gangaraiyar (was) stationed (at) Kāvannūr in Miyaṛu-nāḍu, (a subdivision of) Paduvūr kōtṭam, the Kāvadi who took Perunagar (and) the soldier of Vānaraiyar, fell (after) attacking (and) defeating (the army of) the enemy

No 23 —A GRANT OF THE GURJARA KING JAYABHATA III [KALACHURI] YEAR 486

By G V ACHARYA, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY

These two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1920 when the Society's Collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find spot is not known. Both the plates measure $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10''$, while the holes, $5''$ apart in each plate and meant for rings and the seals, are $\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. Neither the seals nor the rings are forthcoming. Both the plates are damaged at the top left hand corners and consequently some portions of the writing are lost. There are several small holes due to corrosion in the body of the plates also. Both of these are inscribed on the inner side only and their rims are thickened to protect the writing. There are 28 lines in the first and 23 in the second plate. The average size of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}''$. The engraving is carefully done and there are very few mistakes. The characters are of the northern type and very much resemble those found on Valabhi

¹ No 568 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

² Kāvannūr is used in the locative sense

³ The reading in the Āmbūr record (above, Vol IV, p 182) is *Perunagar agaralloṇḍa kkāvaḍi*, but it must be corrected as *Perunagar lloṇḍa llaḍi*. The engraver seems to have unnecessarily added the letters *la* and *ra*. Such typographical errors are common in inscriptions

plates. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a few imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose.¹

The object of the plates is to record the grant of the village Mannātha situated in the Bhārū kachchha *śiṣhaya* to Bhatta Uchchada son of Āditvanāga, a Brahman of Hāṭṭvāḍa who had come out from the district (*āhāra*) called Lōhigalāśhapathaka, who belonged to Kaundinya *gōtra* and was a student of Vāpi Mādhyandina branch of the Yajur Veda. The grant was made for the performance of the five great sacrifices, viz., *Bṛh*, *Chara*, *Varuṇa*, *Agni* and *Atithi*. The donor of the grant was Jayabhata (III) of the Gurjara family of Broach.

The date of the grant is given at the end both in words and in figures as the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āśvayuja of the year 486 (of the Chōḍī era) corresponding to A. D. 736.

Saṃgullī, the son of Allā, is the scribe and Dīvala is the *dātaka* of the grant. At the end there is the sign-manual of Śrī Jayabhata.

Of the three place-names mentioned in the grant Bhārūkachchha stands for the present Broach. It is not possible to locate Lōhigalāśhapathaka while as to find the village granted, in the absence of the details about the boundaries, we have to look up for the name of some modern village having possible resemblance with the name Mannātha. I could suggest Manḍ about a mile and a half north-east of Mole on the north bank of the river Narbadi.

The plates under consideration have great historical importance in that they conclusively decide the line of succession of the Gurjara princes, who at the same time that the genealogy accepted so far stands in need of correction.

The genealogy framed by Dr. Bhagwant Lal given in *Bombay Gazette* 1911 accepted by Prof. Bhandarkar in the revised list of inscriptions of Northern India. The line of succession according to these scholars is as follows —

Dadda I K. 350

Jayabhata I (Vikrānta) K. 355

Dadda II (Pratāparāga) K. 350, 385, 392

Jayabhata II K. 405

Dadda III (Bhūmabhūta) K. 450

Jayabhata III K. 456, 486

Three plates of Dadda II (Pratāparāga) dated Saka 100, 115 and 117 have to be left out of consideration because they have been accepted as spurious.

The name of Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhata II and father of Jayabhata III is known to us for the first time from these plates, and we are now in a position to say that the Nausāri plates of K. 456 are not of Jayabhata III as supposed by Dr. Bhagwant Lal, but must be attributed to Jayabhata II. In the Nausāri plates the genealogy stops with Jayabhata II whose description agrees with that of the same ruler in the present record. In the 2nd plate of Jayabhata III dated K. 486² unfortunately the earlier descriptive portion is lost but the description of Jayabhata III is exactly similar to that of the donor of the present grant, which starts from the middle of line 21. These facts conclusively prove that the Nausāri plates of K. 456 are to be attributed to Jayabhata II and the incomplete grant (second plate) of K. 486 and the present record both to

¹ (Certain other verses seem to occur in II 30-32 — Ed.)

² Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 161 f.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 113.

⁴ Vol. I Pt. 1 p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid* 1st Vol. XXIII pp. 77 ff.

Jayabhata III, son of Ahirōla and grandson of Jayabhata II The order of succession, therefore, would stand thus

Dadda I K 330, 346

Jayabhata I K 355

Dadda II (Bāhusahāya) K 380, 385, 392

Jayabhata II K 405, 456

Ahirōla

Jayabhata III K 486

While Dadda I and Jayabhata I are referred to with the simple honorific title *śrī*, Dadda II seems to have assumed more power and strength, as he is styled *Parama-Māhēsvara*, *Samadhigata-pañcha mahāśabda* and *Bāhusahāya* The three remaining princes—Jayabhata II, Ahirōla and Jayabhata III—have each the additional epithet of *Mahāsāmantādhvpati*

The epithet *Samadhigata pañcha mahāśabda* has been differently translated by different scholars¹ I always preferred to translate it as one who has obtained the prosperity and the privilege of five kinds of musical instruments and thus meaning I am now in a position to support by a passage in *Mahāśudassana Suttanta*² where Kuśāvati, the capital of the great king Sudassana is described as resounding with ten sorts of sounds (*dasa sadda*, Skt *daśa śabda*) and these sounds are detailed as the sounds of elephants, horses, chariots, *bhēra*, *mutinga*, *vīnā*, etc In Pāli literature the expression *Pañchatūriyo* is also used in a similar sense³

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 [satata lakshmi⁵] nūvāsa bhūtō⁶ trishnā samtāpa hārini dina-
nātha vistārit ānu[bhāvō] dviya-
- 2 [kul ōpaḥivyaṃāna vibhava-śālm] mahatī mahārā[ja-Ka]rnn ā[nva]yē kamalākaka(ra)
iva rājahamsah prava(ba)la [ka]h kāla-
- 3 [vilasit ākulita⁷ vimala svabhāvō gambhīr ō] dāra charita vismāpita-sakala lōkapāla-mā-
nasa[h pa]ram[ōśvara śrī Ha]rshadēv-ābhībhūta Va-
- 4 [labhī-patī-paritrān ōpa]jāta bhramad adabhra śubhr-ābhra vibbhrama yaśō vitāna[h*] śrī-
Daddas=tasya sū[nur=a śankit ā*]gata pranayī
- 5 [jan ōpabhukta vibhava sam]chay ōpachīyamāna ma[nō] nirvritir = anēka - kantaka - vanśa
(vamśa) samdōha dāha-du[rila]lita pratāp ānalō ni-
- 6 [śīta nistrinśa(strimśa) dhārā] dārit āratī kari kumbha mukta muktāphala chchhal ōllasita-
yaśō nū(mśu)k āvagunthita dig-va[dhū] vadana sara-

¹ Prof C S Srinivasachari, M A, of Annamalai-nagar has in his article "Further light on Pañchamahāśabda" read at the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda summarised the views of the opposite schools and on the strength of Vijayanagara inscriptions has discarded the interpretation of Sir Aurel Stein and Sir Walter Elliot and supported the views of Dr S K Ayyangar and Mr Padmanath Bhattacharya

- *Dīgha Nīlāya*, Vol II, p 170 (P T S ed) My attention to this reference was drawn by my nephew Mr R K Acharya

² I am indebted to Dr N P Chakravarti for kindly going through this article and suggesting additions and alterations

³ From the original plates and photographs

⁴ The text portions within the square brackets in the beginnings of the first fourteen lines have been supplied from the Nausārī Plates, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, pp 77 ff

⁵ There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other There are more such marks in the body of the inscription In some cases they are represented by a single dash

⁶ This is what the Nausārī Plates actually read To this is added the editor's note "the sense requires us to correct this into *vilasit ānakulita*"

⁷ This portion has also been taken from the Nausārī Plates

- [illegible]

¹The word is not clear in the present inscription. It is a corruption of the Sanskrit *śāstra*, which the editor has succeeded to correct into *śāstra* or *śāstra*. *Prasāda* is the better reading, and it has been adopted here.

² [Instead of *ayya* read *ayya*. The N. 1. 1. P. is correct in this place but the given text contains *ayya* which does not suit the context. P. (C).]

³The position on the plate how the letters must have been an 'ab' or two before the word; 'ab' is The Nauru Plate, however, contain nothing between a 'b' and a 'th'.

* There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

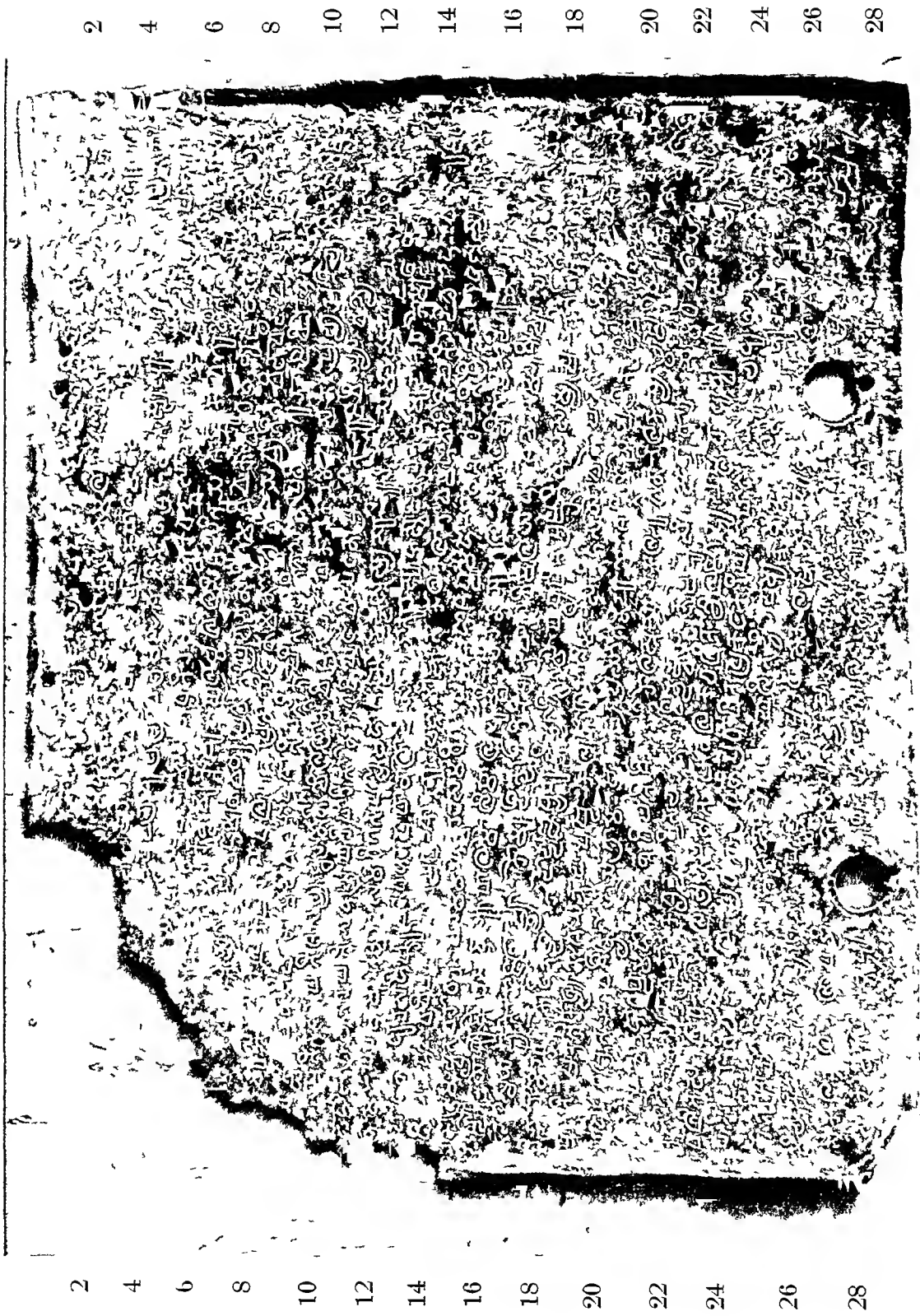
^s Instead of *arna* read *ardhu*

^a[With this compare the passage in B'nai's *Harshefclande* (Siddhartha's Life, Bombay 4th edition, p. 39) *vipalsā lokoḥa lśanāl,* *B' giratī pricula vā jūcraṭ jn veritā vipulo* *rāmah—B C C]*

⁷ The corresponding reading in the Naustiri Plates appears to be the same as in the present plate, though that portion is somewhat obscure there and has been read *ḡlḡhrta dīʿrari*!

⁸ The letter *p* in the conjunct syllable looks more like *ph*

⁹ This 1a appears like 1a



Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, covering the main body of the page. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with some variations in line length and spacing. The script appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script, characterized by its flowing, connected letters. The text is densely packed, filling most of the page area between the margins. There are some larger, possibly decorative or significant characters interspersed within the lines of text. The overall appearance is that of a manuscript page from an ancient or medieval text.

- 22 kṛitō=nṛka-narēndra vrindāraka vrinda-ṅ andita charan āravinda-dvayah kund-ēndu-
sita sindu-āra kusuma dhavala-yaśah sudhā dha
23 valita sikala dha[rā ma]ṇḍala[h*] p'ratāpa(p ā)nala-kavalit ākhila jagad-upaplavō durv-
vāra-śar āsāra śamutsi[r][ta]-
24 [saka]l ārāti chakravālab pradhāna pradhāna pradhāvita prakata kari ghatū pātana-patun
(tuś=)chatula ran-āngam-ān angan[ārauga]-
25 na tunga [tura]ṅgam [pra ?]kara bhanga bhāsurō² drava dālita dvirada [kumbha sthali *]
mukta muktāphala nikara dantur āsi latā marīchi nichaya-
26 mī(mṛ)chakata dākshina bāhu śikharah padmākara i[va*] prakṛt-āna(nṛ)ka lākshanō na
punar=mmal āśayah kshapākara i[va]
27 sakala kalā [ka]lāp āchutō na punar=ddōsh-ī-karah sūgara i[v=ā]ntah pravāśita vipaksha-
bhū-
28 bhrin mandalō na punah(nar=)grāh ākulah(lō) Nārāyana iva Sudarsana chakra-

Second Plate

- 29 [kshapita ?]vipakshō [na pu]nah krishna svabhāvah(āō) Hara iv=āngikṛita-bhūti mīcha[yō]
na pu[na]r=bluṅga pa
30 [rigrāha*]h l Bāl cndu [bimbā] pratimīcna ycna pravarddhama(mā)na sva tan ūdaycna [l]
pranāma kāmō=lpā karcna lō-
31 [kāl krī]tīmja(t āñja)līh kāntimatā k[rī]tō=yam(yam)⁶ || Su(A)sī dhārā jalcna sāmītah
prasabha-Valabhī patcī⁷ purc yōn=āsāha lōka sam
32 kalāpadatayjīk īnalāh Ja[rī]bhata jaladah [csha] sa vigīyatc dēva vadhū-
kādamb[ai]*=nripa satī makuta ratna kirana(n ā)val-
33 [ram*]jī(rāñjī)ti pādī pañkahā² samadhyata pañcha mahā śabda(bdō) mahā sāmānt-ādhi-
pati śrī Jayabhatah kuśalī sarva-ān=āva rāja sū
34 mantā-īshayapatī rāshtrī grīma mahattar ādhikārik ādīn=samanudarsayaty=astu vah
samviditān yathā mayā mātā pitrō
35 r=ā[tmanā]ś=ch=āhlik āmushmika punya yaśō bhividdhayc² Lohakakshapakath-āhāra⁹
vinirgata tat-traividyā sāmā(mā)nya Kaundinya sa gōtra-

¹ The letter *p* in the conjunct syllable lool s more like *sh*

² There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other There are more such marks in the body of the inscription In some cases they are represented by a single dash

³ This word has been supplied from the Kāvī grant of Jayabhata III, *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 113

⁴ [This reading is mere conjecture —B C C]

⁵ These two syllables have likewise been supplied from the Kāvī grant

⁶ Metro *Upajāti*

[This also appears to be in verse and the correct reading seems to be *prasabham Valabhī patih purē* yō(yc)va śha lōka sam[āpa*] lalapa-da Tāyji ānalāh Ja[ya]bhata jalada csha sa[h*] The reading in the present record would show that there could not have been any reference to a fight with the Lord of Valabhī in the fragmentary Kāvī Plate of Jayabhata III (K 486) as suggested by Bühler and adopted in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, pt 1 On the other hand it appears that the latter came to Valabhī to help its ruler in fighting the Tāyjikas or the Arab invaders who were the common enemies of all the rulers of the Western India—Ed]

⁷ [The portion *vigīyatc dēva vadhū kādambav*= reads like a line of *Upēndratayga* metre The word *vigīyāc* if it is intended to convey the sense of 'is praised', is not appropriate, since it means rather 'is condemned'—B C C]

⁸ We have perhaps to read *palathakāra* for *palathakura*

- 36 Vāṃ[mā]dhyā[ndi]na sabrahmachārī Hītāvuka brāhman Ādityanūga - putra - bhatt¹ Ōcheha-
dāya² va(ba)h² charu vaśvadēv āgnihō[tr³] jātīhi pa[n̄]cha -
- 37 vi(ma)hū[ajū ā]dī kri[ay] ō[tsaprū(rppa)n - ārttha[un] śrī Bharukachchha - viśhaya āntarggata-
Mannātha-grāmali s ōdranguli s ōparikarah sa bhūtapa(vā)ta pranyā-
(tjā)ya[hi]
- 38 sa dhānya [hi]rany ādēyah sa daś āpara(rā)dhah s ōtpadyama(mā)na viśhita ali a chūta-
bhata pravēśyah sarva rājākīyānūnī-a hasta prakāśh[ē]pa[n̄]i
- 39 yah pu(pū)rya prattī dēva brahmi vā(dā)ya rahit īh(tō) bhūmichehchudra nyāyīn=ā-
chandra(udr ā)rk ārnava kshiti parit parvata samā kālīnāi putra paulī(tr ā)nyaya
- 40 krami ōpa[bhō]gyē(gyō)=dy - Āśvayuja ma(mā)s āmu(mā)vāyā[ymū*] ādhiky⁴ āntarggata
śrī(bra)hmi dāyāt[īnā*] pratipādītō yā(ya)t[ō]-sy-ōchitayā pra(bra)hmi-
- 41 dhū(dā)ya sthityā bhūmja(bhūmja)talī kṛshatāi kāksha(rsha)jatalī pratidīśatō vā na
kāsichid=ya(yā)[vī]dhē vartitayam=a(ā)gāmi bhadra nripatibhuvayānamasmad⁵
vāśyāi
- 42 [r-a]huvir-vā=āyam=akmā(sma)d dāyō=munantayāhi pa(pī)lavitayā=cha | yāś=ch=
[ā] jīna tīma(nu)ra=prāt[ī]ā*]vīta matir=ichchihindya(ndyā)d=ichchihidyama(mā)nakam
v=īnum[ē](mō)dē[tr] sa
- 43 [pa]ñchabhuv=malūpa(pī)talakās=ē(sō)prāp[ā]trākā(hai)=cha samān[ā]tr[h*] syā(syā)d=
it=uktā[n̄]-cha bhagavatā vādavāścīna | Shashtī varsha sahasra(srī)ni
svarggēti
- 44 [shthitī] bhūmī[dah [i*] āchchhūtī ch=īnuma[ntā] cha trāyē(tāny=ē)va narakē vāścīta(t)
[i*] Vindhya āntayā(śhiv=a)tōyāsu suśhikā tōvara vāśmāli [*] kṛshin[ā]hāyō bi
- 45 [jā*]yāntī bh[ī]m[ī]dāyam haranti yē || Vā(Ba)hubhuv=vasudhā bhuktī rājabh[ī]*]
Sagar ādibh[ī]*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya trāya [tr]dī phalam(lam) [i*]
- 46 Agnēr=apatyam prathamam suvarnam bhūr-Vaishnavī Su(Sū)rya sūtās=ch vā(gā)hah
[i*] loka trayam ta(tō)na bhavēd=dhu dattam⁶ yah īñchannam gītū=cha [mahim]
- 47 cha dadyāta(t) [i*] Yān=īha dattīm purī nārēndrūh(drair=)dīnūm dharim āñchā(rtha)-
yāsās karīm | nīrbhuttā(kta) ma(mā)ya prātūm(nū) m tīm kō nāma sū
- 48 dhuh punar=ādadīta || Sva dattīm para dattīm vī yā(ya)tūndram(d-ra)ksha Yūdhi-
shthī(shthi)ra | mahīm mahimatīm śrēshtha dānch=chhīrēyō=nu[pa(pī)lanam=itī(nam
[i*]itī) [i*]
- 49 Bhatta śrī [Dūya]ka dūtakanī⁶ || Samvatsara-sata-chatushtayō shaḍ-asīty-adhikē⁶
Āśvayuja bahula-pāñchadaśy[ām]
- 50 Samva 400 80 6 Āśvayuja va 10 5 bhikṣān=ch=aitan=niayā va(ba)la(lā)dhikṛit-ālla suta-
mahābala(lā)dhukṛita]

¹ [On the photograph the reading lool s lil c bhaff īchchadaya,—B C C]

² There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other There are more such marks in the body of the inscription In some cases they are represented by a single dash

³ The syllable *trā* has a peculiar shape It lool s more like *tha*, though *th* again has a different form as is seen in the very next word *atīhi*

⁴ Read *°syayām=udal* On top of the syllables *dhaīya* there is a sign of an uncertain letter

⁵ The two syllables *yamma* are superfluous Read *nripatibhuv=asmad*

⁶ [The Kāśī grant reads *Śrīlāndakapala dūtakam* The reading in the present inscription is not certain It can also be *Bhaffa Śrīkhaḍḍayaka dūtakam*—B C C.]

51 [Samgullā]म ||

Sva hṛstō mama śrī-Jayabhatasya ||

TRANSLATION

(Ll 1 1) In the great image of the great king Karna—which became the (perpetual) abode (of Lakṣmī), which allayed the misery (*caused by*) desires, whose glory was wide spread like that of the sun (and) which possessed (wealth that supported families) of Brahmins—(*there lived*) like a swan in the lotus pond, the illustrious Dadda, whose (pure temper was not agitated by the freaks) of the mighty Kālī age, who, by his grave and noble conduct struck the minds of all kings (or *dīl pūṣas*) with wonder (*and*) over whom there hung with the grace of a rolling mass of white clouds, a canopy of glory gained by (protecting the lord of Valabhī) who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣhadēva

(Ll 1 7) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhata whose mental happiness increased as his stores of (wealth were enjoyed) by needy men coming (*to him*) without fear, the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical families, (*and*) who veiled the lotus like faces of the women who were the quarters with the cloth of (*his*) white glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls coming out of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, rent open by the (edge of (*his*) sharp sword)

(Ll 7 12) His son (*was*) the illustrious Dadda, who was devoted to the performance of his own religious duties with discrimination due to his (*right*) understanding of the treatises composed by the great sage Manu, who had rooted out all the arrogance of the Kālī age by (the proper management) of the (*four*) eras (*varṇa*) and stages (*āśrama*) (*of life*), who removed the pride of charity of all (*other*) kings by giving (*lit* acquiring) wealth that was beyond the hopes of the supplicants, whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the goad, whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (*his*) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery, who was well known by his other name of Bāhusahāya through the strength of (*his*) arm, that was displayed in tearing through innumerable troops of elephants surrounded by thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara and who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds

(Ll 12 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhata who was clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arranged in the clash of numerous battles, who was a very forest fire to the intolerant (*i.e.* his opponents), who was a friend of the poor, the destitute and the sick, who was a full moon to the lotus pond (*in the state*) of relations and friends, who like the stream of (*the river*) Bhūgīrathī was able to agitate his enemies (or rocks), who like Śīntanu was the lord of a great army (or of the great river) full of a humming noise, who like the Primeval Bear held the earth raised by the might of his own arm, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāsūmantādhipati*

(Ll 15 21) His son (*was*) the illustrious Ahrōla, whose feet were kissed by garlands on the crests of kings with their heads lofty on account of the rising pride of their valour, who was chosen by Rājālakṣmī (Royal splendour) of her own accord with her heart full of love for all his attractive virtues, whose glory, white like the mass of light of the full moon, crowned the peak of (the mount) Mēru, whose bar like (*i.e.* strong) arm was capable of crushing erodes of troops of elephants belonging to his great enemies met in the battle field, who had pleased the subjects by properly chalking out the paths of morality through (*his*) surpassing wisdom which was increased by (*his*)

mastery over four fold learning, who, being naturally of benevolent disposition, was not stained by the blackness (i.e., the wicked influence) of the Kali age, who had his senses controlled owing to (his) natural apathy towards the pleasures of countless objects (of enjoyment) attendant upon the approaching youth, who was well versed in the employment of the six expedients, whose greatness was enhanced by (his) three *śaktis*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāśāmantādhipati*

(Ll 21 37) His—who was the ornament of the whole world—son, Śrī Jayabhata, who is adorned by the garland (in the form of) the collection of his own virtues, whose lotus like feet are saluted by numerous great kings, who has the whole earth brightened with the hue which (in the form) of his glory, which is as white as the *lūnda*, the moon and the white *sindurāra* flower, who has consumed the misfortune of the whole world by the fire (in the form) of his great prowess, who has expelled the multitude of all enemies by the torrents of his irresistible arrows, who is clever in destroying the troops of elephants running about in the heat of battles, who is shining (on account) of the breaking of the multitude of lofty horses springing(?) and dancing in the unsteady battlefield, whose right shoulder has been adorned by the collection of the rays (issuing) out of the sword which looked like having projecting teeth on account of the pearls (sticking to it) which had fallen from the (teeth) of elephants violently split by him, who has a lotus pool manifests various auspicious marks (as the lotus pool has many cranes) but is not vexed (or with a muddy bottom), who like the moon is endowed with all the fine arts (as the moon has digits) but is not a repository of vices (as the moon is the 'night-maker'), who like the sea has caused the hostile kings to come in (i.e., submit?) (as the sea has given shelter to whales, mountains) but is not afflicted with disease (as the sea is full of crocodiles) who like Nārāyaṇa has destroyed his foes with his excellent discus (as Nārāyaṇa did with the Sudarṇa wheel) but is not of wicked nature (as Nārāyaṇa is an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa), who like Hara has secured all prosperity (as Śiva has his body besmeared with ashes) but is not surrounded by hostile people (or serpents), who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the brightness of the taxation (*alpa kara*) just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpa kara*) still causes the people to salute, who by the edge of his sword quelled the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī, (who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world and giving them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowds of the wives of the gods whose lotus feet are reddened by the rays of the crest jewels of hundred of princes, who has obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and is a *Mahāśāmantādhipati*,

(Ll 33 10) being in the best of health, informs all princes, feudal chiefs, district officers and *Mahattaras* in charge of *rāṣṭra* and village. Be it known to you that, for the increase of merit and glory of (my) parents and of myself, both in this and the next world, the village Mannītha, lying within the district of Bhārukaśekhha, together with the *udranga* and *uparāra* and *Bhūta Vāta pratyāya*, with its income in grain and gold, with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten faults with the right to forced labour, not to be entered by *chāta* and *bhata*, not to be meddled with by any royal officer, exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brahmins, according to *bhūmichehlidra nṛgāya*, to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains endure (and) to be enjoyed in succession by sons and grandsons, has, to day on the new moon of the month of Āsvayuja, been given by me as a *brahmadāya* with libations of water, for the

¹ [Here the author has followed the translation given by Bühler, which was based on his imperfect reading of the text. I would translate this passage as 'he is the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhata who has forcibly extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tappas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhī with the water of the edge of his sword who is praised, etc. See above p 151 n 7—Ld.]

purpose of performing the five great sacrifices, *viz*, *Bali*, *Charu*, *Varśadēva*, *Agnihōtra*, and *Atithi*, to Bhatta Uchchada¹, who came from the district of Lōhagakakshapāṭhaka, who is of Kaundinya *gōtra*, who belongs to the community of Traividya 'Brahmins, who is a student of the Vāṇi Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and who is the son of Ādityanāga, a Hētāvuka Brāhmin

(Ll 40 43) Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated¹ or entrusting (*it to any one else*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadāya* (And) this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings whether of our own lineage or others And he shall incur the guilt of five great sins together with the minor sins who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation

(Ll 43 48) [Here follow six of the customary verses]

(Ll 49 51) The illustrious *bhatta* Dēyaka is the *dūtaka*

In the year four hundred increased by eighty-six on the 15th day of the dark half of Āsvayuja (the year 400, 80, 6 Āsvayuja, va 10 5) this has been written by me, the *Mahābalādhikṛta* Samgulla, the son of the *Balādhikṛta* Alla

(*This is*) the sign manual of me, Śrī-Jayabhata

No 24 —MALLASARUL COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

This copper-plate comes from Mallasārul,² a village about a mile and a half from the north bank of the Dāmodar river, within the jurisdiction of Galsi Police Station of the Burdwan District, Bengal It was discovered in 1929 by Dr Sureshwar Roy in course of re excavation of an old tank adjoining his house and was subsequently presented by him to the Vangīya-Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta The decipherment of the text inscribed on the plate was entrusted to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī, but due to his continuous ill health he could not take it up seriously and the copper plate, which remained unpublished, attracted little attention after his death Recently I approached the Sāhitya Parishat for permission to edit the record, which was very kindly accorded, and the original plate together with a tentative and incomplete transcript, prepared partly by the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya and partly by Mr Chintāharan Chakravartī, M A, was handed over to me An article in Bengali giving a preliminary account of the plate has been contributed by me to the quarterly journal of the Sāhitya Parishat But considering the importance of the record I have thought it desirable to edit the same with fuller details in the *Epigraphia Indica*

This is a single sheet of copper, measuring 10 4" long by 6 5" broad, which is inscribed on both faces lengthwise A circular seal about 2 8" in diameter is soldered on the left side of the plate It bears in relief a standing figure of a two armed deity with a *chakra* in the background representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend (*Mahā*)*rāja-Vijaya[sē]nasya, i e*, 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayasēna,' which is partly defaced The plate contains 25 lines of writing, of these fifteen lines are engraved on the obverse and ten on the reverse The engraver has not been able to follow the draft with uniform accuracy there are slips and lapses at a number of places, which have been duly pointed out in the

¹ [See above p 152 n 1 —Ed]

² The place is marked as 'Sārul' in Survey of India map No 73 M 11 (1" to a mile scale) of 1929 30, and as 'Mallasarul' in the Map of the District of Burdwan

text The uneven surface of the reverse side, showing a number of fissures must have made the engraver's task somewhat difficult In several instances he has been obliged to leave blank space in the middle of a line and re engrave a letter or letters, as in the last line, after the blank space The plate is cracked at the upper left corner and some sheets appear to have been cut away from here, as also from the lower left corner As a result of the damage, which happened probably when the plate was being dug out, several letters are lost from the commencement of lines 1 3 and 14 15

The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the ' Gupta alphabet ', representing a further stage of development as compared to those of the copper plates of Bengal dating from the 5th century A D Palaeographically, it resembles the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gopachandra¹ which are referable to the 6th century As pointed out below, the approximate age of the plate can be determined also from its internal evidence As regards the forms of individual letters, noteworthy are *m*, *y*, *śh* and *s*, and the conjuncts *ñch*, *lm*, *lp* and *lm* The letter *y* shows a curl on the left with opening on the outer side This particular form of the letter has been found by Hoernle also in the Bower Manuscript,² and it appears in the Faridpur plates, the Gunrghar plate of Vainyagupta (A D 507)³ and in the latest one (A D 513 44)⁴ of the Dīmōdarpur plates The letter *h* has the lower portion of its curve shaped like a hook, turned to the right It differs from the *h* occurring in the Baigrām,⁵ Pāhārpur⁶ and Dāmōdarpur⁷ plates in which the curve is much shorter and is turned to the left Attention may also be drawn to the use of the peculiar medial *ṣ*, consisting of the *ṣ* stroke on top of consonant and the hook-like *ā* stroke added to its stem below The record contains examples of the final *t* and *m* and the numeral signs for 3, 7, 8 and 20

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit With the exception of two verses in *Āryā* metre at the beginning and eight other verses relating to land grant, the document is composed in prose throughout The superfluous addition of the suffix *la* in *dattala* (l 12) is a well known feature of the records of the Gupta period The word *īārāṣṭra* in *asmāḍ īārāṣṭraḥ* (l 12), which probably refers to a class of officers, is of lexical importance⁸ As regards orthography, mention may be made of the doubling of a consonant either preceding a subscript *r* or following a superscript *r*, the use of the dental nasal in *raṇṣa* (l 17), and of the same nasal instead of *m*, once in *danbha* (l 1) The sign for *b* occurs only in a single instance in *brāhmanasya* (l 16), but everywhere else in the record the sign for *v* has been employed for *b* This orthographical distinction between *b* and *v*, as is well known, gradually became obsolete after the Gupta period

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIX, 1910, pp 193 ff

² *Introduction to the Bower Manuscript* (Reprint, Bombay 1914), p 16

³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol VI, 1930, pp 45 ff

⁴ Above, Vol XV, pp 141 ff and Vol XVII, p 193

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XXI, pp 78 ff

⁶ Above, Vol XX, pp 59 ff

⁷ Above, Vol XV, pp 113 ff

⁸ The primary meaning of *tara* is ' a person's turn ' or ' proper place ', and *īārāṣṭra* would mean ' one appointed in turn ' or ' one appointed in a place ' In the Ghugrahati plate of Samūchārādēva certain persons are said to have been appointed *kulāvara* (*Iaramika Nayanāga Kṣav adīn kulāvarān pralāpya*) in connection with the land granted Also in a Faridpur plate of the time of Gōpachandra we have *Viśhayadhīlaraṇṇ=ādhi/araṇa/ajñān=kulavarān=pralāpya*, i e, ' having appointed, through the *Viśhayadhīlaraṇa*, *kulavaras* who are acquainted with administrative affairs ' The word *kulāvara* has been taken by Pargiter to mean ' a referee ' or ' an arbitrator ' (*Ind Ant*, 1910, p 205, n 49, in the above passage I read *jñān* for *ṇana* of Pargiter) Evidently the word *īārāṣṭra* is used in a similar sense in the present record, In line 12, this class of officers are supposed to carry out the appointment of the price of the land at the *Viṭhī*

The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha,¹ of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santah*), i e, the Buddhist Sangha. In line 2 of the inscription occurs the name of a paramount sovereign (*Mahārājādhirāja*), the first two letters of which can be clearly read as *Gōpa*. The remaining portion of the name, appearing at the beginning of line 3, evidently consisted of two letters which are only partially preserved. It is clear, however, that the last letter of the name was a conjunct with subscript *r* as a component. The lower portion of the third letter has the shape of a triangle with an acute angle pointing downwards, from which it is evident that this is a fragment of the letter *cha*. Moreover, the name must have been in the locative case, in conformity with the present participle form *praśāsati* that immediately follows. Under the circumstances I feel no hesitation in restoring the passage as *Gōpachandrē praśāsati*, i e, 'during the reign of Gōpachandra'.

In lines 3-5, honour is shown to a number of officers who are mentioned by their respective designation and not by name, viz, *Kārttikrūṭa*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Chaurōddharanika*, *Uparika*, *Audrangula*, *Agrahārika*, *Aurnasthānika*, *Bhōgapatika*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Hiranyasāmudāyika*, *Pattalaka*, *Āvasathika* and officers entrusted with *dēvadronī* (i e, procession or ablution of images?). As these officers are mentioned immediately after *Varddhamāna bhuktāu* there is no doubt they were the various functionaries of the provincial administration directly concerned with the affairs of this *bhukti*. The enumeration of the officers is followed by a list of the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other important persons concerned with the present grant, viz, *mahattara* Himadatta, an *agrahārīn* of Ardhakaraka, *mahattara* Suvarṇayaśas of Nirvṇtavātaka, *mahattara* Dhṛnasvāmin, an *agrahārīn* of Kapisthavātaka, the *mahattaras* Shashthidatta and Śrīdatta, *agrahārīns* of Vatavallaka, *Bhatta* Vāmanasvāmin, an *agrahārīn* of Kōddavīra, *Mahidatta* and *Rājyadatti*, *agrahārīns* of Gōdhagrāma, *Jivasvāmin* of Śālmahvātaka, *Khādgi* Harī of Vakkattaka, *Khādgi* Gōika of Madhuvātaka, *Khādgi* Bhadrānandin of Khandajōtikā, and *Vāhanāyala* Harī and others of Vindhyaपुरी.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land during the reign of King Gōpachandra by *Mahārāja* Vijayasēna, to a Brahmin named *Vatsasvāmin* of the Kaundinya *gōṭra*, belonging to the Bahvṛeṇa *śākhā* of the Rīgveda, to enable him to perform the 'five great sacrificial rites'.² The land granted measured eight *lulyaūpas*³ in area and was situated in the village of *Vēttargarttā* within the *Vakkattaka vīthī* of the *Varddhamāna bhukti*. It was bounded on the east and south by Gōdhagrāma, on the north by the Vatavallaka *agrahāra* and on the west in part by *Āmrīgarttikā*. The plot was duly marked out by pegs (*līlaka*),⁴ a system that finds a parallel in the land survey of modern times.

The transaction took place in the following manner. Vijayasēna approached the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other notabilities of the neighbouring villages and also the Court of the *Vīthī* (*vīthy adhīśarana*), expressing his desire to purchase, in the customary way, eight *lulyaūpas* of land for the aforesaid purpose. The *Vīthī* Court and the Elders enquired into the matter and signified their approval, considering that 'a sixth part of the religious merit will accrue to the *Paramabhāttāra*, i e, the King, and they themselves, as the protectors of the gift, will also have fame and prosperity'. The necessary amount of money in *dīnāras* was then duly paid at the *Vīthī* Court by Vijayasēna to cover the price of the land, which was divided by the *Vāra* officers⁵ and the gift was made subject to the express condition that the usual dues in respect of the land

¹ The figure on the seal of the copper plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification.

² These comprise the five daily rites, viz, *balī*, *charu*, *vaśīvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithi*.

³ The area is specified in figure also in I 24 (*kulya* 8).

⁴ The pegs are said to have borne the device of *kalal-ālśha mālā*, i e, 'a string of lotus seeds'.

⁵ See above, p 156, n 8.

would be borne by him and credited to the revenues of the *Īṭhī*. Having in this manner obtained the right of ownership, he next transferred it to the donee Vatsasvāmin by means of a copper-plate charter. In this transaction a person named Śubhadatta acted as the *Dūtaka*, the *Sāndhivigrahika*. Bhōgachandra prepared the draft, while the *Pustapāla* Jayadīśa was responsible for getting the copper plate 'beated' (*ūpata*), by which evidently the process of engraving, that is to say the technical part of it, is to be understood. The date is given as the year, i.e., the regnal year, 3, the month of Śrāvana, the 27th day.

Mahārājādhirāja Gōpachandra, the reigning king should be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur copper-plates. *Mahārāja* Vijayasēna, the donor, whose name appears on the seal and also in lines 8 and 13, and who must have been a vassal chief of Gōpachandra, should be identified with the *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta* Vijayasēna, the *Dūtaka* of the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507). The present charter therefore may be placed in the first half of the sixth century, a conclusion, we have already seen, is borne out by the palaeography of the inscription. It appears that Vijayasēna served both under Vainyagupta and Gōpachandra, at different dates, but it is difficult to say which of the two kings was the earlier. It is likely, however, that as Vijayasēna issued the present charter under his own seal, he occupied a more dignified position under Gōpachandra, and this would probably indicate a point of time later than A.D. 507, in which year he was associated as a *Dūtaka* with Vainyagupta's Gunaighar plate. It should be noted also that although Vainyagupta, his overlord, was at this date enjoying some sort of independent status, he styled himself only as *Mahārāja*, and not as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Vainyagupta, as his name would suggest, might have been related to the Guptas of Magadha. Gōpachandra on the other hand was probably a member of a local family. That he had the status of a paramount sovereign is certain. As we already know, this king, like Dharmāditya of the Faridpur plates who enjoyed a similar status, had placed one of his chiefs in charge of a territory in Eastern Bengal. From the evidence of this record it now appears that Gōpachandra had under him also the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, answering to the present Burdwan Division. He appears therefore to have owned a fairly extensive territory. By the middle of the sixth century, or a little earlier, Bengal seems to have been lost to the Guptas of Magadha and local princes had established their independence. They probably retained this position until the rise of the Emperor Harshavardhana. One of the Faridpur plates (the Ghugrahata plate) mentions another independent king of Bengal named Samāhāradēva. The script of this plate is definitely later than that of the plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra. Hence he should be placed after them, that is either at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.

Some remarks are called for regarding the identification of the localities mentioned in the copper-plate. Most of them appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Vētttagarttā within Vakkattaka *īṭhī*, a part of which was granted to the donee. Vētttagarttā itself cannot be located with certainty. But Gōdhagrāma may be identical with Gōhagrām on the Dāmodar, to the south east of Mallasīrūl where the plate has been found. Amragarttikā may be modern Ambahulū (also called Simāsīmī), to the south of Mallasīrūl. Khandajōtikā is perhaps Khāndajuli between Mallasīrūl and Gōhagrām, while Śālmali may be Mallasīrūl itself. The name of the *īṭhī* Vakkattaka seems to have survived in Baktā, a place immediately to the east of Gōhagrām.

The Vakkattaka *īṭhī*, representing a part of the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, included a strip of the country along the north bank of the Dāmodar river. Another *īṭhī* of the same *bhukti* was known during the Śīnā period as Śālpā dakshina *īṭhī*, which lay along the Bhāgīrathī river in the north-

eastern corner of the Burdwan District¹ In the unpublished Nālandā plate of Dharmapāla a *vīthī* in Gayā-vishaya is described as Jambūnadi *vīthī*, i e, 'the *vīthī* on the Jambū river' Again in a grant of the Gupta period from Monghyr District there is reference to a Nanda *vīthī*, the name being recognizable in 'Nandapur', the findspot of the grant, situated on the Ganges² From these scattered references it would appear as if the term *vīthī* was applied in ancient times to a tract of land immediately bordering on a river

The expression *vīthy adhikarana*, i e, the *Vīthī* Court (l 8) is interesting A similar expression *adhishthān-ādhiparāṇa* is used in reference to the town or district of Kōtivarsha in the Dāmōdarpur copper-plates, where it seems to denote 'the City Court' The persons mentioned in lines 5 8 immediately before *vīthy adhikarana*, among whom are *mahattaras*, i e, Elders, and *agrahārins*, i e, 'holders of *agrahāras*', were probably the heads of administration of the *vīthī* In connection with *vīthy adhikarana* we may compare the expression *Suvarna vīthy adhiprita*, i e, 'one who is in charge of the administration of Suvarna *vīthī*'³ occurring in the Ghugrahati plate of Samāchāradīva

TEXT⁴

Obverse

- 1 (Lō)kanāthah⁵ yah pumsām sukṛta karmma-phala hētuh [1*] satya-
tapōmaya mūrttir=llōka dvaya sādhanō dharmmah [|| 1*] Tad anu jita danbha(mbha)-
lōbhā jaya
- 2 [nti*] para-hit-ārthāh⁶ [1*] n[rma]tsarāh su charitaih para lōka-jigīshavah santah
[|| 2*] prithivīm Prithur=iva(Prithuvat) prathita-pratāpa-naya śauryy[ē] Mahārājādhirāja-
śrī Gōpa-
- 3 [chandrē]⁷ praśāsati tad anujñaptāyām puny ōttara janapad ādhyāsītāyā[m] satata-
dharmma kriyā varddhamānāyām Varddhamāna-bhuktau pūjyān=varttamān ōpasthi
tata⁸ kārttākratikā ku-
- 4 mārāmātya ch[au]r[ō]ddharanik ōparik andrangik āgrahārik-aurnasthānikā-bhōgapatikā visha-
yapatī tada(dā)yuktaka hīranyasūmudāyika pattalak āvasathika dēvadrōnī samva(mba)
- 5 ddh ādīn=vidhuvāt=sampūjya Vakkattaka-vīthī-samva(mba)ddh-Ārddhakarak āgrahārīna-
mahattara Himadattali Nirvṛtavātakiya-mahattara Su[va*]rnnayaśā[h*] Kapistha-
vātak āgrah[ā]rīna-
- 6 mahattara Dhanasvāmī(mī) Vatavallak āgrahārīna-mahattara Shashthidatta-Śrīdattau Kōd-
dāvīr āgrahārīna bhatta-Vāmanasvāmī(mī) Gōdhagrām āgrahārīna-Mahidatta-Rājya-
- 7 dattau Śālmalivātakiya Jīvasvāmī(mī) Vakkattakiya khādgi Harih Madhuvātakiya-
khādgi-Gōika(kah) Khandajōtikēya khādgi Bhadrānandi(ndī) Vindhyapurēya vāhanāyaka-

¹ Majumdar, *Inscr. of Bengal*, p. 71

² Above, p. 52

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 76 Mr. Bhattacharya renders it as 'master of the bullion market' which cannot be accepted

⁴ From the original copper plate

⁵ About eight letters are missing at the beginning of this line

⁶ Some letters are missing also here, of which one has been tentatively restored

⁷ For this restoration see remarks above p. 157

⁸ The second *ta* is superfluous and should be omitted

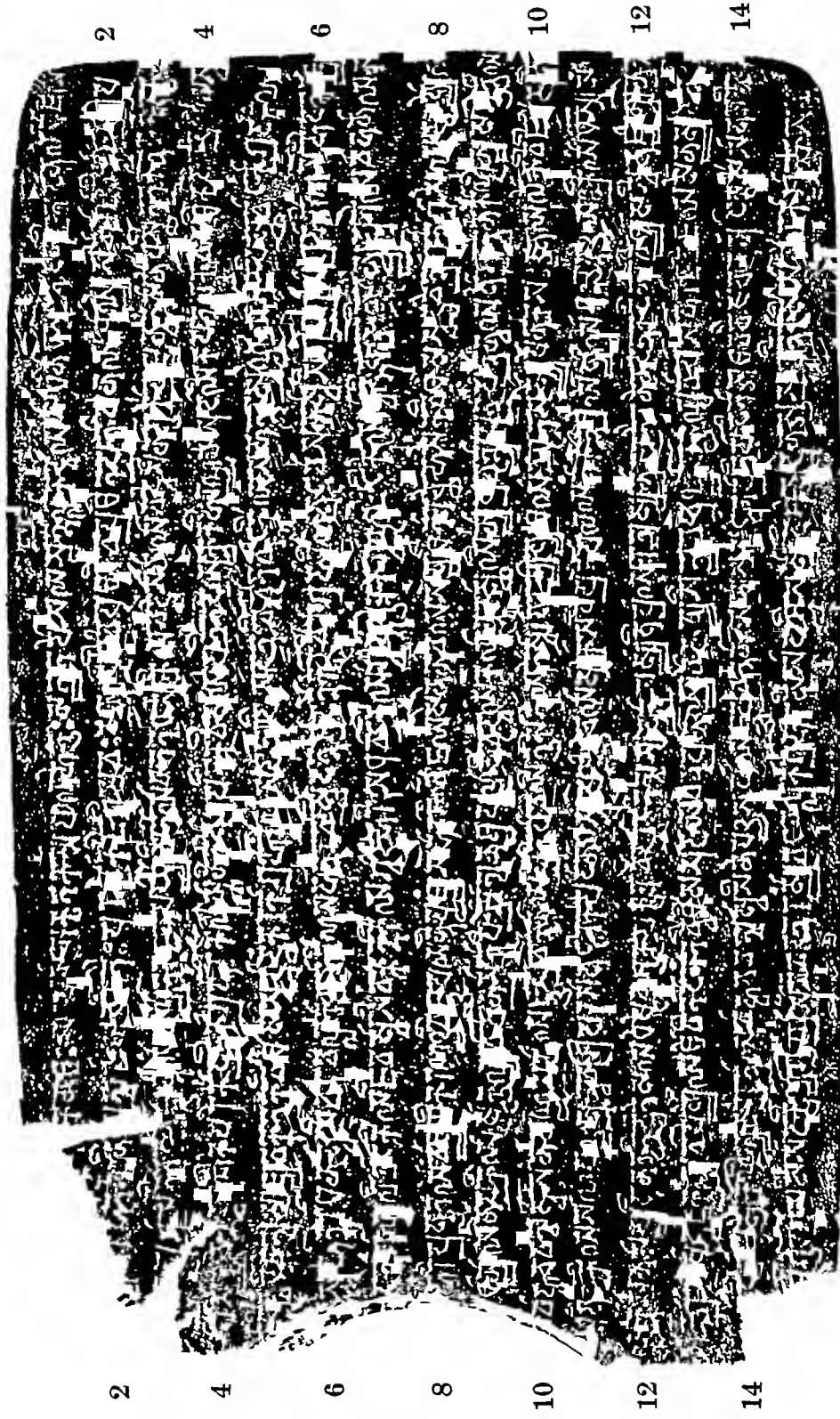
- 8 Hari-prabhu(bhri)tayō vīthy adhikaranañ=cha viñāpayanti [*] pūjyam ¹Mahārāja-
Vijayasēnēna vayam=abhyarthitā ichchhēha(ya)m=ēta[d*] vīthī samva(mba)ddha-
Vētragarattā-grāmē yushmabhyō ya-
- 9 thā nyāya(yē)n=ōpakriy=āshtau kulyavāpān mūtā puttrōr=ātmanaś=cha puny-
ābhivridhayē kalpāntara sthāyinyā pravrittyā puttra pauttr ānvaya bhōgyatvēna
Kaundinya sagōttrāya
- 10 Vā(Bā)hvrīcha-Vatsasvāmīnō(nē) pañcha-mahā yajña-pravarttanāya pratipāva(da)yi-
tum=iti [*] yatō=smābhīr=asy=ābhyartha[na*]y=āvadhritam=asy=ōshō(aishō)=nukramah²
ubhaya loka viṃśishu[bhī](bhīh)
- 11 [sā]dhubhīh kriyamāna-punya skandhēshu śrī-Paramā(ma)bhattāraka-pa(pā)dānām
dharmma shad bhāgō cha yō³=smākam=api pratipālayatām kīrtti śrēyōbhayām
yōgah [*] uktañ=cha [*] Yāh kriyām dharmma-sam-
- 12 yuktām manas=āpy=abhinandati [*] [va*]rddhatē sa yath ēsht-ēva⁴ śukla-
paksha iv=ōdūrāt [|| 3*] tat=sampadyatām=asy=ābhīprāya ity=asman(d) vāra
kritair=anēna dattaka dīnārā[n*] vīthyām samvibhajy=āsman(d) Vēttira-
- 13 garttā grāmē=shtābhyah kulyavāpēbhyō yath ōchitam dānam ta[d] vīthī samu-
daya ēva pranāryya⁵ vōdhavyam=ity=avachūrny=āshtau kulyavāpā Mahārāja-
Vijayasēnasya dattōh(dattāh)
- 14 . pi⁶ rājū=āsmāi Kaundinya sagōttrāya Vā(Bā)hvrīcha-Vatsasvāmīnē pañcha-
mahā yajña pravarttanāya tāmra pra(pa)ttēna pratipādītā⁷ atha cha⁸ ch=
aishām chaturshu dīkshu⁹ sīmā bhavanti pū
- 15 (ivvasyām dī)śi Gōdhagrāmā-sīmā dakshinyām(nasyām) Gōdhagrāmā(ma) [ē]-
va uttarasyām Vatavallak-āgrahāra sīmā paśchimasyām(māyām) dīśi arddhēna
Āmragarattikā sīmā kilakās=ch=āttra kama[l ā]-

Reverse

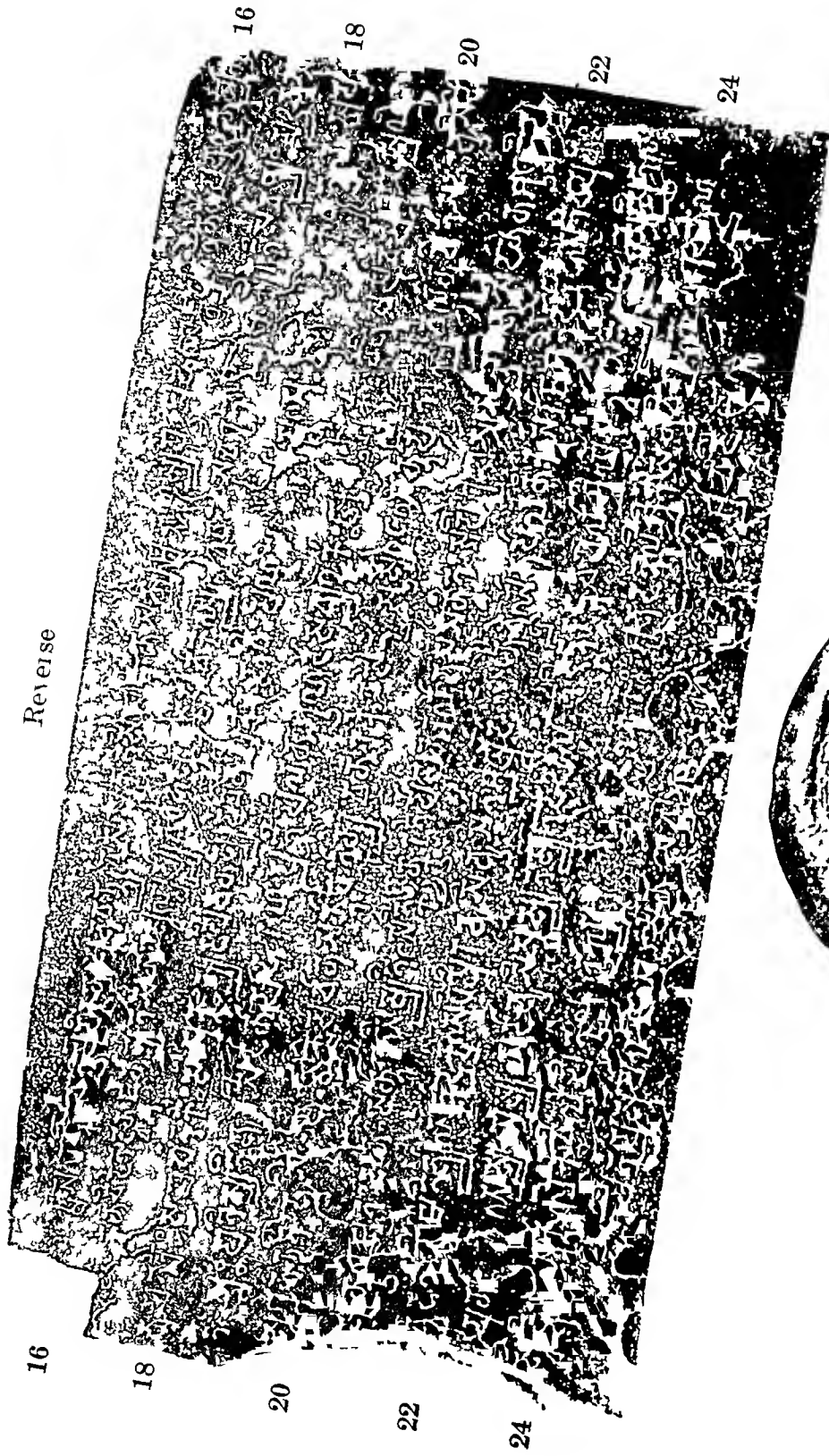
- 16 ksha-māl-ānktā(tās=)chaturshu dīkshu⁹ nyastā bhavanty=ēvam=ēshām kṛta-
sīm ānktānām=asya brāhmanasya pañcha mahā-yajña pravarttanēn=ōpabhuñjānasya
na
- 17 kēnachid=ētaḍ-vanśajēn¹⁰=ānyatamēna vā svalpapy(svalp=āpy)=āvā(bā)dhā hasta-
prakshēpō vā k[ā]rriyah [*] ēvam=avadhntē yō=tha karōti sa vadhyah
pañchabhīr=mma-
- 18 hāpātakaih s ōpāpātakaih samyuktah syād=api cha [*] N=āsya dēvā na
pitarō havih pindam samāpnuyuh [*] [chhī]nna mastaka vat=tālah apra-

¹ Read *pūjya*² [Correct reading seems to be -asty-ō(ē)shō=nukramah —Ed]³ [Intended reading is *dharmma shad bhāg ōpachayō-*, *pa* in the last word has apparently been inadvertently omitted by the scribe —Ed]⁴ [On the plate the reading seems to be *yadh ēshtē cha* But the reading *yath ēshtam cha* may have been intended —Ed]⁵ Read *pranayya*⁶ Not more than three letters are missing Probable restoration *anēn=āpi*⁷ Read *prat pādītah|atha*⁸ This *cha* is superfluous and should be omitted from text⁹ Read *chatur dīkshu* or *chaturśishu dīkshu*¹⁰ Read *vamsajēn-*

Obverse



Reverse



Seal

- 19 tishthah patishyati [||4*] bhūmi dān āpaharana pratipālana guna dōsa(sha) vyañjakāh
ārshāh ślōkā bhavanti [|*] Shashtim varsha sahasrāni
- 20 svarggē nandati bhūmidah [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
narakē vasēt [||5*] Āsphōtayanta pitarah pravalganti pitāmahāh [|*]
bhūmidō=
- 21 sman(t) kulē jātah sa nah santārayishyati [||6*] Yat knūchin(t)=kurutē
pāpam narō lōbha samā(ma)nvitah [|*] api gō charmma māttrēna bhūmi-
dānēna śudhyati [||7*] Pū-
- 22 rvva dattām dvijātibhyō yat[n]ād=raksha Yudhishtira [|*] bhūmna bhūmi-
[ma*]tām śrēsthā dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [||8*] Iyam rāja satair=ddattā
diyatē cha punah
- 23 punah [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||9*] Tadi-
taranga va(ba)hulām śriyam matvā cha marttyānām [|*] na dharmma-
sthitaya
- 24 s=sadbhūh(dbhūr=)yuktā lōkē vilōpitum [||10*] kulya 8 dūtakah Śubhadattō
likhitam sāndhivigrahika Bhōgachandrēna
- 25 tāpitām pustapāla Jayadāsēna [||*] samvvad(samvat) 3 Śrāva dī 20 7

No 25 —TANDIKONDA GRANT OF AMMARAJA II

BY BHAVARAJ V KRISHNARAO, B A , B L , RAJAHMUNDRY

This interesting inscription is engraved on a set of four copper-plates, which was secured by the Rev Dr Isac Cannaday in 1915, while he was at Sattenapalli, Guntūr District, and forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the early part of the same year. It is marked as C P No 11 of 1914 15¹. From the incomplete nature of the text, the writing appears to have continued on the fifth plate which, however, along with the seal and the ring that held these plates together, was lost and never afterwards traced. Dr Cannaday informs me in the course of his letters, that while he was on tour on Mission work in Sattenapalli taluk during the cold season of 1914 15 and camping at a place called Oruvakallu, he was told by the local catechist that one Chilaka Satyānandam, a Christian of Mādiga extraction, had found, while digging for old earth (*pāṇi mannu*) with which to construct house walls, a set of copper plates and that he was considerably disturbed over that matter. It appears that the fifth plate and perhaps the seal and the ring, too, were melted down by that man, and Dr Cannaday who learnt everything about the discovery, allayed the fears of the man and secured the remaining plates for the Department. The place of the discovery of these plates is near the huge granite boulder or rock which is nearly 250 feet high and which is situated to the west of the village Oruvakallu². The plates were found in a good state of preservation, and I now edit the inscription on them from the excellent estampages kindly sent to me by Dr N P Chakravarti at my request.

Each of these four plates measures roughly 11 inches by 5 inches. Except for the first plate which contains writing on the inner side alone the remaining three plates are engraved on both

¹ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914 15, pp 90 f

² In the rock at Oruvakallu there is a cave and in it is a goddess called Gangā. A large village seems to have flourished round the rock at one time and there are ruins and mounds scattered round the locality.

sides The first plate contains nine lines and the remaining three ten lines of writing on each side Thus the inscription runs into sixty-nine lines in all The writing on the plates is well preserved The characters are Telugu and belong to the tenth century and to the later cursive type, except for the primary forms of vowels *a*, *ā* and *i* which still retain their earlier forms The final *n* (lines 10, 20 and 28) and *m* (lines 11, 16, 21 and 31) have special signs but not the final (lines 7 and 8), which is denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *virāma* above it The sign of the medial *au* is almost similar to one of the signs of the medial *ō*, so that it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the two signs The language is Sanskrit, except the passage in lines 48 to 51 which contain names of the localities which are in the Telugu language Besides the usual benedictory verses at the end (lines 64-67), the inscription contains 19 verses, and the rest is in prose The text in general is fairly free from clerical errors and doubtless incised with great care and neatness In respect of orthography, it will be sufficient to note that the *visarga* before the labial surd is changed into *upadhmaniya* (line 59)

The inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja II, who reigned from A.D. 945 to 970 It opens with an invocation to god Śiva The inscription consists of two parts The first part deals with the usual Eastern Chālukya genealogy and the charity made by the king (lines 3 to 51) The second part (lines 51 to 65) is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Vidyēśvara-Pāṇḍita and his pupil Prabhūtarāsi (III) of the Kālamukha school of the Pāsupata Śaivas founded by Lakṣmi The genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya kings found in this record corresponds to what is given in the Elavarū,¹ Padamkalūru² and the Mahāyapūṇḍi grants of the king³ It contains no more historical information about the dynasty than what is known to us from the other charters of the king

The record is not dated, but the scribe seems to have committed a very curious, perhaps a serious, mistake in giving the date of the king's coronation He was apparently confused He probably had the year of the grant in question in his mind in numerical words as *nabha-vasu vasu*, i.e. (Śaka) 880, when he engraved the date of the coronation of king Amma II, which in numerical words is given in the other charters of the king as *giri-rasa vasu*, meaning 867 There is reason to believe that the grant was made on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* (winter solstice) in the Śaka Samvat 880 The expression of the purpose of the charity mentioned in line 44, namely, "for the increase of long life, good health and prosperity of my kingdom, i.e., people", seems to give us the clue for our conjecture⁴ The Māngallu plates of Amma II⁵ inform us that the king after eleven years of his victorious reign proceeded to Kalinga in wrath against Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa lōpāt*), and that at that time the kingdom "was protected by the king's elder brother Dānārjaya, to the great joy of the people"⁶ Ammarāja's expedition into Kalinga seems to have been occasioned by a hostile coalition of kings led by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III who wanted to uproot him (i.e., the reigning king Amma II) and place his own protégé Bādapa on the throne of the Āndhra country⁷ The turbulent kingdom of the Eastern Gāngas of Kalinga on the north east might have readily joined Bādapa and his ally Kṛṣṇa III

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 91 ff

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff

⁴ [The expression *asmad dēśa sanātay āyur ārōgya asvāryy ābhiraiddhy artham* should literally mean 'for the increase of our country, progeny, life, health and prosperity' Therefore, it does not seem to contain a reference to any of the king's wars and does not afford any clue for fixing the date of the grant.—Ed.]

⁵ C. P. No. 1 of 1916-17 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

⁶ *Ibid.*, text, line 23

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 140, and p. 142 text, lines 17-18

for its own purpose. It was evidently for these reasons that Ammarāja II proceeded against Krishna III in the direction of Kaṅga, when the latter invaded his territories. The expedition would have lasted at least a year if not two, and doubtless it ended in a colossal victory for the lord of Vēṅgi. Ammarāja II who was apparently stricken with the sorrows of his people on account of the devastating war with the enemies of his country, would have made the charity recorded in the subjoined inscription under the advice or inducement of his *guru* (preceptor), immediately after his victorious return to the kingdom.¹ Thus the date mentioned in the grant, Śaka 880, corresponding to A D 958-9, may be reasonably assumed to be the date of the grant, and would fall in the thirteenth year of the king's reign. If this is correct the expedition against Krishna III in the direction of Kaṅga, after the eleventh year and the charity recorded in the present edict, would show that by the date of the subjoined grant, king Ammarāja II had returned to his kingdom after successful conclusion of a great war against his enemies, the Rāshtrakūṭas and their allies. Verse 13 also seems to refer to such a great victory.

The inscription informs us that in the city of Vijayavāṭī, *i e*, the modern town of Bezvāda, king Vijayāditya Narēndramrigarāja, the ornament of the race of Chālukyas (*Chālukya-lūla-lāla*), the asylum of the universe (*Saṁstabhuranāśraya*) built a temple called Samastabhuvanāśraya and established in it the image of Umā Mahēśvara. To that deity, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana*, king Ammarāja II made a grant for the increase of prosperity, long life and freedom from disease of his people,¹ for repairs to the temple, for offering *baḷi*, *navvēḍya* and music to the god, and for a *satra* (free feeding house).

The object of the grant is the village Tāndikonda, situated in Gudla-Kandērvvādī-*vishaya*, together with three other villages Ammalapūndī, Gollapūndī and Āsuvulaparru. Ammarāja granted these four villages, having made them all a *dēvabhōga*, with the exemption of all taxes, with the libation of water, as a humble gift to the deity, for the good of his people.¹ The boundaries of the aforesaid village (Tāndikonda) along with the other three villages, are on the east Tūndūru, a stream, on the south-east Gāralagunta, on the south a *būṅgu* tree situated to the north of the village Lāmu, on the south-west, Oddagunta, on the west a tank called Chayitṛ, on the north-west a tank known as Bhīmasamudra, on the north (a heap of boulders called) Ēnuka rālu and on the north east, Rēgadugunta.

The second part of the inscription which begins with a verse in line 51, is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Kālamukha Śaiva saints, who were held in great veneration in Āndhradēśa, and who were also the religious preceptors of the kings of the land. It states that in every age saints like Lakulī and others took upon themselves the forms of Rudra, *i e*, Śiva, and became self incarnate in this world for blessing the righteous men. It is said that they were self born, of their own free will, for the purpose of preaching and setting up the path of the *dharma*, meaning the Śaiva doctrine. In the lineage of these ascetics, arose the Kālamukhas, who looked to the Śruti (Vēdas) for their guidance. They were worshipped by the kings of various lands and belonged to Simha Parishad (which was a division of the Kālamukha sect).

In the lineage of these Kālamukhas, who inhabited the ancient and celebrated temples of Śiva like Amaravatēśvara, was born Lakaśipu-Pasupati (or Lakaśipu who was a Pāsupati), who was well versed in all the *āgamas*. He nourished his holy body by living on pure water, greens, milk, fruits and roots. His disciple was Prabhūtarāśī-Pandita who was an incarnation of *dharma* itself. He had two disciples, Vidyēśvara and Vāmēśvara. Prabhūtarāśī-Pandita

¹ [See n 4 on p 162 —Ed.]

sect of Śaivas in a copper plate grant of A D 810 from Mysore ¹ The earliest reference to the Kālamukha Śaivas in the Tamil country seems to be contained in the Kodumbālūr inscription of prince Vikramakēśarin² which mentions a certain Mallikārjuna who was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi The inscription further states that "having built three shrines (*vimāna*) in his own name and in the name of his two wives, he, i e, Vikramakēśarin, set up Mahēśvara (Śiva) and presented a big *matha* (*brihan matha*) to Mallikārjuna, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālamukha (sect), with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita valitra*)" ³ The approximate period of these shrines is determined partly by the alphabet of the inscription referred to and partly by the reference to Vira-Pāndya who was among the enemies overcome by Vikramakēśarin Rai Bahadur V Venkayya thinks that Vikramakēśarin must have flourished roughly about the first half or middle of the tenth century A D ⁴ Thus the two preceptors of Mallikārjuna would have lived almost about the same period or more probably slightly later than that and would have been contemporaries of King Amma II of Āndhra country The name Vidyārāśi is very much similar to Vidyēśvara of the subjoined record, who is stated to be the repository of various kinds of learning For these reasons, therefore, it might be that Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi mentioned in the Kodumbālūr inscription were identical with Vidyēśvara and his disciple Prabhūtarāśi referred to in the subjoined record ⁵ If this identification be correct, then we may believe that disciples of Vidyēśvara and Prabhūtarāśi went to the south, i e Chōla and Pāndya countries and preached the doctrines of Kālamukha-Pāsupata Śaivism, converted the rulers of the country wherever they went and established monasteries for their ascetics

The Kālamukhas spread themselves also at an earlier period into the Kanarese country From Morigere in Hadagalli taluk, Bellary District, come two interesting inscriptions, engraved on two slabs set up in the verandah of the temple of Uddi-Basavanna, of the time of Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I ⁶ Both of them are dated in Śaka 967, on the Kārttika *purnamāsī*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the corresponding English date being Monday, 28th October, A D 1045 These inscriptions state that there existed in that part of the Kanarese country a community of Śaiva ascetics who belonged to the Lakulisa Pāsupata sect and to the school of Simha parshe (*parishad*) Another school of the same sect, perhaps of later origin, was Śakti parshe (*parishad*) to which belonged *Mūvara kōneya santati* of the Parvat-āmnāya, whose teachers also had a strong pontifical seat at Balagāmi ⁷

The Kālamukhas, as has been shown above, spread themselves into far south and the Pāndyan country An inscription from the shrine of Kālanāthasvāmī at Pallimadam, hamlet of Tiruchchul, Rāmnād District, refers to a *matha* of the *Mahāvratins* ⁸ These Mahāvratins, according to Dr R G Bhandarkar, were the followers of the great *vrata* 'a vow of religious devotion and observance in general', and denoted the ancient sect of Śaivas called Kāpālikas or Kālamukhas ⁹ With due respect for the learned scholar, it seems to me that Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas

¹ *Mys Arch Rep* for 1914, p 29 I am indebted to Mr N Lakshminarayan Rao for this information

² No 129 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

³ *Ibid*, *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p 75, para 86

⁴ For the date of Vikramakēśarin and the Kodumbālūr inscription also see the remarks by Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol VII pp 1 12

⁵ [The conjecture seems to be far fetched There is not enough similarity in the names to suggest the identity of the two sets of teachers—Ed]

⁶ Nos 441 and 443 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

⁷ Above, Vol V, pp 221 ff

⁸ No 423 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

⁹ *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p 118.

were not identical sects and that their tenets differed largely. The matter is an important one and requires further elucidation and study.

Of the places mentioned in the record Tāndikonda, Lāmu and Gollapūndi alone can be identified to day. Tāndikonda is the modern village of Tādikonda in the Guntūr taluk of the Guntūr District and is situated at a distance of about eight miles to the north of the head quarters of the district. Among the boundaries of Tāndikonda, it may be observed that the two tanks Chayita tatāka and Bhīmasamudra are still existing. Bhīmasamudra is a huge tank on the bank of which there is a large mound called *Bhīmalīngamu-dibba*, where there are extensive ruins of a Śiva temple. Chayita-tatāka seems to be the ancient name of a huge tank which occupies an area of about three or four square miles adjoining the village. It is the source of irrigation for an extensive area in the vicinity. Lāmu is situated two miles to the south of Tādikonda. There is a village Gollapūndi on the northern bank of the Krishnā river near Bezwāda in Kistna District, about twelve miles to the north of Tādikonda, and it may be identified with the Gollapūndi of the subjoined grant. The remaining villages Ammalapūndi and Āsuvulaparru can not be traced in that locality. It is probable that Anamarlapūndi *agrahāram*, twelve miles to the south-east of Tādikonda, was the Ammalapūndi of the grant. Perhaps Āsuvulaparru stood on the other side of the river in Bezwāda taluk. Gudla-Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* was the ancient name of the tract of country lying on the southern bank of the river round the celebrated place Amarāvati which was noted for its beautiful temples and *chaturas*, of Amaravatīśvara and Buddha, respectively. Gudla Kandērvvādi means "Kandērvvādi of the temples" for the term *gudla* means "of the temples".¹ Apparently that part of Kandērvvādi acquired the name Gudla Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* from its temples at Amarāvati, its chief town. The district Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* seems to have acquired its name from the ancient township Kandēru or the modern Kantēru, a village in the Guntūr taluk, which must have been a very important place in former times. Kandērvvādi-*viśhaya*² seems to have been sub divided into three or four small districts, viz., Kandērvvādi *viśhaya*, Uttara Kandērvvādi *viśhaya*,³ Īmanī Kandērvvādi *viśhaya*⁴ and Gudla-Kandērvvādi *viśhaya*. Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* comprised apparently the whole of Guntūr taluk, the eastern portion of Sattenapalli and the northern parts of Tenālī taluk. The central portion of Guntūr together with the south eastern part of Sattenapalli taluk was called Uttara-Kandērvvādi *viśhaya*. Gudla Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* was the name for the northern portion of Guntūr and eastern part of Sattenapalli taluks, and Īmanī Kandērvvādi or Īmanī-Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* comprised the northern portion of Tenālī taluk.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 श्री[१*] श्रीवीगीशकराजानाम्⁷ स्वपादनखचन्द्रमा [१*] देयात्त्रिवस्वयं⁸ शं वः
2 क्रियाकार्यं हि कारणम् ॥ [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसस्तूयमानमान-

¹ The term *gudla* is the archaic genitive form of *gudi*. The modern form is *gulla*, the medial *ḍ* having given place to the Dravidian *l*.

² *S I I*, Vol I, Nos 36 and 37, above, Vol XVIII, p 258

³ Above, Vol I, p 127, C P No 1 of App A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913 14.

⁴ *S I I*, Vol IV, No 681

⁵ From the excellent ink impressions supplied to me by Dr N P Chakravarti

⁶ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

⁷ Read °श्रीनि

⁸ Read स्वयं

- 3 व्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलक्षराज्यानाम्नातुगणपरिपालिता-
 4 ना स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्याताना भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितव[र*]-
 5 वराहलाञ्छनैक्षणाक्षयश्रीकृतारतिसङ्खलानामश्वमेधावभृथस्नानप-
 6 विनीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलमलकरिण्योस्तथाश्रयवत्समेन्द्र-
 7 स्य भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि ।¹ वेगीदेशमपालयत् ॥
 8 तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्वयस्त्रिशत(तं) ॥ तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव ॥ त-
 9 त्सूनुर्मगियुवराजः पञ्चविंशतिं [1*] तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्वयोदश ॥ तदव-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 रजः कोकिलिष्वण्मासान् ॥ तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तुभ्याव्य सप्त-
 त्रिंशत्तम् ॥ तत्पु-
 11 त्रो विजयादित्यमहारकोप्यष्टादश ॥ तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनषट्त्रिंशत्तम् ॥ ² तत्सू-
 नुर्मा-
 12 तुभासो रणविगणनया नीलकण्ठालयाना ॥³ सधामारामकाणां सललितरम-
 णोसं-
 13 पदा सत्यदानां(नाम) [1*] कृत्वा प्रोत्तुगमष्टोत्तरशतमभुनवीरधीरष्टयुक्ताश्चत्वार-
 14 िंशत्समां(माः) स्मा जननुतविजयादित्यनामा नरेन्द्रः ॥ [2*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव-
 15 र्धनोऽष्टवर्षम् । तत्पुत्रो गुणगाकविजयादित्यचतुश्चत्वार-
 16 िंशत्तम् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यनरपात्मजः चालुक्यभीमभूपस्त्रिंशत्तम् [1*]
 17 'तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यो द्विषदित्वनपावका, [1*] स षण्मासानसौ साक्षादिन्द्रो भोगेन भू-
 18 मिप' ॥[3*] तत्सूनुर्मगियुवराजस्त्रिंशत्तम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहो(ह)गुणगाकविजयादित्या-
 नुजयु-
 19 दमस्तुभ्यां तालाधिपो मासमेवम् । त युधि विनिहत्य चालुक्यभीमात्मजो
 विक्रमा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 दित्यः अरिनिकरतिमिरदिनकरः द्विजदीनानाथमन्त्रुरेकादशमासान् । 'ततस्ताल-
 पराजस्य
 21 त्सूनुस्त्वष्टतप्राभुः । युद्धमल्लधराधीशस्त्रिंशत्तम् ॥ [4*] ⁵निर्जित्या-
 र्ज्जनसन्नि-

¹ Punctuation mark here is unnecessary

² Metre *Sragdhara*

³ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary

⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁵ Metre *Śārdūlavatīrīṭita*

- 22 भी जनपदात्तनिर्गमय्योद्धताद्यादानिनभानुलीनमगणाकारान्विधायेतरान् [1*]
 23 वज्रीवोर्जितनाकमभ्रनृपतेर्भ्राता कनौयान्भुव भोमो भीमपराक्रमस्समभुनक्त्व-
 24 त्वराद्वादश ॥ [५⁺] ¹तस्य महेश्वरभूर्त्तिर्(त्ति)रभासमानाकृतेः।² कुमारभः [1*] लोक-
 25 महादेव्याः खलु यस्समभवदभ्रराजाख्यः ॥ [६*] ³जलजातपत्रचामरक-
 26 लशालुशलक्षणाककरचरणतलः [1*] लसदाजान्वलवितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरीन्द्र-
 27 सानूरस्कः ॥ [७*] ³विदितधराधिपविद्यो विविधायुधकोविदो विलीनारिकुलः ।
 करितुरगागम-
 28 कुशलो हरचरणाभोजयुगलमधुपः श्रीमान् [1८*] कविगायककल्पतरुः⁴ द्विज-
 सुनिदो-
 29 नान्वभन्धुजनसुरभिः [1⁻] याचक[ग*]णचिन्तामणिरिवनीशमणिर्महोयमहसा
 द्युमभिः⁵ ॥[८*]

Third Plate, First Side.

- 30 ¹नभवसुवसुसंख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1*] कृष्णत्रयोदशदि-
 31 ने भृगुवारि मैननक्षत्रे ॥[१०*] ¹धनुषि रवौ धटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः
 पटम् । ²यो-
 32 धारुदयगिरीन्द्रो रविमिव लोकानुरागाय ॥[११*] ³यस्मिन्शासति⁷ नृपतौ परि-
 पट्वानि-
 33 क[स्य⁸]सपञ्चाली । सततपयोधेपुरभीर्निरीतिरपस्मिन्नस्तचोरो देशः ॥[१२*]
³यस्मिन्त्रजति चिति-
 34 पे ⁴वरुद्यानावलोकनार्थं भीताः । तद्दिग्देशाधीशा दिशन्ति भणिकनकहयगजे-
 35 न्द्रप्रतति⁹ ॥[१३*] ⁵यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरसुभहसा
 36 ॥(1) [हरमरिपुर[द⁶]हनेन ¹⁰न्यकुर्वन्भाति विततदिगवनिर्कीर्तिः ॥[१४*] स
 सकलरिपुनृपतिमकु-

¹ Metre *Ārya*

² Mark of punctuation is needless here.

³ Metre *Āryāgīt.*

⁴ Read 'तरुर्हिज'°

⁵ Read द्युमणि The first half of this verse is in the *Āryā* metre and the second in the *Āryāgīt.*

⁶ Read योषादुदय°.

⁷ Read यस्मिन्का°

⁸ Read वरु°

⁹ पटालीन् is the reading suggested by Dr Hultzsch (above, Vol XII, p 63 note) But the present record shows that the correct reading is *pratati*

¹⁰ Read 'न्यकुर्व'°

II, a

10 10
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18

II, b

20 20
 22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

III, a

30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38

40
42
44
46
48

40
42
44
46
48

50
52
54
56
58

50
52
54
56
58

60
62
64
66
68

60
62
64
66
68

- 37 टतटघटितमणिकिरणगणमधुकरनिकरपरिचुवितचरणसरसिरुहयुगलोऽ-
 38 युगलोचनपदकमलविलसन्मधुपायसानो मानोन्नतो नतोऽतस्मस्तु-
 39 वनाश्रययौविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परम-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 40 माहेश्वर ॥ गुह्यकाण्डेर्वाडिविषयनिवासिनो राद्रकूटप्रमुखाङ्कुटुविन. स-
 41 माहूयेत्यमात्रापयति विदितमस्तु वः ॥ विजयवाद्या चालुक्कुलतिल-
 42 कसमस्तुभुवनाश्रयविजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजप्रतिष्ठापिताय सभस्त-
 43 भुवनाश्रयनामदेवालयनिवासाय उमामहेश्वराय उत्तरायणनिमि-
 44 त्त भस्मदेशसन्तत्यायुरारोग्यैश्वर्याभिवृद्धये तद्देवालयस-
 45 ण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मवलिनिवेद्यातोद्यसचप्रवर्त्तनाय च ॥¹ अल्प-
 46 वृत्तितया आलूनविशीर्ण पुनर्णवीकर्त्तु सर्वकारपरिहारेण देव[भो]गी[क्त]
 47 त्योदकपूर्वं ताण्डिकोण्डनामग्रामः अम्मलपूण्डिगोक्षपूण्डिआसुवुलपण्डिना-
 48 मादिदसमेतोन्माभिर्दत्त इति ॥ अस्य संग्राम[¹]*दिक्स्थावधय² ॥ पूर्वत दू-
 49 ण्डेण्डु ॥ आग्नेयत. गारलगुण्ड ॥ दक्षिणत[³] लामुन युत्तरवुन वूसुग ॥
 नैर(र्त्त)त्य(त)तः

Fourth Plate, First side

- 50 ओङ्गुण्ड ॥ पश्चिमतः ³चयितनामतटाकम् ॥ वायव्यतः भीमसमुद्रना-
 51 मतटाक[म् ॥⁴] उत्तरतः एणुकुण्डालु ॥ ईशानतः रेगडुगुण्ड ॥ युगे युगे
 52 स्त्रीकृतस्त्रचूर्तयो सुनीश्वराः श्रीलकुलीश्वरादयः ॥(1) वभ्रुवुरचानुष्टहीतसज्जना-
 53 स्वयभुवो धर्मपथप्रदर्शिनः ।[1१५*] तदन्वये कालमुखाप्रत्युतिमुख्यास्वयभुवो भुवि
 54 भूयतामभिवन्द्या[⁵]* तस्मिन्पथेदस्ते स्थानस्थास्थाधिपतय इह हितच-
 55 रिताः ॥ तेषामभरवटेश्वरायनेकपुराणदेवायतननिवासि[नां] कालमुखा-
 56 ना सन्ततो ॥ ⁶लक्ष्मिपुत्रिखिलागमपारदक् पशुपतिर्मुनिपोपि पतिश्चिन्म ॥(1) सज-
 57 लशकपयःफलमूलकैर्विहितधर्मशरीरविवर्धनः ।[1१६*] यस्तन्मुनेश्चिन्म[⁷]* प्रभूत-
 राशित्रिम
 58 पण्डितस्माच्छर्मावतारः [1⁺] तच्छिष्यो विद्येश्वरवामेश्वरो ॥ तत्रभूतराशि-
 भ्रातृभुवनरा-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary

² [The reading is correctly संग्रामटिकायां —N L R]

³ Could चयित be a corrupt form of चय ?

⁴ Metro Yamāstha

⁵ Metro Drutavilambita

59 शिमुनेशियौ पशुपति[*] प्रभूतराशिच । कालमुखेन्द्राद्यपरनामा ¹ तच्छि-
य पशुपतिपर-

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 60 हितव्यसनी । तच्छिथो यच्च ²विद्वान्विद्येश्वरो नाम कारुण्यवर्धकनिज [*]
सर्वविद्यास्रभा-
- 61 धत्ते यथावृनि महाबुधिः ॥[१७*] ³तत्कीर्तिलक्ष्म्योर्व्यवराज एकोप्यनेकलोकोपल-
तावनेक [।.] न
- 62 नासतः केवलमर्थतश्च प्रभूतराशिः प्रभुराश्रितानाम् ॥[१८*] स स्वकीयगुरु-
सन्निधौ [*] ³शिला-
- 63 सयं देवकुलं स्म(सोठं) च त्रिभूमिक चिचित्तमच क्त्वा । ग्रामत्रयं चैनम-
जासह-
- 64 सं प्रभूतराशिर्लभते स्म भूपात् ॥[१९*] अस्योपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कर्तव्या
यः करो-
- 65 ति स पंचभिर्महापातकैर्लिप्यते । उक्तं च । ²स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो
हरेत व-
- 66 सुन्दराम् । पट्टिर्वर्षसहस्रानि⁴ विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥[२०*] ²बहुभिर्वसुधा
दत्ता बहु-
- 67 भिक्षागुपालिता । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्मै तदा फलम् ॥[२१*]
²शासनस्य त्रि[वि]
- 68 चास्य दाता स्यादम्भूमिपः [*] विद्येश्वरो गुरुः कर्त्ताज्ञप्तिः कटकनायकः ॥[२२*]
अस्य सम-
- 69 स्तुभुवनाश्रयाख्यदेवालयस्य दीपसुधाकर्मसन्ननिवेद्यनिमित्तमजास⁵

¹ Punctuation mark seems to be needless here

² Metre *Anushtubh*

³ Metre *Upajati*

⁴ Read पट्टिवर्षसहस्राणि.

⁵ The inscription breaks off here abruptly, it is possible that it continued on the missing plate

No 26 —A NOTE ON THE DATES OF UCHCHAKALPA KINGS

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

There have been in all seven copper plate inscriptions of the kings of the Uchchakalpa family discovered so far in Central India, from which we can make out the following genealogy —

Ōghadēva	-m	Kumāradēvī
↓		
Kumāradēva	m	Jayasvāminī
↓		
Jayasvāmin	-m	Rāmadēvī
↓		
Vyāghra	m	Ajñitadēvī
↓		
Jayanātha	-m	Murundadēvī
↓		(known dates 174, 177)
Śarvanātha		

(known dates 191, 193, 197 and 214)

The last two kings, whose copper plates have been discovered, use the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter in dating their records, but do not specify any era to which their dates are to be referred. Nor do they, except in one case, which will be discussed below, contain any astronomical details that can be tested by calculation. The Bhumarā pillar inscription states, however, that Śarvanātha was a contemporary of *Mahārāja* Hastin, who must be identified with the Hastin of the Parivrājaka family, many of whose records have also been found in Central India and who was, therefore, ruling over the contiguous territory. From the copper plates of the latter and his son Samkshōbha we get the following genealogy —

Dēvādhyā
↓
Prabhañjana
↓
Dāmōdara
↓
Hastin
(known dates 156, 163, 191 and 198)
↓
Samkshōbha
(known dates 199 and 209)

In these plates also the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter is used for dating. The expression *Gupta nripa-rājya-bhuktau* which occurs in all of them clearly indicates that their dates must be referred to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been determined to be A D 319-320. As the kings of the Uchchakalpa family were the neighbours of those of the Parivrājaka family who use the Gupta era in dating their records, the presumption is that the dates of the former also are in the Gupta era. It is, however, urged on the other hand, that the fact that the Uchchakalpa kings, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours, the kings of the Parivrājaka family, do not specify any era in dating their records, goes to show that they used some other era. Again, the circumstance that the Bhumarā pillar inscription, which is as much a record of the Parivrājaka king Hastin as of the Uchchakalpa Śarvanātha, does not, contrary to the practice observed in other records of the Parivrājaka kings, specify any era, points to the same conclusion, for 'the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Śarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record, and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them'.¹ Now the only era, to which the dates of the

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 228

Uchchakalpa kings could be referred, is the Kalachuri Chēdi era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kielhorn to be A D 248 9. On this supposition we find that the known dates of Śarvanātha range from A D 439 40 to A D 462 3, while those of Hastin (which clearly refer to the Gupta era) are from A D 475 6 to A D 517-8. The Betul plates of Samkshōbha again show that he succeeded his father in the next year G E 199 or A D 518-9. As the Kalachuri era was started 72 years before the Gupta era, we shall have to take the latest known date of Śarvanātha and the earliest of Hastin and see which year between the two would correspond to the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* mentioned in their joint record. As stated above, the last known date of Śarvanātha would correspond to A D 462 (on the basis that it refers to the Kalachuri era), while the earliest known date of Hastin is A D 475. There would, thus, be a difference of 13 years between these two dates. The only year in this interval which could have been Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* is that corresponding to A D 472, but according to the calculation of Sh. B. Dikshit the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in that cycle was omitted¹. We must, therefore, take the next Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* which commenced in A D 484. This no doubt falls in the reign of Hastin, but is 22 years later than the last known date of Śarvanātha. Now Śarvanātha is known to have ruled for at least 23 years before his last date, viz., A D 462 3 and the possibility that his reign commenced earlier than 439 40 is not altogether excluded, for, the last known date of his father Jayanātha is A D 425-6, i.e., 14 years earlier². We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Śarvanātha reigned for more than 46 years (A D 439 484)—perhaps 50 or even 55 years. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If, on the other hand, the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings also are referred to the Gupta era, Śarvanātha becomes a contemporary of Hastin, in the closing years of the latter's reign (G E 191 to 198). There was of course no Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in this period but there was one only two years before, in G E 189. As the year 191 is not the date of Śarvanātha's accession, which, as shown above, may have taken place a few years earlier, Śarvanātha will, on this supposition, have a reign of at least 26 years—which does not appear improbable.

There are some other considerations also which rule out the theory that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Kalachuri era —

(1) If we except these doubtful cases of Uchchakalpa dates, there is not a single record of Central India dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, earlier than A D 973³. All the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarāt and Thānā District in Bombay⁴. R. B. Hirral's theory⁵ that the Traikūtakas, whom he identifies with the Kalachuris, were the founders of the era and the Trikūta, from which they hailed, is modern Satpura is untenable, for not a single record of the Traikūtakas has been found in Central India and what little evidence is available about the identity of Trikūta points to its location in Western India⁶.

(2) Vyāghra, the grand father of the Uchchakalpa king Śarvanātha, appears on palaeographical evidence to be identical with the Vyāghradēva of Nachnā⁷ and Ganj⁸ inscriptions, who was a feudatory of the Vākātaka Prithivishēna II, as shown by Dubreuil⁹ and Dikshit¹⁰. The Bālāghāt

¹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol XIX, p. 228.

² *C I I*, Vol III, p. 121.

³ Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, dated K 724, above, Vol XXI, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 1199-1221 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*.

⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol IX, pp. 283 ff.

⁶ Kildāsa places Trikūta on the Western coast. See *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, verses 58-59.

⁷ *C I I*, Vol III, pp. 233 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol XVII, pp. 12 ff.

⁹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol LV, pp. 103 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol XVII, p. 362.

plates of Prithivishēna II state that the king of Mālwa was a feudatory of his father Narēndra sēna¹ and there is no difficulty in supposing that Prithivishēna's authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A D. As for the difficulty pointed out by Aiyangar² (who identifies the Vyāghradēva of the Naehnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyāghrarāja defeated by Samudragupta), viz., how could Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, who, on the above supposition, were feudatories of the Vākātakas, date their records in the Gupta era, it may be noted that the Vākātakas never founded any era and do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in their records. The Traikūtakas³ and kings of Śrābhapura⁴ who were evidently their feudatories do not mention any suzerain power in their charters. It is not again true that the use of a particular era signifies acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the power that founded it. The Kalachuri Chēdi era is, for instance, found used by the Śēndrakas and the Chālukyas of Gujarāt though they were not then the feudatories of the Traikūtakas, Ābhīras, Kalachuris, or any other power that may have founded it. The fact of the matter seems to be that the earlier Uchchakalpas were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era in dating their records. Vyāghra who flourished about A D 475, seems to be the first Uchchakalpa who transferred his allegiance to the Vākātakas. His successors Jayanātha and Śarvanātha continued to use the Gupta era, which was well established in the country, though they were no feudatories of the Guptas. The expression *Gupta nripa rājya bhuktāu* which occurs in the records of the Parivrājakas indicates not so much the Gupta era as the sovereignty of the Guptas. Hence, we find it omitted in the records of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārājas*. Śarvanātha might have objected to the use of the expression in the joint record on the Bhumrā pillar, which, therefore, does not contain it. As for the omission of the date, it must have been thought unnecessary in an inscription on a boundary pillar when the particular year was clearly specified.

(3) Nearly all the scholars who have recently written on the subject have accepted the view that the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era. Kielhorn, though he gives these dates under the Kalachuri era, was not certain about the matter.⁵ Fleet seems to have long wavered between the two alternatives. While editing the Uchchakalpa records in the *C I I*, III, pp 117 ff he held the view that they were dated in the Gupta era. When later on he came to write the introduction⁶ he felt inclined to the other view, which he affirmed subsequently in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIX, pp 227 ff. In his last article on the subject,⁷ he finally adopted the view that the Uchchakalpa dates must be referred to the Gupta era. Dubreuil,⁸ G S Ojha,⁹ Haldar¹⁰ and Dikshit¹¹ who had occasion to write on the subject have subscribed to the same view. S K Aiyangar, though he does not accept the identification of the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghradēva who caused the Naehnā and Ganj inscriptions to be incised, finds no difficulty in referring the Uchchakalpa dates to the Gupta era. The only dissentient is D R Bhan-

¹ Above, Vol IX, p 271

² *Ind Ant*, Vol LV, p 224

³ Cf the inscription No 3 in the Ajanta cave XVI (*A S W I*, Vol IV, pp 124 ff)

⁴ Above, Vol XXII, p 22

⁵ In the *Supplement* to his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (above, Vol VIII) he expressed his opinion that the inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are dated, very probably, according to the Gupta era.

⁶ *C I I*, Vol III, Introduction pp 8 10, 119, 121

⁷ *J R A S*, 1905, p 566

⁸ *Ind Ant*, Vol LV, p 103

⁹ *Annual Report, Rayputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1923 24, p 2

¹⁰ Above, Vol XIX, p 128

¹¹ *Ibid*, Vol XXI, pp 125 26

darkar who points out the difficulty¹ that if the year of the Sōhāwal plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month Āshādha should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps in this date", says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*ēlōna navaty-uttarē* is intended for *eka navaty-uttarē*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words, one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or engraver. This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A. D. 507 or 508, but even then there was no intercalary Āshādha in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A. D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we do find an intercalary month of Āshādha in A. D. 437"² The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real, for as Dikshit has shown³ the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191, ' (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvana*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul plates of Samkshōbha'. An authority for such a custom has again been recently pointed out⁴. No valid objection, therefore, remains to the view that the dates of the Uchchakalpas are in the Gupta era.

(4) The drafting of the Uchchakalpa records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the Uchchakalpas rose after the Guptas. In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records⁵. Unfortunately nearly all the seals of the Uchchakalpa plates are lost, but from the one specimen that has been described by Fleet⁶ it seems that the Uchchakalpa kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas. There is no such resemblance noticeable between the records of the Uchchakalpas and those of the Early Kalachuris.

The foregoing discussion will show that the view that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Gupta era is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge.

NO. 27—THE VAILUR INSCRIPTION OF KOPPERUNJINGADEVA

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B. A., MADRAS

This inscription⁷ is engraved on a rock above a natural reservoir of water to the south of the village of Vailūr⁸ in the Wandiwash taluq of the North Arcot District. The letters are incised boldly and the record is in a good state of preservation.

¹ See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 159, n. 5.

² Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which suits early Kalachuri dates the English equivalent for the present date occurring in Āshādha would be expected to fall in A. D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A. D. 438, if the year is taken as expired as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current, it will of course fall in A. D. 437, but such cases are exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 125.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 693.

⁵ See for instance that the names of the queens are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the Uchchakalpa plates as in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25), the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*Ibid.* p. 42), etc.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 125.

⁷ No. 418 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ This village is different from Vāyalūr in the Chingleput District, wherein the inscription of the Pallava king Rajasimha is found. It is, however, spelt as Vāyalūr in the *A. R.* on Epigraphy for 1922, but its present name is Vailūr as given above.

The record is in Tamil language and consists of a prose passage followed by five verses extolling the greatness of the later Pallava chief KōpperuŃjīngadēva. In engraving the epigraph, each line of the verse is not metrically arranged, but the stanzas themselves are divided by punctuation marks. The verses employed are *Pannirusiṅkkaṇṇi nedilāsiriya viruttam* (v 1), *Nērisai-venba* (v 2), *Kaḷi viruttam* (v 3) and *Ensiṅkkaṇṇi nedilāsiriya viruttam* (vv 4 and 5). The record is free from any admixture of Grantha letters except *Svasti śrī* (l 1) and the letters *ri* in Tirubuvana (l 16) and *ā* in *ānai* (l 16). The use of the word *ānai* in this inscription requires some explanation. It is derived from the Sanskrit word *ājñā* through the Prākṛit form *āñā* meaning 'command' or 'order'. The Tamil lexicon *Pingala-Nīghantu* renders the word as 'sign' or 'insignia of authority' and the word seems to have been used in this sense here since no order is conveyed in the inscription. Analogous to the word *Śoklachchīyan ānai*, some inscriptions of this period conclude with the words *Pallavarayan* (or *Vallavarayan*) *sattiyam*,¹ *Avanimulududaiyār ānai*,² *Tribhuvanamulududaiyār ānai*,³ etc. A record from Aragandanallūr⁴ ends with the words '*idarkku māru sonparan Śokkanāyanār ānai*', i e., 'he (who) says contrary to this (shall be a transgressor of) the authority (of) Śokkanāyanār,' and from a record of Tiruvēndipuram⁵ we learn that such transgression was treated as a cognizable offence by the assembly.

The few verbal errors found in the record are corrected in foot notes under the text.

The main theme of the epigraph is to celebrate a unique event in South Indian history, viz., the capture and imprisonment of the Chōla sovereign along with his ministers and the annexation of a portion of the Chōla territory by the Pallava chief KōpperuŃjīnga. This is expressed in the prose passage commencing the record. The name of the Chōla sovereign whom KōpperuŃjīnga imprisoned as also that of the poet⁶ who composed the verses is not given. The verses themselves reveal that the poet has limited himself to facts without indulging in any far fetched imagery.

The concluding words of the present inscription indicate that the verses had been approved by the hero⁷ of the theme.

The first verse extols the greatness and prowess of KōpperuŃjīngadēva in accomplishing the imprisonment of the Chōla king along with his ministers and annexing the Chōla territory, and further, it refers to his encounter with Hoysala warriors, his vast army, his favourite deity in the Golden Hall at Chidambaram and to his love for and patronage of Tamil literature. The second verse warns other kings not to oppose this chief but to submit themselves quietly by paying tribute, considering the fate of the Chōla king. The next verse, after referring to the exploits of this ruler in stamping the insignia of his banner on the breast and shoulders of powerful kings, refers to the langour of the Chōla sovereign in prison. The last two verses are addressed directly to the king describing the state of his lady love⁸ during his absence on a campaign against the Chōla king.

¹ Nos 204, 206 and 245 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No 152 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No 157 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No 195 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No 160 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 96, the name of the poet is taken as *Sokka Śiyaṅ*. *Sokka Śiyaṅ* was the name of KōpperuŃjīngadēva and not of the poet.

⁷ KōpperuŃjīnga appears to have been a poet himself judging from the title *Kavi sarvabhauma* applied to him in a record from Tirupati in the Chittoor District.

⁸ Reference to love affairs in martial themes is peculiar to Tamil poetry. This subject is treated at length in the *Tolkappiyam*.

The record comes from a village close to Tellāru where Kōpperuñjuga claims to have defeated the Chōla monarch. The reason for engraving the inscription in a place about twelve miles from the scene of action is not clear. Tellāru is remembered in South Indian history in connection with the Pallava monarch Nandivarman III, who assumed the title 'Tellārērinḍa Nandi' to perpetuate his victory over his enemies in this place. Our poet seems to have been conversant with *Nandiḷḷalambagam*, a poetical work recounting the exploits of Pallava Nandivarman, wherein the victory at Tellāru is frequently mentioned. Some of the titles given to Kōpperuñjugadēva in our inscription such as *Aṇṇinārāyana*, *king of Mallar*, *lord of Tondai*, *lord of the land watered by the Kūṇṇi*, *patron of Tamil literature*, etc., are found applied to Nandivarman in the *Kalambagam* mentioned above.

The identity of Kōpperuñjuga mentioned in our record must first be established. As early as 1906,¹ the late Mr Venkayya suggested that "there must have been two or more chiefs with the name Kōpperuñjugadēva". The late Mr Krishna Sastri also accepted the existence of two Kādava kings of this name and identified the later one with Kādava Kumāra who is stated in the Tiruvannamalai record² 'to have driven the Telungar to the north so that they may perish in the north,' but his further identification³ of the same chief with Peruñjuga who captured and confined the Chōla king at Ścndamangalam is not borne out by the latest discovery, as will be shown presently. Sewell⁴ also accepted with caution the lead given by his predecessors and distinguished two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjugadēva. But recently an opinion⁵ has been expressed against the theory of two Kōpperuñjugas and postulating only one king of the name in the period A D 1229 to 1278. This interval really becomes still wider because Kōpperuñjuga is mentioned in inscriptions as early as the 35th year of Kulōttunga Chōla III⁶ corresponding to A D 1213. The acceptance of two Kōpperuñjugas so far rested on mere inference, but an important discovery made recently at Villivanūr in the French territory when I went there at the request of Prof. Dubreuil of Pondicherry, settles this question conclusively.

A record in this village, dated in the 6th year of Sakalabhuvaṇarēchakravartigaḷ Aṇṇiyūlap pirandir Kōpperuñjugadēva refers to the audit of temple accounts by Perumangalam Udayār Udayapperumāl *alias* Kāduvetṭigal for the period commencing from the 37th year of Tribhuvana vīradēva, i.e., Kulōttunga Chōla III down to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjugadēva Aḷagiyasīyar. Since this inscription⁷ which is dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuñjugadēva refers to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjugadēva, it is evident that there must have been two Kōpperuñjugas and that the earlier had at least a reign of 11 years. Probably the last year of the reign of the first Kōpperuñjugadēva was the 11th, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōla king by imprisoning him at Ścndamangalam in A D 1232 and that from A D 1243⁸, another Kōpperuñjugadēva counted his reign. Thus the Villivanūr inscription establishes beyond doubt the existence of two Kōpperuñjugas, the first commencing his reign, probably from A D 1232 and the second from A D 1213. Kōpperuñjugadēva I was probably a vassal of the Chōla king or a semi-independent chief from at least the 37th year of Tribhuvana vīradēva,

¹ *A R on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1906, p. 63.

² No 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *A R on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1913, pp. 126-27.

⁴ *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 144 and 376.

⁵ *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 161, n. 4 and Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar *Commemoration Volume* pp. 212-14.

⁶ No 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ All the dates in this record are expressed in words so that there is no doubt about their correct reading.

⁸ No 38 of 1890 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

i e, A D 1215 to A D 1232 The king mentioned in our inscription may, therefore, be identified with KōpperuŅjingadēva I

The earlier KōpperuŅjingadēva has left a few inscriptions at Tiruvannāmalai¹, in one of which he is given the titles *Niśśankamalla*, *Mallar Kāvalan* and *Bharatam valla*² The southern *gōpura* of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram was constructed by him³ The officer Śōla kōn seems to have served under him at Chidambaram⁴ He is distinctly called *Alagīyasīyan* in the Vilhyanūr inscription mentioned above and may be identified with *Jīya-Mahīpati* of the Tripurāntakam inscription⁵

We shall next determine who the Chōla king was that was defeated at Tellāru The contemporaries of KōpperuŅjingadēva I on the Chōla throne were Kulōttunga Chōla III and Rājarāja III, of whom the first lived till A D 1217⁶ and the second commenced his reign in A D 1216⁷ For the present enquiry, Kulōttunga Chōla III may be omitted, because our record mentions the defeat of the Hoysalas who came to the assistance of the Chōlas only in the time of Hoysala Vira Narasimha II who ascended the throne in A D 1220, by which time, however, Kulōttunga-Chōla III had died The Chōla king mentioned in the present record must, therefore, be Rājarāja III, as may also be inferred from the Tiruvēndipuram inscription⁸

The last mentioned record gives a detailed account of the attempt of KōpperuŅjingadēva to subvert the power of his overlord the Chōla emperor It states that KōpperuŅjingadēva captured the Chōla monarch at Śēdamangalam Our inscription, however, specifies the place where the Chōla king was first defeated and thus links the two incidents by mentioning them together The Vailūr and the Tiruvēndipuram records,⁹ therefore, appear to be complementary to each other If so, Rājarāja III must have been imprisoned only once and not twice as has hitherto been supposed by some scholars¹⁰

The fact that the Tiruvēndipuram record refers to the complete annihilation of the Pallava forces by the Hoysalas, from which KōpperuŅjinga could not have easily recovered, would indicate that the Tellāru battle was probably fought prior to the Śēdamangalam incident The latter event may be placed in A D 1232 corresponding to the 16th year of Rājarāja III¹¹ By this time KōpperuŅjinga had consolidated his position and his territory is referred to as 'KōpperuŅjangan-dēśam' in the Tiruvēndipuram record From the accession of Rājarāja III, KōpperuŅjinga never figured as his subordinate¹² As early as A D 1222 Hoysala Vira Narasimha is said to be marching towards Śrīrangam in the Chōla country¹³ Two years later (i e, A D 1224), we find that Vira-

¹ Nos 480, 500, 512 and 513 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

² No 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

³ No 285 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁴ No 463 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁵ No 197 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁶ No 282 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁷ No 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁸ Above, Vol VII, pp 167-68

⁹ Nos 418 of 1922 and 142 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

¹⁰ *A R on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p 97

¹¹ From the mere mention of KōpperuŅjinga in a record from Vriddhāchalam in the South Arcot District (No 136 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III, it has been supposed that the former was a Chōla vassal till A D 1229 This inscription mentions as donor an *agzmbadī mudali* of KōpperuŅjinga which fact need not establish the subordination of this chief to the Chōla Similarly, a brother of an officer of KōpperuŅjinga figures as donor in the 30th year of Rājarāja III i e, A D 1246 (No 504 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) when KōpperuŅjinga had openly declared his independence

¹² *Ep Carn*, Vol VI, Cm 56

Narasimha was called 'the establisher of the Chōla kingdom' and a Kādava is said to have been his opponent¹. The battle of Uratt² where the Kādava (Kōppernūjunga) was wounded in the 7th year of the reign of Rājārāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1223, was also fought in the period when Vīra Narasimha came to the assistance of the Chōla monarch. The second year of Viṣayarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I with the Chōla replaced in this period³. From the beginning of Rājārāja III's reign, therefore Kōppernūjunga was a source of danger to the Chōla empire and when the latter was able in A.D. 1232 to effect his *coup d'état* by imprisoning the Chōla king after defeating him at Tejjāru, he signified the event by assuming the role of a monarch comprising this village from this date. Evidently to perpetuate his victory at Tejjāru, the *nāṭu* comprising this village was called *Simhapuruda-vaṇanāḍu*⁴, the *valanāḍu* where Simha (Kōppernūjunga) fought.

For a clear understanding of the present record a knowledge of the political situation in the Chōla country about this time is necessary. The Chōla empire which had been successfully built up by Rājārāja I and his successors showed signs of decay in the beginning of the 13th century. Even during the early years of Kulōttunga Chōla III this empire was intact but real trouble began towards the close of his reign. The Pāṇḍya under Viṣayarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I began to assert themselves, with the result that the Chōla country was taken by the conqueror and soon after restored, as a matter of fact, to Kulōttunga Chōla III. In the historical introduction to his inscription beginning with the words '*pramāṇaḥ par māḥaḥ*' etc. Viṣayarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I claims to have invested with a crown the Chōla king, *etc.* Rājārāja III, who sometimes later began to protest against his subjugation by refusing tribute to the Pāṇḍya king, who thereupon immediately chose up him. In this phlegmatic Rājārāja III appealed for help to the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II who forthwith despatched a contingent of forces into the Chōla country. When Rājārāja III was pushed north by the Pāṇḍya force, Kōppernūjunga should, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar⁵, have joined hands with the Pāṇḍya and defeated the Chōla monarch at Tejjāru. The timely assistance of the Hoysala saved the Chōla empire for a time but it introduced a new power into the politics of the Tamil country. Having come, the Hoysala took deep root in the Chōla country by making Kāṇamūr their capital and building fortifications right along the south bank of the river Kāṇar. Later on they shifted their capital further up to Tiruvannamalai when their original capital *Dattavandava* was devastated by Mīlā Kūṭūr.

In our record Kōppernūjunga is called a Kādava. The earliest reference to this term is found in the Viśākudhi grant of Intili Parāntaka Neduñjūḍuvan who is stated therein to have defeated the Kādava king, at Pennāḍuḍu on the north bank of the river Kāṇar. In Tamil literature the term Kādava along with *Tondaiyar* and *Kāṇḍi* is invariably used to denote the Pallavas. A Kādava king who is styled a Pallava, is said in the *Periarpattam* to have built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadivāchchiram at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District. The Tamil poem *Jitrama* *śōḷan ulā* mentions a Kādava as the ruler of Gingee in the same district. The Kādavas there, therefore, appear to have been in power in this district, but who exactly the chiefs were and what their

¹ Fleet *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 507, in this record Narasimha is said to be 'a very Janādama (Vishnu) in destroying the demon Kaitabhya in the form of the Kādava King'.

² No. 271 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 44.

⁴ No. 382 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ No. 514 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

relationship was to the main branch of the Pallavas, may be inferred from the descriptive labels of the sculptures found in the Vaikunta Parumāl temple at Conjeevaram. Here we find that the kings of the collateral branch of the Pallavas which descended from Bhīmarvarman, the brother of Simhavarman, were actually called Kādavas. These appear to have been in power over a distant part of the Pallava empire, since, according to the labels mentioned above, Pallavamalla had to go a long distance 'crossing several mountains and impassable forests' to reach Kāñchī. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by that of the Chōlas, the descendants of the former, under the name Kādava, Tondaimān, etc.¹, seem to have drifted away from Kāñchī towards the South and employed themselves as officers under the Chōla monarchs. In the time of Kulōttunga Chōla II, we find the Kādavas figuring as police officers collecting *pādikāval* rent in the region now covered by the South Arcot District². Gradually they strengthened their power by influential marriages³ and by forming compacts⁴ with neighbouring chiefs for collective action to safeguard and protect their interests. The most important of these chiefs in the 13th century was Kōpperuñjigadēva, the hero of our record. He is first mentioned in an inscription of the 35th year of Kulōttunga Chōla III, i.e., A.D. 1213⁵ and the title *Kāvalar Tambirān*⁶ indicates his early position in the state. He had seen the weakness of the Chōla empire exposed by Māravarmān Sundara Pāndya I, who took the Chōla country and presented it back to King Kulōttunga Chōla III⁷. The time was, therefore, opportune for Kōpperuñjiga to assert his independence. So he tried a few years later to supplant the Chōla monarch and failed in the attempt owing to the interference of the Hoysalas. He was, however, able to secede from the Chōla empire and establish an independent kingdom comprising the present South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. If the Chōla was only an 'Emperor of three worlds' (Trībhuvaṇachakravartīn), his rival Kōpperuñjiga styled himself an 'Emperor of all the worlds' (Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartīn).

In the *Cambridge History of India*⁸, this chief is identified with 'the son and successor of the Pallava chieftain who was responsible for turning the Ceylonese out of the Pāndya country in the war of the Pāndya succession'. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement. In fact, such a view is untenable because, the two generals who took a leading part in this war viz., Kulattūlān Tiruchchirrambalam Udayān Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar and Vēdavanam Udayān Ammayappan Annan Pallavarājan belonged respectively to Kulattūr⁹ (Chingleput District) and Palaiyanūr¹⁰ (near Madras), whereas Kōpperuñjiga was a native of Kūdal in Tirumunaippādi¹¹ in the South Arcot District.

The kingdom established by Kōpperuñjiga I hardly lasted for half a century, and after Kōpperuñjiga II, it fell an easy prey to the Pāndyas when they extended their power into Tondaimandalam. Though a rebel, Kōpperuñjiga is recognised as a ruler in a number of later records, and in one of them found at Kāttumannārkōyil in the South Arcot District, his successor Kōpperuñjiga II is placed between Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāndya¹².

¹ Some of the Sambuvarāya Chiefs also called themselves Pallavas. Rājanārāyana-Sambuvarāyan was known as Śīyan Pallavan (No 428 of 1922). These chiefs, like the Kādavas, had the title 'Ālappirandān,' Ālāgiya Śīyan, Arasānārāyanaṇ, etc.

² Nos 137 of 1900, 45 and 46 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Nos 203 of 1902, 460 of 1905, 112 of 1912 and 435 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Nos 516 of 1902, 435 of 1913, 234 of 1919, 487 of 1921 and 56 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ Nos 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

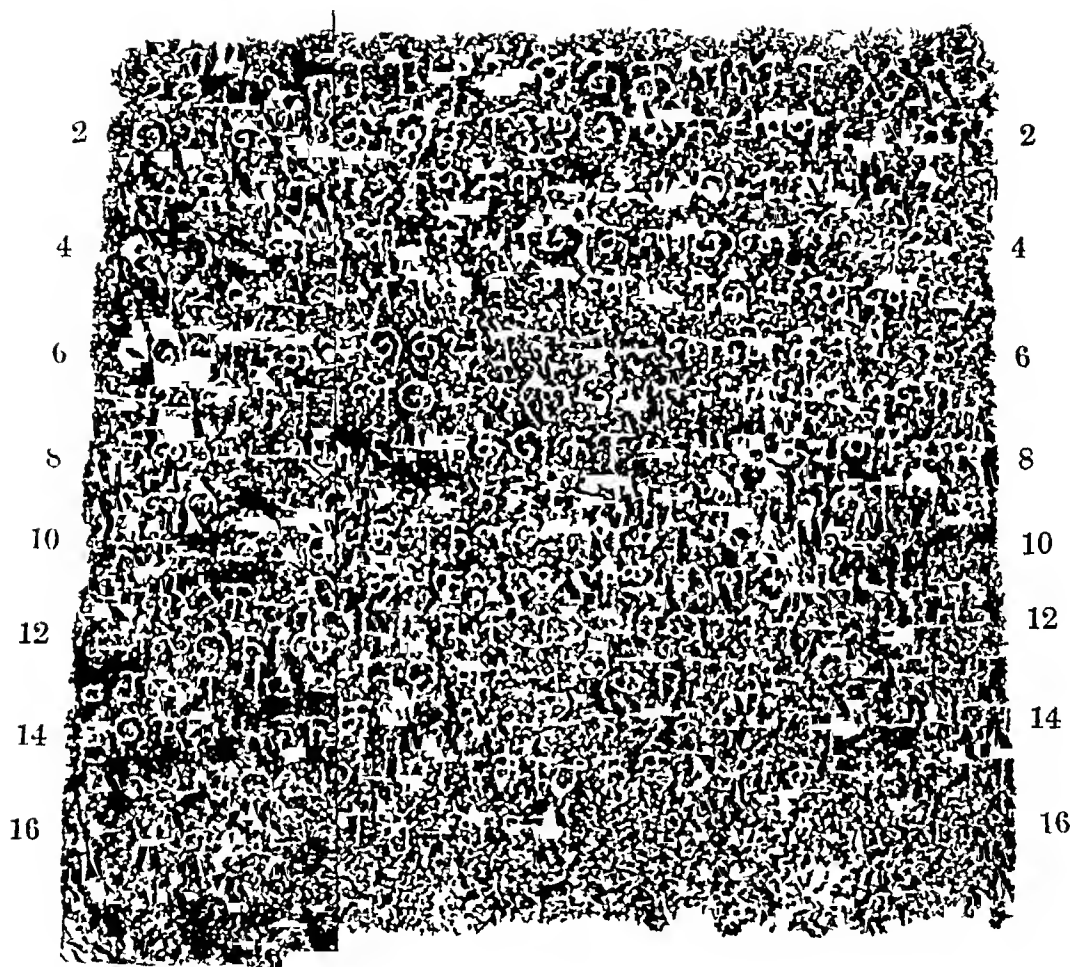
⁸ Vol III, p 482.

⁹ Above, Vol XXI, p 188.

¹⁰ Above, Vol XXII, p 88.

¹¹ No 83 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹² No 570 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.



- 11 Arai kadalin=śaiyudanēy=andar vēyīnām pa[l*][l]śai śevī kavara¹ andi-mālai[']
niraimadiyi=nilave[n]nu=neruppu-ppat
- 12 tāl nērlai nmr=ārruval[ō] Nīrupatungā['] pīrai poruda kana makara kimpuri [va]n-
kōttu-pperunkalurru²=chChōlanaiyum=ama³
- 13 chcharaiyum pīdittu=ch['] chiraiyil=ida=kkaluru² vīdu mindan Śiyā Tir[buva]
nattirāsākkal Tambirānē[']⁴ Oru nālum vediyā⁴
- 14 da ne[d]iya kangul=ūhyena['] nīndu-vara ulagir=pun kan['] marunmālai yīdu
munnē vandatenrāl vadanda⁵ yīval=ārruval[ō]
- 15 Mallai-vēndē['] porumālai mudī arāśar kanni[mādar] pōrriśaiyum Buvanamuḷudu-
daiyār tāmuni['] tīrumādum punar
- 16 [pu]yattu [m]ndan Śiyā Tir⁶bu[va]nattirāsākkal Tambirānē [']⁵ idu Śokkach-
chīyan ānai⁷ [']

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) Hail ' Prosperity ' *Sakalabuvanachchakkaravatti*, (the) prosperous **Kōpperuñ-
junga** **Alagiyasiyan**, (who) conquered the **Chōla** king at **Tallāru**, deprived (him) of all (royal)
insignia, (and after) imprisoning the **Chōla** (king), took the **Chōla** country

(Ll 3-7) Protector of **Pinni**, **Avaninārāyana**, **Kādava** born to protect (and) foster **Sen-
Tamil**, **Kōpperuñjunga** ' Who can extol thy greatness ' Your prison house is the abode of
the lord of **Ponni**,⁸ (his) wife (and of his) ministers, by the growing valour of (your) shoulders
(which) resemble two mountains the **Chōla** country was acquired, (the rivers) **Kanpi**, **Kāviri**
(and) **Bagīratī** are your favourite reservoirs (ever having) billows of clear water, ruling chiefs
(carrying) tributes (wait) pining (at) your beautiful big gates, your invincible army fought with
the warlike **Kannadar** who knew no retreat, the dancing (god) in the shining Golden Hall is your
beloved deity

(Ll 8-9) (*Oh ' kings '*) Live paying (off your) tribute, remembering (well) the prison-
house wherein lay—on the day when the ends of the lotus like eyes of **Kōpperuñjunga** became red
—the **Chōla** (lord) of **Pugār** (to whom) the enemy kings paid (their) tributes in gold

(Ll 9-10) Let the day when the lord of **Tondai**⁹ conquered (with his) sword the haughty
kings and painted the (insignia of his) banner on their chests and shoulders, be hailed a greater
day than the one when the **Valava** was sent to droop in prison¹⁰

¹ With *andar vēyīnām pallīśai śevī kavara*, compare *avan vēyīn mullaiyan tīnkulal kelamo toli in Ayichchē-
yar/uravar* of the *Śilappadigaram*. *Andar* may be taken with either *vēyīn* (flute) or *āmbal* *śai*. *Āmbal* is a kind
of musical note

² Read *kāru*

³ Read *ama*

⁴ Read *vidiyā*

⁵ Read *madanda*

⁶ The letter *ri* in *tiri* is engraved in Grantha

⁷ The letter *a* in *ānai* is engraved in Grantha

⁸ The **Chōla** king is called *Ponnitturanan* in *Śendan Dīākaram*

⁹ Cf the epithet 'Tondamannan' who won the sacred **Tondai nādu** through the strength of (his) shoulders ' applied to **Pallavāndār** *alias* **Kādarāyar** in the **Atti** record (No 296 of 1912 of the **Madras Epigraphical col-
lection**)

¹⁰ The word *tūṅgiya* is generally used in inscriptions in the sense of 'sent to a long sleep i.e., death'. But since the **Chōla** king was released from prison by **Hoysala Vira Narasimha II** about 1232 A.D. and actually ruled there-
after, for about 20 years, the word *tūṅgiya* is here rendered as 'sent to droop'

(Li 11 13) Oh ! Nripatunga, lord of the kings of the three worlds, powerful Śīyā (hon) (who) despatched elephants to capture and put in prison the Chōla (emperor) (with his) ministers (riding on a) huge elephant (whose) powerful tusks vying with the crescent, (were adorned with) heavy *maḥara*¹ and *limpurī*² (jewels) ! (Consider how your) lady love could endure (in your absence) the heat(!) of the full-moon in the evening (when her ears were) filled with the sounds of the roaring ocean resonant with the musical note emanating from the divine flute

(Li 13 16) Oh ! lord of Mallai powerful Śīyā (hon), lord of the kings of the three worlds, of arms espoused³ by Bhuvanamuḥududaiyār (i.e., the goddess of Earth) (who is) praised by the queens of kings wearing crowns with wreaths of garlands and by Prosperity (i.e., the goddess of Wealth) ! (Consider also) whether this *maḥarai* (i.e., your lady-love) could (further) bear (in separation) the unending tedious night being prolonged like a *yuga* (especially when) preceded by a chain of bewilderments brought on by the troubles of this world

This (is the) order of Śoklachchīyan

No 28 —SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA-MAHARAYA SAKA 1329

By R S PANCHAMUKHI, M A , MADRAS

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone tablet set up near the village gate at Sangūr in the Haven Taluk of the Dhīrwār District. The record is published here for the first time, from the estampages secured by me in 1932-33⁴. The writing covers an area of 2' 2" by 7' and the size of each letter is approximately ¾" in height. The top of the stone bears the sculpture, in bold relief, of a hero seated on horse back, which closely resembles the one found at Hosa Kummata near Anegondi⁵. The hero has a dagger hanging at his waist and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. This is evidently the image of Kumāra Rāmanāthadēva mentioned in line 6 of the inscription.

The characters are Kannada of the 14th and 15th centuries A D and do not call for any comment except that *th* in *pruthvī* (l 1) and *Rāmanātha* (l 6) is marked with a vertical stroke at the bottom to denote aspiration as in the modern script. Orthography is generally free from errors. In line 4 *vinōgādhipati* is written through mistake by the engraver for *niyōgādhipati*. The language of the inscription is Kannada prose throughout.

The inscription opens with the description of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya I, son of Harihara-Mahārāya, who is given the Western Chālukya epithets *Samastabhuranāśraya*, *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhipatya*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Satyāśraya kula tilaka*. It then states that the statue of Kumāra-Rāmanātha was installed by Mādarasa, son of Sēnādhipati, Sangama and grandson of Baichaveggade who was the *Bāhattara-niyōgādhipati* and a devout servant of Kampilarāya, at Changāpura included in Chandragutti-nādu which belonged to Gōveya-rājya. The consecration of the image is stated to have been performed on

¹ *Maḥara*, which usually signifies an alligator or crocodile is a conventional beast like the European dragon, commonly found in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist decorative art in India and Greater India.

² The Tamil lexicon *Chūdumani Nigahanṭu* defines *limpurī* as an ornamental band fixed to the tusks of a royal elephant.

Here the Pallava chief with his consorts Bhuvanamuḥududaiyār and Tirumādu is compared to Viṣṇu with his consorts Bhūdēvī and Śrīdēvī.

⁴ B K No 173 of 1932-33.

⁵ Its photograph is given in *Qart Journ Myth Soc*, Vol XX, between pages 266 and 267.

Sunday, the 10th day of the bright half of Āsvayuja in the cyclic year Sarvvajit which fell in the Śaka year 1329 The details of the date regularly correspond to Sunday, 11th September, A D 1407, f d t 23

The inscription is important in more respects than one Firstly, this is a rare epigraphical instance of the Vijayanagara period which attributes the epithets of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāna to king Dēvarāya It is not possible to understand the exact significance of this departure since we are not in possession of any evidence connecting politically or otherwise with the Western Chālukyas, the Vijayanagara kings of the Sangama dynasty who rose into power nearly one hundred and fifty years after the downfall of the former It may, however, be suggested that the locality where the inscription is found was fed strongly with the tradition that the Vijayanagara kings were the rightful successors of the Imperial Chālukyas inasmuch as they held the entire Chālukya territory, or the composer of the record had access to some political document of the Chālukyas and inadvertently copied its preamble while describing the king It is, however, hazardous to surmise any blood relationship between the two families from a solitary record like the present one

Secondly, the present record is the first epigraph so far known which bears a reference to Baichaveggade the minister of Kampilarāya and furnishes two generations after him, viz, his son Sēnādhipati Sangama and grandson Mādarasa These officers are known to us for the first time, though Baicha Dandanīyaka figures as a minister of Kampilādēva in the Kannada works *Paradāra sōdara Rāmana charite* and *Kumāra Rāmanāthana Sāṅgatya* of the 16th and 17th centuries A D ¹ It further lends epigraphical confirmation to the authenticity of Kumāra Rāmanātha who is not mentioned in the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period, though his relationship with Kampilarāya is not disclosed in the record The Kannada works mentioned above supply us the information that he was the son of Kampila, waged successful wars against the Hoysala, Turushka and Telunga kings during the life time of his father and at last was killed in a battle with the Turushkas at Kummata An undated inscription² in a Śiva temple in Hēmakūta at Hampi records that Vira Kampilādēva, son of Mummaḍi Singeya-Nāyaka constructed the Śiva temple and set up the *lingas* therein in memory of his mother Mādā-Nā[ya*]kūti, Singeya-Nāyaka and Perumeya Nāyaka Perumeya-Nāyaka's relationship to Singeya is not stated in the record, though from the way in which he is mentioned, he appears to be Singeya's father It is not improbable that Singeya Nāyaka installed the *lingas* for the merit of his father and grandfather If this suggestion proves to be correct, one more generation would be added to the genealogy of Kampila which, from the records known so far, is given below

Perumeya Nāyaka
?
Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka, m Mādā Nāyakūti
|
Vira Kampilādēva
|
Kumāra Rāmanātha

¹ For further historical details gathered from these works, see the articles entitled *Studies in Vijayanagara History* and *King Kampila and Kumāra Rāmanātha* by Mr M H Rama Sharma in *Q J M S*, Vol XX and Supplement to it pp 1 18 and Dr N V Ramanayya's *Kampila and Vijayanagara*

² No 353 of 1934 25 of the Madras Epigraphical collection In *The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol I, p 305, No 335 evidently refers to this inscription The cyclic year Saumva mentioned there is evidently a mistake as no cyclic or Śaka year is quoted in it This mistake has crept into the writings of Mr Rama Sharma and Dr Ramanayya

So far, only two dates namely A D 1280¹ and 1282² are known for Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka who, on the former date, defeated and killed Yādava Rāmaḍṭva's subordinate Mahāpradāna Chāvundarasa when the latter had invaded Doravaḍi in Kurugōḍu nāḍu. From a hero stone at Lakshmēśvar³, it is learnt that Dāme Nāyaka, son of Mahāḍṭvarāya despatched a general Sa Rāneya who was stationed at Huligere, to Kummata against Mummaḍi Singeya-Nāyaka in the 17th year of the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra corresponding to A D 1287-88. It may be noted that this is the **first epigraphical reference to Kummata** which is the same as Crynamata of Nuniz. Kummata must have been, as the capital of this chief, situated in Doravaḍi nāḍu over which he was ruling. It has been rightly identified with Kumāra Rāmana Kummata situated at a distance of about eight miles from Ānegondi⁴. It is clear from the above account that the rebellion raised by Mummaḍi Singeya in defiance of the suzerain power at Dcavagiri was quelled on two occasions by the Yādavas, by despatching a force to the very heart of his chiefdom. The insurrection being thus subdued, Singeya himself was probably made to acknowledge the Yādava overlordship. We find his son Kampiladṭva, also called Khandeya-Rāya,⁵ figuring as a subordinate of Yādava Rāmachandra in A D 1300 and renewing the gift of Hariharapura which had been formerly granted to Brahmans by king Krishna Kandhāra. Since the Huligere country was held by the viceroys appointed by Rāmaḍēva in A D 1287-88⁶ and 1295-96⁷ and since portions of the Chitaldrug District, especially Dāvanagere, were held by this king till at least A D 1300, it is evident that Mummaḍi Singeya's chiefdom did not extend beyond Doravaḍi and never included the Nolambavāḍi province⁸ after the killing of Vira Chivundarasa mentioned above. It is not unlikely that after the death of Mummaḍi Singeya, Vira Kampila was entrusted with the government of the country extending up to the northern border of the Hoysala kingdom, so that he might not only stem the Hoysala invasion on the Yādava kingdom but also acquire new territory by making fresh conquests in the enemy's country. Kampila is accordingly seen fighting with the Hoysala subordinates in the latter's territory in A D 1303⁹ and 1325¹⁰, and Hoysala Ballāla (III) opposing Ka[m*]pila in Doravaḍi in A D 1320¹¹ and marching against Siruguppe¹² where Kampila met him with a big force and probably killed his general Chamba Dandanāyaka. When the Yādava power was weakened by the invasion of Malik Kafur, Kampila might possibly have declared independance in the ensuing political chaos.

In one of the inscriptions of Lakshmēśvar,¹³ reference is made to the death of Kampila and Sidila Bomma in a military campaign from Dilh. The inscription is unfortunately not dated,

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VII, Channagiri 24

² *Ibid.*, Vol XI, Hirūr 86. In the published text of this record, however, the name Singeya is not fully preserved.

³ B K No 23 of 1935-36

⁴ *Q J M S*, Vol XX, pp 5 ff. Mr Rama Sharma, depending upon a verse in *Chenna Basava purāna* thinks that the fortress of Kummata was built newly by Kampila (*ibid.*, p 11). This is not tenable as the Lakshmēśvar inscription of A D 1287-88 mentions Kummata as the capital of Mummaḍi Singeya. Kampila might, however, have strengthened the fortification by fresh constructions.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Dg 26, *Mys Arch Rep* for 1923, No 121

⁶ The Lakshmēśvar inscription quoted above

⁷ *Bom Gaz.*, Vol I, part II, p 530

⁸ See Dr Ramanayya's *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire*, p 81. He holds that Mummaḍi Singeya's territory included the Nolambavāḍi province. But from *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Dg 26, 59, 81, etc., it is evident that this was held by the Yādavas.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Holalkere 106. The name of the chief is given in the published text as Kamḍidēva, which may be a wrong reading for Kampilidēva.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol XII, Tiptur 24

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol VIII, Nr 19

¹² *Mys A R* 1923, No 121

¹³ B K No 21 of 1935-36

but it may be assigned on paleographical grounds to the first half of the 14th century A D According to the Muhammadan historians, Kampila was slain by Khwājā Jahān, the leader of the Muhammadan army in A D 1327¹ The *Kumāra-Rāmanātha Sāṅgatya* gives a graphic account of the fight between the forces of Kampila and of the Turushka king at Kummata and states that Kumāra-Rāmanātha's head was cut off from his body and despatched to Dilli The fact that his statue is set up at Sangūr in the Hāvēri taluk indicates that Kampila's sway was recognised in that part of the country, which was probably under the enjoyment of his minister Baichaveggade and continued to be held in his family for at least two generations more In fact, in another² inscription, at Sangūr, of the reign of Dēvarāya I and dated in the Śaka year 1334, mention is made, among the ancestors of a local chief (name lost), of a certain Baichaveggade as the *Kāvamūli* (chief guard or officer) of Sangūru included in the Eighteen Kampana province of Gutti It is just possible that this Baichaveggade is identical with the minister of Kampila³ It is not known what circumstances actuated Mādarasa to set up the image of Rāmanātha after a lapse of 80 years from the latter's death

Among the places mentioned in the record, Gōveya rājya and Chandragutti nādu are too well-known to require identification Changāpura is the modern Sangūr where the inscription is found.

TEXT⁴

1 Svasti (l) Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrī-pru(pri)thvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Satyā-

2 sraya-kula-tīlaka śrī-Virapratāpa Harihara Mahārāya kumāra Dēvarāya-

3 ru suka(kha)ḍim rājyam-geyvuttarddallu [*] Gōveya-rājakke saluha(va) Chandra-guttiya-nādolagana

4 Changāpuradalu Kampilarāyana Bāhattaravinōgādhipati⁵ pati-kāryya dhuram-

5 dharanum appa Bayichaveggadeya momma Sēnādhipati Saṅgamana kumāra Mādarasru

6 Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēvara pratishtheya Śaka-varsha 1329 neya Sarvva[ṇi]tu samvatsarada Ā-

7 svayuja suddha 10 Ādityavāradaḷu mādisida[ru][i] Mamgala mahāśrī

8 Śrī Śrī Śrī Śrī ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail ' When Dēvarāya, an asylum of the whole world, the illustrious *Prithvī-vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, an ornament of the family of Satyāśraya and son of Virapratāpa Harihara-Mahārāya was ruling in happiness,

(Ll 4 to 8) Mādarasa son of the Sēnādhipati Saṅgama and grandson of Baichaveggade who was the devout servant and Bāhattaravinōgādhipati of Kampilarāya set up (the image of) Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva at Changāpura in Chandragutti-nādu belonging to Gōveya-rājya, on Sunday, 10th (day) of the bright half of Āsvayuja of the (cycle) year Sarvvaṇit (falling in) the Śaka year 1329

¹ See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, p 140

² B K No 170 of 1932 33

³ It is now held by some scholars that the first Vijayanagara dynasty grew out of the wreck of the kingdom of Kampila (Q J M S, Vol XX) For different views on the subject, see Dr Ramanavva's thesis *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire* where previous opinions also are summarised See also Dr Salvatore's article, *Theories concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara in the Vijayanagara Ses centenary Commemoration Volume* (1936), pp 139 ff

⁴ From ink impressions

⁵ Read *vinōgādhipati*

No 29 —FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN UDDALLADEVI
A. S. 1294

By M. M. NAGAR, M.A., SARVAPATI MUSEUM, BANGALORE

The inscription was secured by Mr B. M. Vyasa from Nagod State,¹ Central India, for the Allahabad Municipal Museum wherein it is now preserved, and was kindly placed at my disposal by him together with an estimate for editing it. I am here publishing it for the first time.²

The Inscription is incised on a rectangular block of buff coloured sandstone measuring 18½" by 12¾" and is broken at the top. Consequently, some of the opening lines of the record have been lost, whilst it may have been their exact number cannot be ascertained.

The writing which is in 22 lines covers a space of 18½" by 12" and is in a fairly good state of preservation excepting some letters of the last four lines which are only partly preserved. The opening and concluding letters of some of the lines are also much worn out. The letters are cut shallow and being much corroded at places present some difficulty in decipherment. Their average size is ¾". The characters belong to the Northern variety of alphabet of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. They resemble modern Nāgarī, the exceptions being the letters *ch*, *rō* (l. 8), *ṛ* (l. 12), *m* (l. 16), etc. The language is Sanskrit and up to the first half of line 12 it is in verse and thereafter in prose. The orthography is regular and calls for no remarks.

The epigraph refers itself to the time of one Uddalladēvi, the chief queen of the illustrious Mahamandadēva, and the daughter of the illustrious *Maṇḍasāmantha* Bhṛatadēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa(kūṭa) family. Mahamanda was a feudatory of the illustrious *Āṇandramalla* who seems to have belonged to the Gahadavāṇi family. It records the erection of a shrine for the illustrious Vindhyaśvara Śiva on [Thursday], the Damannakā Chaturdaśī, Samvat 1294, corresponding to Thursday, 12th March, A.D. 1237. To judge from the description of the temple it seems to have been an imposing structure. The eulogy was composed by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākara.

Line 2 of the extant record eulogizes some lady but it is not certain who she is as the major part of the verse has been lost. Supposing her to be Uddalladēvi, even then, owing to the lacunae in the epigraph it is not possible to ascertain the exact relation between her and the illustrious Lakshmanā of l. 34 and the overlord Dharmadēva³ of l. 5.

The inscription shows that even after the extermination of the Imperial Branch of the Gahadavāṇas of Kanauj by the Muslims, local chiefs of the same dynasty were in existence in various parts of Central India and Rājputāna. One such chief was *Āṇandramalla* and that he was of some importance is clear from the mention of Mahamanda as his feudatory.

King Harisachandra (c. A.D. 1197-1200)⁴, the last known ruler of this dynasty, meeting his final defeat in A.D. 1226 at the hands of Iltutmish, fled with his family towards Farrukhābād.

¹ Mr A. Ghosh mentions Mau (U. P.) as a find spot which is denied by the discoverer. [Mr Vyasa told me that he had got the inscription from Unchahri in Nagod State.—Ed.]

² A note on this inscription has appeared in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, July 1935, Vol VIII, Pt. 1, pp. 21-23, by A. Ghosh, M.A., who is referred to in the notes below as A.G.

³ [According to the context *Ranala* Dharmadēva belonged to the mother's family of Lakshmana and was probably his maternal uncle.—Ed.]

⁴ Though A.D. 1200 is the last date hitherto known of Harisachandra from his Macchilishar Grant (above, Vol. X, p. 95), it appears that his power lingered in the more marceable parts of Kanauj up to A.D. 1226 when it was finally captured by Iltutmish. Dr H. C. Ray seems to be correct in his assumption that the battle of Chandwar gave to Muslims only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds. The countryside beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule. (*Dynastic History of A. I.*, Vol. I, p. 547)

(U P) from where after a short time his son's son Sihāji is said to have gone to Mārwar and with the assistance of the Brahmins of that place to have established a principality of his own after defeating the Muhammadan marauders of Multan¹ Tod also records that 'in S 1268 (A D 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj, Sihaji and Setram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert' ² His date regarding the final overthrow of Kanauj and the exact relation of Setram and Sihaji may be accepted with a grain of salt, nevertheless the fact that Sihaji moved towards Mārwar remains unquestioned

Mahamandadiva, who was certainly a Hindu ruler, adopted this Muslim like name³, obviously to please the sensibilities of his Muslim overlord (Iltutmish or Queen Raziyya) of Delhi This is by no means a solitary instance of the assumption of a Muhammadan name by a Hindu ruler We also know that a Chauhan king of Ranathambhor (c A D 1283 1301) called himself Hammira (हमीरभूपतिरविवदित भूतधायी)⁴ which is a Muslim name⁵ and was used by certain Sultans of Delhi on their coins⁶

TEXT.

- 1 — — —
- 2 न गुणेन भान्ति सुवने सर्व्वे [त]या न्यङ्गतास्तस्मा — उ उ — उ —
- 3 त्वविचलं राज्यं प्रशास्वङ्कुतम्⁷ ॥ [१^{*}] सामन्तरोजतिलकः प्र[धि]तः प्र[धि]-
- 4 व्या श्रीलक्ष्मणी [उ उ उ]⁸ लक्ष्मणतुल्यकीर्ति । यन्मातृपत्र इह रा[ण]-
- 5 कचप्रावर्त्ती यादार्थतः खलु तथा स च धर्मदेव,⁹ ॥ [२^{*}] श्रीविन्ध्येश्व-
- 6 खरभूतिनोद्भूततः स्तम्भावलीशोभितः प्रासादीय[भने]-
- 7 कभद्र[ख]चितो¹⁰ नानापताकाचितः । य[च्छृ]ङ्गेण दिवंस्पृशा ग]-
- 8 तिहरो विन्ध्यो रवेरत्यतो व्याजाद्यद्यो [ध्व]जपक्षिपातित[नति]-
- 9 श्री(र्वी)तो गुरोर्वीर्यतः⁷ ॥ [३^{*}] प्रासादीयं तथाकारि श्रीविन्ध्येश्व-
- 10 रधूर्जटे । पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्त्यै(त्यै) दित्तान्ताय च¹¹ ॥ [४^{*}]

¹ Ren's *Prācīna Bhārata ke Rajarajika* (in Hindi), Vol III, pp 114 115 and 118 119

² Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (ed Crooke), Vol II, p 940

³ Bhandarkar *List of Inscriptions of N India*, No 682 wherein Muhammad ibn Tughlaq has been called Mahamanda Sāhi

⁴ Above, Vol XIX, p 50, l 8 [This was also the name borne by a ruler of Chitor —Ed]

⁵ Badāun Inscription of Lakhnapāla, above, Vol I, p 62, n 5, and Mahoba Inscription, *ibid*, p 221

⁶ S Lanepoole *Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in British Museum* Coins Nos 9, 24 26, 32 33, 38 42, 51 52, 63 66, 70 72 and 96 98

⁷ Metre *Śardūlavatīrīḍita*

⁸ Three syllables have been left out probably by the engraver through oversight,

⁹ A G reads *Varmadeva* Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁰ May be [र]चितो in which case the translation of 'अनेकभद्ररचितो' would be 'made of or containing much gold'

¹¹ Metre *Anushūbh*

- 11 प्रशस्तिरचनात्तत्रो पण्डितः श्रीसुभाकरः । सुगनाङ्गिनरोज-
 12 'मरजोर्जितसृष्टिर्(हि)जः' ॥ [५"] इति श्रीकन्यकुञ्जदेवोक्तया रा[द्रा(द्र)]-
 13 कुल(कूट)पद्मप्रदीप भक्तिसामन्तराजश्रीमद्देवसुतया श्रीम-
 14 हन्डवालकुलकमलविकारागनसरायाश्रीश्री[उक]भा-
 15 सासान्तगुणगातवज्रपञ्च'श्रीमन्महामन्देवपट्ट[रा]-
 16 द्र्य श्रीउद्भटदेवा स्वकुलैकविंशतिपुरुषमतारणार्थमात्मन
 17 प[र]मनिश्रेयसप्राप्त्यै पुनर्पौत्रादिसम्पत्त्यै संव[त्स][रा-
 18 णा] द्वादशशतपु चतुर्नवत्यधिकेषु दमनकाचतुर्दशीं [गु-
 19 रू"]वारि श्रीविन्ध्येश्वरदेवस्य स्वप्न [प्रा"]-
 20 सारोय कावित प्रतिष्ठापितय ॥ वा
 21 विष्णु पण्डितश्रीसुभाकरेण प्रगृहीत[निर्गिता"]
 22 [हि"]तमन्तु भव्यस्य म

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) all being eclipsed by her in merit, do not shine
 in the world may rule [her] firm and unique kingdom

(Verse 2) The illustrious Lakshmana the ornament (lit. mark) on the forehead) of the great
 feudatory chiefs, is renowned on the earth (and) possesses a fame like that of Lakshmana
 on who a mother's side (i.e. born) in this world the forefathers of the Rājās who was
 justly (called) Dharmadīva

(Verse 3) This temple of the illustrious Vindhyaśvara Sūta (lit. the trident-holder, lord of the
 Vindhya) is beautified by series of pillars, is carved with many auspicious [scenes] and is
 endowed with many banners. It stands as the very Vindhya (mountain) with its summit touch-
 ing the sky and obstructing the movement of the sun (but), taking fright at the command of the
 preceptor (i.e., the sage Agastya) [has bent down?] under the semblance of the series of banners

(Verse 4) This temple of Śiva, the illustrious Vindhyaśvara, has been caused to be erected
 by her for the prosperity of (her) sons, sons' sons, etc., as well as for the deliverance of (her) fore-
 fathers

(Verse 5) The learned, the illustrious Sankhārā who is tinged by the pollen of the
 lotus flowers that are the feet of good men, effected the composition of [this] eulogy

¹ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

² Cf. 'सुसवगप्रदीप' of Copper plate Grant of Viśvarūpaśena of Bengal I H Q Vol II, p 84

³ Cf. 'कुलसंविकाराभाकर' *ibid*, and 'श्रीसुभाकरदेवकुलकमलदीप्ता' of Hathi plates of Dhārāvāṣa *Ind Ant*, Vol XLIII, p 193, l 3

⁴ Cf. I H Q, Vol II, p 84, l 3 and I B B R A S, Vol XXI, p 329

⁵ दमनकाचतुर्दशी is the particular चतुर्दशी falling in the bright half of Chaitra. See रुतिकौमुद (Bom ed.), p 23. Also see S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol I, Pt I, p 60

(Lines 12-20) Thus this temple of the illustrious God Vindhyēśvara has been caused to be erected and consecrated on [Thursday], the Damanaka Chaturdaśī, in the (Vikrama) Samvat 1294, for the deliverance of twenty-one generations of her own family, for the attainment of the supreme bliss for herself and for the prosperity of (her) sons, sons' sons, etc., by the illustrious Uddalladēvi, born in the county of Śrī-Kanyakubja, daughter of the illustrious Bharahadēva, the prince of the Mahāsāmantas and a lamp to the family of the Rāshtrakulas (°kūtas) and the chief queen of the illustrious Mahamandadēva, who was a cage of adamant to those seeking refuge (in him) and a feudatory of the illustrious Ādakkamalla, the very sun causing to bloom the lotus of the illustrious family of the Gahadavālas

(Line 21) The eulogy [was composed] by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākara

(Line 22) Let there be welfare to all

No 30—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA MAHADEVARAYA SAKA 1186

By R S PANCHAMUKHI, M A, MADRAS

Sangūr which is variously called as Sangavūru, Sangūr, Changūra and Changāpura in the inscriptions of the place, is situated at a distance of about 8 miles south west of Hāvēri on the road to Sirsi in the North Kanara District. The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on the Nandi pillar standing near the temple of Virabhadra in the village. It covers an area of 3' 7" by 1' 4" and contains sixty-six lines of writing. The size of each letter is approximately between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The characters are medieval Kannada of the 13th century A D to which the record belongs. The secondary forms of *y*, *v* and *m* are used in *deseya* (l 48), *vumbah* (ll 63 and 64) and *maduve* (l 61). It is noteworthy that the record indicates the aspiration of *dh*, *th* and *dh* in *praudha* (l 24), *tathya* (l 31) and *mdhānam* (l 31) by a vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that vowel *i* is wrongly used in the body of the word *londoivudu* (l 55) and the *anusvāra* is employed superfluously in some cases before conjunct consonants as in *pumnya* (ll 9, 17), *hiramnya* (l 44), *b* is used for *v* in *dharmma byayāya* (l 38), *sarḇba* (l 42), *pūrbbaḥam* (l 44), etc., the consonants coming after a *rēpha* are doubled as in *āchāryya* (l 6), *urvū parvū* (l 4), *dharmma* (l 38), *Mallikārjuna* (l 9), *varṭti* (l 39), etc., dental *s* is used in place of *ś* throughout the record which may be due to the influence of Kannada phonetics on Sanskrit vocabulary. *ś* is used for *sh* in *purusa* (l 26) and *Puśya* (l 43), etc.

Excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 1-3 and 57-58, the whole record is in prose. Lines 4-19 and 45-57 comprising the two *vachanas* of Siddharāma and lines 59 to 66 giving the specification of certain estates to be enjoyed by private persons are in Kannada, while the description of the king and the minister and the grant portion (ll 19-44) are in Sanskrit. In respect of the Sanskrit language, it may be noted that its vocabulary is influenced by the Kannada phonology as for example *paduma* for *padma* (l 26), *labudha* for *labdha* (l 33), etc., the insertion of the Kannada word *neya* in the date portion in Sanskrit (ll 42-43) may also be noted. The language of the two *vachanas* is rhythmic, elegant and simple Kannada. There are, however, several redundant expressions used perhaps for the sake of alliteration and balance as e.g., *embātana ātana mātā mātā pitru* (ll 13 and 50), *valeyadolage volage* (l 48f), *chaturāśayada nālūm deseya* (l 48), *bēga sīgham* (ll 16 and 53).

¹ B K No 172 of 1932-33

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of the Yādava king Mahādēva who began to rule in A. D. 1260. It introduces his minister Dēvarāja whose pedigree for three generations is given as follows. Chāvundarasa was born in the family of Vasishtha and was a devotee of Śiva. To him was born Amitarasa who begot Dēvamantriśa. This Dēvamantriśa is described as having obtained a great boon from god Sōmavāthadēva and as protecting the southern region at the command of king Mahādēva. The record states that the Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja visited Sonnalige-nagara which had been formerly the residence of the saint Siddharāma and feeling himself purified at the sight of the god Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva there, made a gift of the village Changūr included in Bāsūra-*urshaya* together with a right over all treasure troves, etc., and with various incomes accruing from fines and *kullas*, to provide for worship and offerings to the deity and for the expenses of renovation of the temple, maintenance of the poor and the orphans and for conducting several charities such as watersheds and daily oblations. Lines 59-66 contain a stipulation that certain estates and incomes of the village specified therein must be enjoyed by the Gaudas, Hittukāras and Chaudarasa, the *Heggade* of the temple (*dēvara mane*).

The record is dated on the day of *arddhodaya* in Pushya of the cycle year Raktākshin falling in the Śaka year 1186. *Ardhdhodaya* is an astronomical combination of "Śravana", Vyāṭi pūrṇ and Sunday on the new moon day of Pushya.¹ These details coincided in the year quoted in the record and regularly corresponded to Sunday, 18th January, A. D. 1265 on which day the *nakshatra* Śravana ended at 88 of the day.

The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it contains two *vachanas* (ll. 19 and 45-57) of saint Siddharāmanātha who is one of the famous *vachana* āraṇas of the Viśeṣaṇa sect. *Vachanaṇalu* in Kannada literature denotes a particular class of works embodying sayings of great saints, particularly of the Lingāvat sect, who flourished in and after the 12th century A. D. From the *Siddharāmapurāṇa* of Rāghavāṅka (A. D. 1165), it is learnt that Siddharāma constructed a tank at Sonnalige, installed therein several Lingas and defeated a mendicant Karpura in disputation, who had borne the biruda *Udyāsamudra*.² Other Viśeṣaṇa works add that he received *dīkṣhā* from Chennabasava, the sister's son of Basava who flourished in about A. D. 1160. Prabhudēva alias Allama (A. D. 1160) is also credited with having taught the Śiva doctrines to Siddharāma.³

The first of the two *vachanas* is reproduced in an inscription from Sorab⁴ which records the gift of a village by a local chief Bīrarasa for the benefit of the temple of Kapilasiddha Mallikār-

¹ S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 61.

² *Karnataka Kauchante*, Vol. I (Revised Edition), p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180. For further details regarding the life and works of this saint, see *ibid.*, under Siddharāma.

Mr. Murugaiya Janganna, a leading Lingāvat gentleman of Bagalkot (Bijāpur District) whom I had addressed, has kindly communicated to me the following information on Siddharāma. Siddharāma was born at Sonnalige, one of the sixteen hamlets of the modern Sholapur. A stone image of this saint still exists there. Close to the place where he attained *samādhi*, is planted a stone with *shadal hara mantra* which is still worshipped by all the devotees. In front of this *samādhi* over which are set up two *līngas*, stands the extensive temple of Siddhārāma. Just behind this temple there stood formerly a shrine of Mallikārjuna *līnga*, the *upāya dēva* of Siddharāma. But during the Muhammadan rule some difficulty was experienced in offering worship to the deity on account of the mosque built in its vicinity and the *līnga* was therefore removed from its place and installed in a temple in the town which is now known as the temple of Mallikārjuna. The present temple is at the most one hundred years old. Siddharāma is credited with the authorship of more than a lac of *vachanas* of which only a few hundreds have appeared in print.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 561. This same *vachana* is found in the beginning of the unpublished inscriptions at Koṭbūgi (No. 147 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and Yadihalli (B. I. No. 95 of 1928-1929) in the Bombay Karnatak. The second *vachana* is only partially reproduced in the unprecatory portion of an inscription of Buklārīya, dated in Śaka 1278 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 1). But it is not specified there as the *vachana* of Siddharāma.

jurādēva of Sonnahige in Śaka 1176, i.e., exactly ten years before the date of the present epigraph. But the text given in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* is mutilated and corrupt. Both the *vachanas* given in the present inscription relate to the merit or sin of protecting or destroying the gift of land or money made to the temple of Kapilasiddha Mallikārjunādēva of Sonnahige. From their wording, it would appear as if Siddharāma composed them as a preamble to some grant to the temple made during his time. They are incorporated in the present record to serve as passages enjoining the protection of the gift under all circumstances.

Only a few inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty—and none of Mahādēva¹—have been edited so far. The subjoined inscription will, therefore, be the first document of the king to be published. Mahādēva is described here as “a goad to the elephant of the Gūrjara king, a three-eyed God (i.e., Śiva) to the Cupid of the Mālava king and the shatterer of the skull of the Telunga king.” In his Kotbāgi inscription² dated in the same year as the present record, he is given the additional epithet *Hoysanarāya lōlāhala*. Thus it would appear that the Yādava monarch Mahādēva had to contend for power and territory with the four neighbouring kings namely the Hoysalas in the south, the Kākatīyas in the east, the Gūrjaras, i.e., the Chālukyas of Anhilvāda in the west and north-west and the Paramāras of Mālava in the north. It may be noted that these epithets are borne with slight modifications by every king from Bhūllama³ downwards, which would only indicate that in their attempt to expand their empire by fresh conquests, the Yādavas had to fight with these neighbouring powers since the very beginning of their political career.

From a close study of the stone and copper plate documents of the family, we learn that Bhūllama⁴, Jaitugi,⁵ and his son Singana waged constant wars with the kings of Mālava, i.e., the Paramāras of Dhār. According to his Bihal inscription⁶ and the Patthan plates⁷ of Rāmachandra, Singana defeated one Arjuna who has been identified with the Mālava king Arjunavarman⁸. The *Hammīramadamardana*, a Sanskrit drama of the 13th century A.D., records an additional fact that he defeated and killed the Mālava king's feudatory, Chāhamīna Sindhurāja of Lāta⁹. The *Vasantavilāsa*, a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* of the 13th century A.D., contains another historical fact that Sindhurāja's son Saṅkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army and was subsequently released by Sumhana¹⁰. On a later occasion, Saṅkha sued Sumhana for help and with his army marched¹¹ against Viradhavala, the king of Gujarāt who had forcibly occupied Cambay in Lāta¹². Simultaneously with this, the Mālava king Dēvapīla also invaded Gujarāt, apparently to assist his feudatory chief of Lāta in wresting back the lost Cambay. As stated in the *Hammīramadamardana*, the Gujarāt king appears to have managed to break the coalition through the strategic skill of his minister Vastupīla and turned the events of war in his favour¹³. This is testified to by the Dabhoi fragmentary inscription¹⁴ which records that Viradhavala routed a combin-

¹ A date of his Hulgūr inscription is noticed in *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 128.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1920, No. 447 of Appendix C.

³ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 31 ff., *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 314.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 31 ff. Bhūllama must have entered the territory of Kūlhana, the Chāhamīna king of Nādōl, after defeating the Mālava and Gūrjara kings on the way (*Ibid.*, Vols. IX, pp. 72 and 77, and XI, pp. 72 and 73).

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 31.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 113.

⁷ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁹ Gackwad's Oriental Series, No. X, Act II, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. VII, *Sarga V*, Verse 42.

¹¹ *Hammīramadamardana*, Introduction, pp. vi, f.

¹² *Vasantavilāsa*, Introduction, p. ix.

¹³ *Hammīramadamardana*, Introduction, pp. viii and ix.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 28.

ed attack of the lord of Dhārū and the king of the Deccan who must be Yādava Simhana. This enmity between the Yādava and the Mālava kings¹ is continued in the time of Kṛṣṇa Kandhāra and Mahādēva who are described in their inscriptions as the destroyers of the Mālava king.

The attitude of the Yādavas towards the Gūjjaras, i.e., the Chaujukyas of Anhilvāda is one of frequent warfare. Virādihavala's son Viśaladēva (A. D. 1213-1263) wanted to take revenge on the Mālava and the Yādava kings who had invaded Gujārāt during his father's time. He is described in his inscriptions as 'a submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Simhana's army'.² The Pathan plates of Rāmachandra attribute the defeat of Viśala to Mahādēva which would show that the latter had to cross swords with Viśala within two or three years of his accession to the throne. We have seen above that the Gūjjara king had seized Cambay and portions of Lāta from Sindhurāja, a feudatory of Dēvapāla. It is not impossible that he carried his arms still further to the south as a result of which north Konkan came under his sway. Or, Konkan must have been annexed to Gujārāt during the time of the Chaujukya king Kumārapāla (A. D. 1113-71)³, though its northern portions had been occupied by the Mālava king in the intervening period. An inscription of Arjunavarman (A. D. 1233), the predecessor of Dēvapāla, states that the king was encamped at Bhigulakehla at the time of the grant⁴. This shows that the Paramāra kingdom extended up to the Broach District on the west in the early part of the 13th century A. D. According to Marco Polo (A. D. 1290)⁵, the chiefs in the west coast of north Konkan were dependent on the Anhilvāda kings. Rashid ud din (A. D. 1300)⁶ states that Gujārāt included at the close of the 13th century A. D. Cambay, Somnath and Konkan Thānā. Thus it is evident from these references that the Paramāra hold on the northern part of Konkan was dislodged and the Gūjjara sway established in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. Hāmādrī records in his *Irata-Ihandā*, Mahādēva's fight with Sōmśvara who was the Śilāhāra chief of north Konkan and refers to the latter's drowning in the sea as a result of ship wreck. Since Sōmśvara's inscriptions⁷ dated in Śaka 1171 (A. D. 1219) and Śaka 1182 (A. D. 1260) are found in Ranvad and Chadicho near Uran, his fight and death must have taken place some time after 1260 A. D. As the last year of Viśala is known to be A. D. 1263, the defeat of Viśala and Sōmśvara might possibly have formed part of a single campaign undertaken by Mahādēva soon after his accession to the throne.

The epithet *Telungarāja śrāṣṭhāmalā mūlōtpātana* borne by the king is significant as it indicates that Mahādēva had crossed arms with the Kākātīya king of his time and inflicted a crushing blow on his power. It is noteworthy that his brother Kṛṣṇa is called 'the establisher of the Telunga king' in his Mamdāpur inscription⁸ of Śaka 1172 and the Arjunvād inscription⁹ of Śaka 1182 which was the last year of his reign. According to the chronology of the Kākātīya kings, the Telunga contemporary of Mahādēva was Rudramāmbī, the daughter of Ganapati whose latest known year is Śaka 1183. Since Hāmādrī says that the Andhras placed a woman on the throne thinking that the Yādava king Mahādēva would not deign to fight with her, the crushing

¹ For particulars see also D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasties*, pp. 203-217.

² *Early History of the Deccan* by Bhandarkar, p. 242.

³ *History of the Konkan in Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Part 2, p. 24.

⁴ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII p. 33.

⁵ *History of the Konkan*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ *Early History of the Deccan*, App. C.

⁸ *History of the Konkan*, p. 21, n. 1.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX p. 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. XXI pp. 9 ff.

of the Telunga power suggested by the above epithet must have a reference to the wars conducted in the time of Ganapati especially after A D 1260¹ Mahādēva must have taken away from him (the title of) *Pañchamahāśabda* and the elephants of war as recorded by Hēmādri, soon after his accession to the throne² It is not, however, possible to understand the exact circumstances which favoured the rising of the Silāhāra, Gūjara and Kākatiya kings immediately after the death of Krishna

Mahādēva, like his predecessors, entrusted the government of his southern country to his minister Dēvarāja³ apparently to guard against the Hoysala invasion into his territory The Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra who had lost considerable territory in the north west of Mysore to the Yādavas under Simhana and Krishna must have endeavoured to wrest back from them their past possessions and the struggle seems to have continued till the last quarter of the 13th century A D when we find some Yādava regiment stationed at Hāvēri⁴ marching against Dōrasamudra The Mamdāpur inscription of Krishna (Saka 1172) records the defeat of Hoysala Sōmēśvara by the king, perhaps in conjunction with his brother Mahādēva who was the *Yuvarāja* under him The epithet *Hoysanarāja-kolāhala* may bear reference to this or any subsequent fight undertaken by Mahādēva against the Hoysalas

Incidentally, the record throws some light on the extent of the Kannada language in the north in the 12th and 13th centuries A D Sonnalige which was the home of Siddharāma now forms part of the modern Sholāpur, the headquarters of the Sholāpur District in the Bombay Presidency The Kannada language must have been prevalent in this part of the country in the 12th century A D⁵ This view finds confirmation from the statement in the Marāṭhī work *Līlā charitra* of the Mahānubhāva school, written in A D 1190 that the sixty lacs Mahārāshtra country extended as far as Tryambaka kshētra (i e, Nāsik) on the bank of the Gangā (i e, Gōdāvarī) in the west⁶ Jñānēśvara the celebrated saint of Mahārāshtra who flourished about 1290 A D, praises in his *abhangas* the god Vitthala of Pandharpur as the deity of Kannada and Karnāṭaka and also remarks in his *Gītābhāvadīpikā* that the southern limit of Mahārāshtra in his time was the south bank of the Gōdāvarī⁷ This would show that even as late as the 13th century A D Kannada which is a southern neighbour of Marāṭhī, extended up to at least Nāsik and the Gōdāvarī, not to speak of Sholāpur and Pandharpur on the bank of the Bhīmā in the farther south There can, therefore, be no doubt about the veracity of the statement contained in the *Kavirājamārga* that the northern limit of the Kannada language in the 9th century A D was the Gōdāvarī⁸

¹ This was the last year of Krishna See Fleet, *Dynasties, etc.*, p 527

² The Yādava sway in the territory of the Kākatiyas is testified to by the discovery in 1922 of a pot of treasure buried in the earth at Rāchapatnam in the Kaikkalur Taluk of the Kistna District The pot contained 43 gold coins known by the name of *padma śaṅkas* which bear the legends Sughana, Kānhapa, Mahādēva and Śrī Rāma in Dēva Nāgarī script (*J P A S B*, Vol XXI—Numismatic Supplement No XXXIX, pp 6 ff) The find may be taken to support the epigraphical and literary evidence regarding the defeat of the Kākatiyas by the successive Yādava kings from Sughana downwards

³ Dr Fleet thinks that he may be identical with Toragaleya Dēvarasa appearing in an inscription at Hāvēri See *Dynasties, etc.*, p 528

⁴ B K No 75 of 1932 33

⁵ Poet Chaundarasa (cir 1300 A D) is supposed to have lived at Pandharpur *Karnāṭaka Kavīcharite*, Vol I, p 403

⁶ *Marāṭhī bhāṣhā udgama va vilāsa* by Mr Kulkarni, pp 191 2

⁷ *Mahārāshṭra mūla* by Mr S B Joshi of Dhārwar, pp 40 and 49 50

⁸ *Parichhēda I Kumura Ramana laithe* of Nanjunda (cir A D 1525) also states, in conformity with the evidence of the Marāṭhī literature, that Karnāṭaka was bounded on the north by the Gōdāvarī and on the south by the Kāvēri in his time.

- 32 patī kāryya du(dhu)ramdharah sarbb(rvv)ādhikāri(i) sujan ōpakāri(i) samārā
 33 dhī(dhu) ta bhūdēvah śrī Sōmanāthadēva-labudha(bdhv) varī prasādō Dēvarājō(Jah)
 34 śrī Mahādēva-nru(nri)p ājñayā dakṣhṇām bhuvam pālayamnu(pālayan)
 35 śrī Siddharām-ādhisṭhītām (I) Sonnalige-nagaram=avalōkya śrī Kapilasiddha-
 36 Mallikārjuna-ālōkana¹ pūt-āmtaramgō dhammmē (dhammmē) manō
 37 nidhīya tasya dēvasy=ānga raṅga bhōg ārtham jīrnnōddhār ānātha-
 38 samrakshana vārī sūtra nitya hōm ādy anēka dharmma b(v)ya
 39 yāya || Bāsūra-vishaya-madhya-varttinam prasiddha-simā-samam(ma)nvitam
 Chamgūra-nāmdhēyam grā-
 40 mam nidhi nīkshēpa jala-pās(sh)āna sāmam(sama)nvitam damda su(śu)-
 41 lk-ādī vivīdh āy āmnvitam (ānvitam) rāja purushair=anamguhi prē
 42 kshanīyam sarbba(vva) namasyam kru(ku)tvā || Śaka(Śakā)d=ārabhya 1[1]86 ne-
 43 ya Raktākṣi-samvatsarasya Pus(sh)ya-māsē arddhōdaya-
 44 tīthau hīramny(hirany)-ōdaka pūrbbā(vva)kam pra(ā)dāt ||^o||
 45 Yirulum pagalum pariva kolli kallaṇ=ādodam mamneya
 46 mahāmāmdalēsvaran=ādadam dhareyan=ālva Chakravarttiy=āda-
 47 dīm śrīmanu mahā mahīma Kapilasiddha Mallēsvaradēvara
 48 kshētrada chaturāśrayada nālūm deseya valeyadolage vō
 49 lage horag=ippa dhanakke arasugalol=akku kolli kallārol=akku manam pēsa-
 50 de kaladukomden=embātana ātana mātā-mātā pītrurrga(pītriga)-
 51 l=ellam^o The rest of the *vachana* is a reproduction of ll 13 19 of the previous *vachana*
 to 57 (ll 4-19) with slight orthographical variations
 57 58 Imprecatory verse beginning with *dāna pālana*
 59 [Sō]dara Sōma Gauda Sōdara Sōma Gauda Hittukā-
 60 rarige aruvana mattarimge hamneradu homna mariyā-
 61 de kōlu kolaga dēvarige || Maduvey=āya mām=emne (eṇne) hadiyade
 62 tippē sumka ashta bhōga-tēja sāmmya (sāmmya) [gau]dugalige Hīriya-
 63 Sōma Gaumdana vumbali mattaru eradu Ohikka Sōma Gaumdana vum-
 64 balī mattaru eradu yī Gaudu Hittukārara belada belasīn=āya-
 65 vu tammadu || Dēvara-maneya Heggade Chaudarasamge mattaru eradu
 66 maneyumam śrīmāmmya(mānya)v āgi^okottaru ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Line 1) Invocation to Siddharāma

(Ll 2 3) Invocation to Śambhu

(Ll 4-19) A *vachana* of Siddharāma

(Ll 19 25) While *Praudhapratāpachakravartin Mahādēvarāja* who was *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāttāraka*, a chosen lord of Dvārāyatīpura, a vanquisher of Gūrjara, Mālava and Telunga kings, a Rāja-Nārāyaṇa was ruling the earth, (and)

(Ll 26 34) his minister, the *Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja*, son of Amītarasa and grandson of Chaudarasa of the Vasiṣṭha family was governing at his command the southern country, (the latter)

(Ll 35 44) visited *Sonnalige-nagara*, the former residence of Siddharāma and being pleased at the sight of god Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva made a gift of the village, *Chamgūra* in *Bāsura-vishaya* together with a right over treasure troves and the incomes derived from

¹ Read *Mallikārjun ālōkana*

finer, *śulka*, etc., for the worship of the deity, renovation of the temple and for water shed and daily oblations, etc., on the occasion of *aridhōdaya* on the new moon day of Pushya in the (cyclic) year Raktākshin, the Śaka year 1186

(Ll 45 58) Another *tachana* of Siddharāma

(Ll 59 66) Specifies certain estates and incomes in the village to be enjoyed by some *Gauḍas*, *Hittukūras* and *Chauḍarasa*, the *Heggade* of the temple (*dīvara mane*)

NO 31 — A NOTE ON THE TIRIYAY ROCK INSCRIPTION

By B CH CHIDAMBRA, M A, M O L, PH D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

This interesting epigraph was brought to light in the year 1931¹ The rock on which it is engraved is situated on the north eastern sea coast, near the village of Tiriyāy, in Ceylon The inscription has recently been published by Mr S Paranavitana² It is written in the Pallava-Grantha script and in the Sanskrit language both these features are rather uncommon in Ceylon It is not dated, but is palaeographically assigned to the late seventh century A D Like the other few Sanskrit records discovered in the island, the present one also is associated with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism Its contents constitute a hymn in praise of a sanctuary, called in the inscription itself *Girikandī chaitya*, which had apparently been set up by a guild of sea-faring merchants The principal deity in the shrine is Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) attended by Avalōkitēśvara and Mañjuśrī For a detailed discussion on these and kindred points, the reader is referred to the exhaustive study of the record made by Mr Paranavitana² In the present paper, special attention is drawn to what has somehow escaped the notice of that scholar concerning the text

Mr Paranavitana has taken the inscription to be entirely 'in prose', whereas to my observation it has revealed itself to be almost wholly in verse, the last line apparently being the only exception It will be seen that the composer has displayed his peculiar taste in employing throughout one and the same metre and that of a very rare occurrence, namely *Nardatala* The engraver, on his part, has exhibited a like trait by allotting one line to each stanza Thus the first ten lines of the text, the whole of which consists of eleven lines, comprise ten stanzas


The above discovery has led me to a further conclusion that the record is not fragmentary as Mr Paranavitana has shown it to be 'Lines 1 to 4', says he, 'are totally illegible at the beginning for a distance of nearly three feet and the ends of lines 4 to 10 are much damaged' One does get such an impression while glancing at the illustration of the record On comparing the text, however, it becomes manifest that, in spite of its irregular appearance, the document has reached us almost in its entirety Thus, in contradiction to Mr Paranavitana's remarks, I may state that no inscribed portion has been lost at the ends of lines 4 to 10 The same can be said of the beginnings of the lines 1 to 4, with only this reservation that the portion in question does seem to have originally contained some sort of engraving on it,³ and that about eight

¹ *An Rep on Arch Survey of Ceylon for 1931-32* (Pt IV — Education, Science and Art (J)), p 19, *An Bibliography of Ind Arch* (Kern Institute, Leyden), Vol VII (1932), pp 31-35, *J A S B Letters*, Vol I (1935), p 12

² *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol IV, pp 151-160 and Plate

³ I may add that the portion might have contained some letters The second line of our text begins from [sa]lila, but before these letters the stone shows traces of at least two more syllables, though as such they are superfluous in our text It may also be pointed out that there are three signs, one below the other, facing the extremities of the lines 4-6, but they do not have any bearing on the text, although they have the appearance of regular letters *dha*, *dhi* and *ghah* respectively

aksharas at the commencement of the fourth line have peeled off along with the engraving above

The space occupied by the inscription roughly corresponds to this shape , the upper rectangle containing the first three lines of the writing and the lower the remaining eight. It will further be noticed that there are some natural cracks and rough patches which existed on the stone even at the time of the incising of the inscription and which the engraver has carefully avoided. For example, blank spaces between *viśhāda haraḥ* and *kanaka vibhūṣhana*, l 6, and *gandha jalāḥ* and *kara bhṛta*, l 7, are original gaps and not the lacunae in the text.

It is obvious that in the light of the observations made above, the task of deciphering the record has become particularly easy, as it always happens in case the composition of a document turns out to be metrical. It is, I believe, possible now to restore the text more or less completely by examining either the original epigraph or a good estampage of it, neither of which has been at my disposal. The photographic reproduction accompanying Mr. Parānavatana's paper being too inadequate for the purpose, it has not been possible for me to amend all the doubtful readings or to read all the portions left undeciphered. Below I suggest some alterations and additions in the text given by Mr. Parānavatana.

L 2 At the end we may read [*Gṛikandī*]*kaṁ=ity=udṛtē*

L 3 Instead of *nagara ja[na*]* I would read [*nā*]*ga[rā]ja*

L 4 The reading appears to be *-natam* where *-nata-* has been read

L 5 Perhaps we have to read *siddha* instead of *sadā*, and *-pūjyatamah* | in place of *pūjyatam[ō]*. Before *Gṛikandīka* we may read *namāmi*. The last letter is final *m*, so indicated by its smaller size. Thus we have to read *=aḥam* and not *=aḥam=a(pṛ)*

L 6 The reading is *=madana dōsha viśhāda haraḥ* and not *=manō dōsha viśha dahara*. So also *-ruchir=nniyatam=* and not *ruchin=niyatam-*, *varam* and not *varam*

L 7 Read *-jalāḥ* instead of *jala*, and *pūjanām* for *pūjāni*. The two letters after *Gṛikandī* seem to read *jushaḥ*

L 8 Instead of *pranipātam kurutē* the reading is probably *prampatan=kurutē*

L 9 The *anusiṁdra* indicated within square brackets is not found in the original, nor is it necessary. Read *-lāraṇam=* for *-laraṇa[m]=*, and *gatam Sugatam(tam)* for *data sugata*

L 10 The last word is *jagat* and not *jagataḥ*

It may also be pointed out that after the first half of each stanza, except perhaps the third, fourth and sixth, a single *danda* is clearly visible on the stone. A superfluous *danda* is found after the first quarter of the second verse. In certain places Mr. Parānavatana's reading is not tenable as warranted by the metre, e.g., *Buddhāmlurō* (l 5). His translation will naturally have to be considerably modified after so many changes in the text.

NO 32 —FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO,

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

These copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were unearthed at Badkhuri near Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa, and recently acquired by the Ravenshaw College Museum, Cuttack. Prof. N. C. Banerji of the College brought the plates to me for decipherment in March 1937, and as they had a thick incrustation of verdigris they were chemically treated in the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section. I am obliged to the authorities of the Ravenshaw College Museum for the loan of the plates, as also for the permission to edit them in this Journal.

These are four plates (A, B, C and D), representing four separate documents, each complete in itself. Their respective sizes are as follows — A, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$, B, $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, C, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and D, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$. The plates are engraved on both sides, there being 19 lines of writing in A, 21 lines in B, 18 lines in C and 21 lines in D. Originally each plate had a seal attached to it at the left hand side, but the seals of plates A, B and C are missing. Plate D still retains the seal, but it is very much worn out and its details are completely obliterated.

The characters are a form of the Northern alphabet, representing an earlier phase of the writing as compared with the Gañjām plates of Śaśānka.¹ Palaeographically, Plate A, which shows slightly earlier forms of letters, should be placed first in the series, while Plates B, C and D between A and the Gañjām plates. The chief points of difference between the Gañjām and the Sōrō plates in respect of alphabet may be noted. The characters of the Gañjām plates are of 'the acute angled type with nail heads,' which, as pointed out by Bühler,² forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet. These acute angled letters are absent in the present records. In the Gañjām plates the medial *i* and *ī* strokes are more developed and often extend below the head of the letter, and the letter *y* is of the later type in which the top bar is reduced to a mere stroke, and the bottom bar, and often also the middle bar, hang down, in which respects it resembles the same letter in Plates B and C. Some examples showing these tendencies of the letter *y* occur also in Plates A and D, but in Plate A, and in some cases in Plates B, C and D, the top bar is not reduced. The letter *r* in the Gañjām plates has a stroke added to its base on the left side, which is absent in the Sōrō plates. Plate A shows uniformly the earlier tripartite form of *y* while in Plate B, C and D it is of the later bipartite type akin to that used in the Gañjām plates. The letter *ē* in the Gañjām plates shows in the majority of cases an oval loop at the top, while in the Sōrō Plates it still retains its angular form, often having the shape of a perfect rectangle. The Gañjām plates are dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619-20. Plates B, C and D, which should be placed some what earlier than this date, may be assigned to the second half of the sixth century, while Plate A which must be still earlier to the first half of the sixth century. Palaeographically, Plate A closely resembles the Patnāllā grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja.³

The language of the copper plates is Sanskrit. Each has the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, but the rest of the document is in prose. As regards orthography, a final *m* is occasionally joined to the following consonant, a consonant following or preceding *r* is occasionally doubled, and both *b* and *v* are uniformly expressed by the sign for the latter, the only exception being in Plate A, in which the two letters are clearly distinguished in *bahubhīrasasudhā* (l. 16).

The general character of the four plates, so far as their phraseology is concerned, is more or less uniform. This is to be expected in view of the fact that they belong not only to the same age but also to the same locality. First is mentioned the place of issue of the charter, which is followed by the name and titles of the donor. Next is introduced the name of the province or subdivision wherein the grant is made, and in this connection are enumerated the various officers forming the administrative machinery of the province to whom the document is addressed. The name of the village as well as the names of the donees in whose favour the charter (*tānarapatta*) is issued is then given. The prose portion of the plates recording all these details of grant is followed by benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by the names of persons entrusted with drafting of the document, mechanical execution of the copper sheet by heating, and also

¹ Above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 111.

² *Indian Palaeography*, English translation, p. 49.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 285 and Pl.

(in Plate C) with engraving The date of the grant is specified either at the end (in A), or immediately before the names of the draughtsman and others (in Plates B and C), or just before the commencement of the metrical portion (in Plate D)

Plate A records a grant of eight *timpiras*¹ of land by *Mahārāja Sambhuyasas* of the *Mudgala* family in a village called *Ghantākarnnakshētra* adjoining *Sarēphā*, evidently the headquarters of the same *vishaya*, in *Uttara-Tōsalī*. It was issued from the royal camp at *Tamparavadama* to a Brahmin named *Bharanasvāmin*, belonging to the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and the *Kānva-śākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The draft was made by the *Mahāsāndhvirgrahika Nārāyana* and the plate was 'heated' by the *Mahattara Vīdēsasvāmin*. It is dated in the year 260, the 30th day of *Kārttika*. This date in view of the palaeography is referable to the *Kalachuri* era and becomes therefore equivalent to A D 508-9.

Plate B records the grant of a village called *Adayāra* situated in the *Sarēph-āhāra vishaya* in *Uttara-Tōsalī* which again formed a part of the *Īdra-vishaya*. The donees are *Dhruvamitrāsavāmin*, *Ārungasavāmin* and others of the *Vātsya gōtra* and the *Vājasanēya charana* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was issued by the *Mahābalādhrīkṛita, Antaranga* and *Mahāsāndhvirgrahika Sōmadatta*, from his camp at *Āmratakshaka*. It was written by the *Sāndhvirgrahika Kēsava* and 'heated' by the *Mahattara Sūryadēva*. It is dated in the year 15, the 13th day of *Vaisākha*.

Plate C is another grant of the same *Mahābalādhrīkṛita, Antaranga, Mahāsāndhvirgrahika Sōmadatta*. It was issued from a place called *Śāichātaka*, the grant consisting of a village called *Bahirvātaka*, situated in *Varukāna²-vishaya* in *Sarēph-āhāra*. The donees are *Dhruvamitrāsavāmin* and *Ārungasavāmin* of the *Vātsya-gōtra* and the *Vājasanēya charana* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was written by *Subhasimha* and 'heated' by the *Pēdāpālaka Divākara*, while the engraving was carried out by *Nārāyana*. It is dated in the year 15, the 24th day of *Māgha*. It should be noted that in this plate *Varukāna vishaya* is said to have been within *Sarēph āhāra* which itself was also a *vishaya*, as we know already from Plates A and B.

Plate D was issued from a place called *Virañjā* by the *Mahāpratīhāra, Mahārāja Bhānu-datta*. The same *Bahirvātaka* village, which is mentioned in Plate C as having been granted to *Dhruvamitrāsavāmin* and *Ārungasavāmin*, is hereby granted once again. The donees this time are *Priyamitrāsavāmin*, *Vātamitrāsavāmin*, *Dhruvamitrāsavāmin* and *Ārungamitrāsavāmin*, all of them belonging to the *Vatsa gōtra* and *Vājasanēya charana*. In this plate the village is stated as being within the *Sarēph āhāra vishaya* and not *Varukāna vishaya* as in Plate C. The grant was written by the *Sāndhvirgrahika Arunadatta* and 'heated' by the *Pēdāpālaka Pratishtitachandra*. The date is the year 5, the 17th day of *Phālguna*.

It has been already stated that the year 260 of Plate A, which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Sambhuyasas*, should be assigned to the *Kalachuri* era of A D 248, the date thus corresponding to A D 508-9. The difficulty in assigning the year to a later reckoning such as the Gupta or the Harsha era is obvious, because palaeographically the record is not referable to a date later than the middle of the sixth century. The same difficulty also arises in the case of the *Patākellā* plate of *Mahārāja Śivarāja* of the year 283. R D Banerji, who has edited it refers the date to the

¹ The word *timpira* which occurs also in the *Pārikud* and *Nivina* grants (above, Vol XI, p 286 l 44 of the text and Vol XXI, p 35 and n 1) denotes a unit of land measurement.

² [See below p 201 n 5—Ed.]

Gupta era,¹ but as pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,² the palaeography of the record is not in favour of this assumption. The latter has accordingly suggested that the year 283 should be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to this view, with which I entirely agree, the Patīkellā plate should be placed twenty three years after the present record.

The Patīkellā plate records a grant of land in Dakṣiṇa Tōṣali by Mahārāja Śivarāja. In line 3 of the plate occurs a passage containing the name of the immediate overlord of Śivarāja, which has been read by Banerji as *Paramamāhēśvara śrī Sagguyayyanē śāsati*. This he translated as, "when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Sagguyayjana was ruling." In an editorial note on Banerji's article Dr. Sten Konow observed, "I am unable to see *Sagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading, I think I see *Śambhuyayyanē*." The plate which is now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was subsequently re-examined by Banerji, but he found himself unable to accept Konow's emended version.³ Recently I had occasion to examine the record very closely in connection with my study of the Sōrō plates, when I found that neither of the two readings could be accepted. The actual text in the Patīkellā plate is *Paramamāhēśvara śrī Śambhuyayyanē anusāsati, i e*, "during the rule of the illustrious Śambhuyayyas, the great devotee of Mahēśvara." There is no doubt that this Śambhuyayyas, who also belonged to the Mudgala family, is identical with Mahārāja Śambhuyayyas of the Sōrō plate. The expression *Paramādityat ūdhadanta* and *Paramabhattachāra* used in reference to him in line 4 of the Patīkellā plate shows that Śambhuyayyas held the position of a paramount ruler. It should be noted that he has only the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* prefixed to his name in this grant, while in the Sōrō plate he is described as a *Mahārāja*. It is difficult to say what position he precisely held in the year 260 when the latter record was issued. It is likely that he enjoyed a sort of independent status. The combined evidence of the Sōrō and Patīkellā plates shows that King Śambhuyayyas ruled over the whole of Tōṣali. The expression *Paramādityat ūdhadanta* and *paramādityat ūdhadanta*,⁴ i e, 'meditating on the feet of his father who was (to him) like a great divinity', used in reference to him in line 5 of the Sōrō plate may be compared with similar phrases occurring in the land grants of the kings of Kalunga, e g, the Komarti plates of Chandavarman which describe him as *bappa bhettāra* and *pādabhatta*.

Mahārāja Bhānudatta of Plate D, who calls himself also *Mahāpratihāra*, must have been a vassal chief like Śivarāja of the Patīkellā plate. That he was under some *Paramabhattachāra*, i e, a sovereign ruler, follows from lines 8-9 and 13 of Plate D, although we do not know who this ruler was. Of a somewhat lower rank was Sōmadatta, the donor of Plates B and C, who is styled *Mahābalādhiprita*, *Antaranga* and *Mahāsāndhivrahā*. His overlord, who likewise remains unknown, is referred to as *Paramādityat ūdhadanta* or *Paramadanta*, and *Paramabhattachāra*. Neither Bhānudatta nor Sōmadatta is known from any other sources. There could not be a difference of more than a generation between these two persons, as the donees Dhruvanutrasāmin and Ārungaśāmin of Plate C issued by Sōmadatta were evidently identical with the donees of the same names mentioned in Plate D of Bhānudatta.

As is well known, Tōṣali is first mentioned in Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Dhauli near Bhuvanēśvara in Purī District which itself must have been comprised in that province. From several copper plates from Orissa it appears that the province was divided into two sections, namely,

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 287.

² Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 160 (No. 1203) and n. 2.

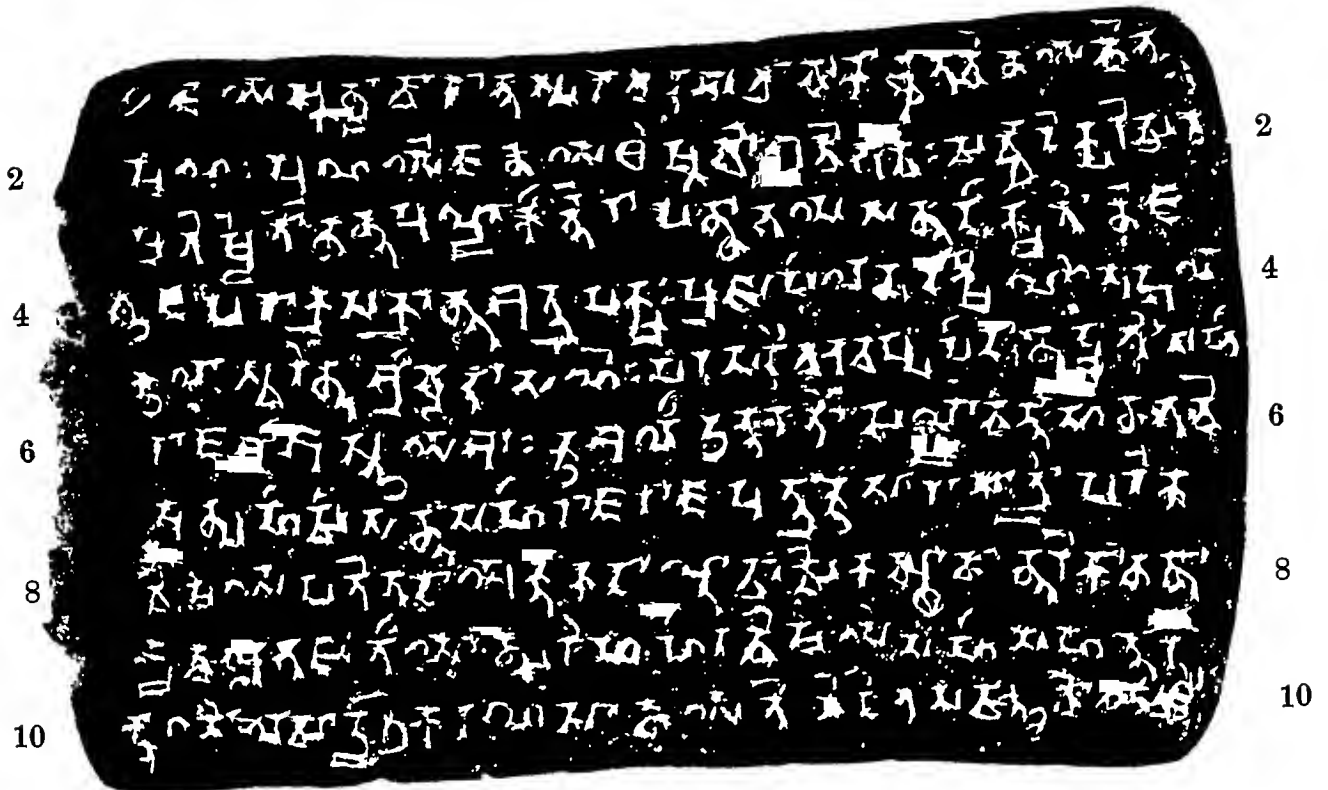
³ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 118.

⁴ For similar expressions used in other records see Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 186-187, note.

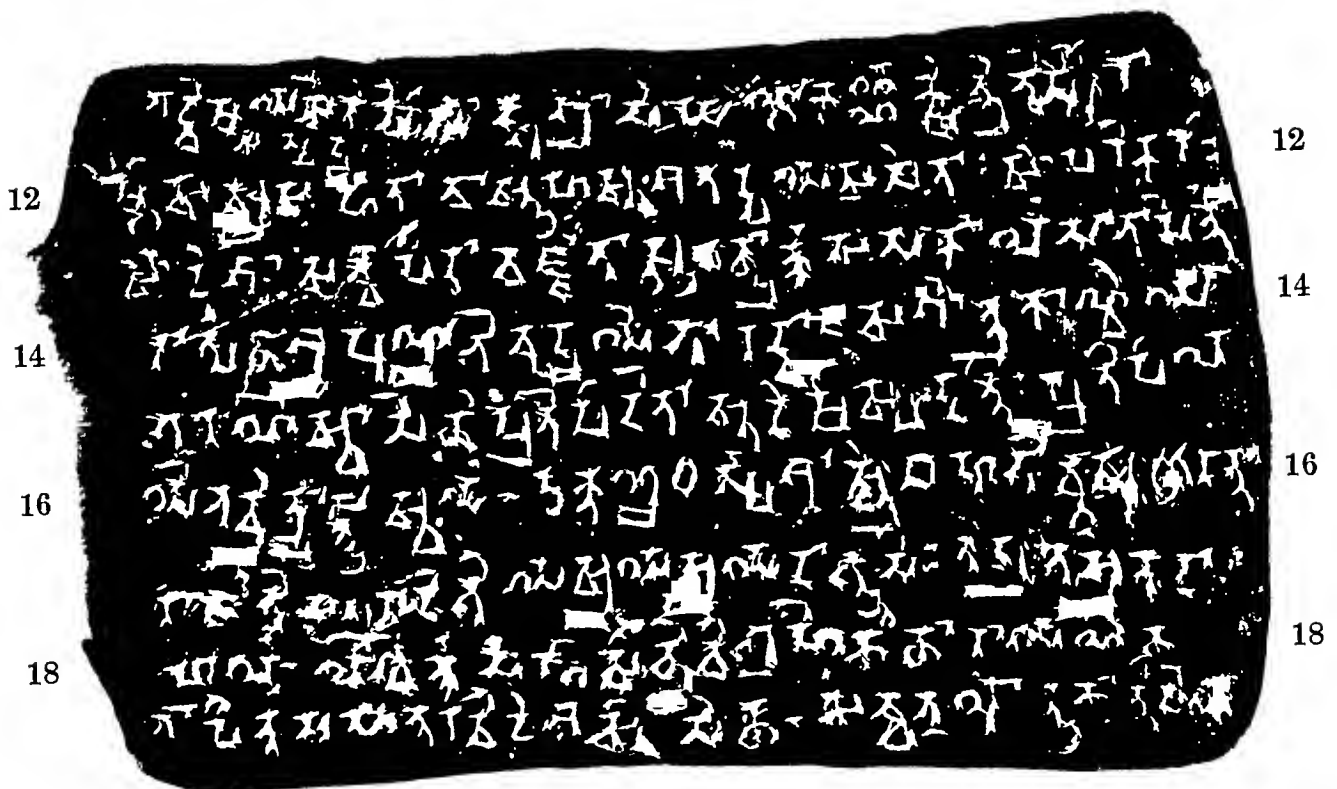
⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO
A PLATE OF MAHARAJA SAMBHUYASAS, THE YEAR 260

Obverse



Reverse



Reverse.

SCALE SEVEN-EIGHTHS

Uttara Tōsalī and Dakṣiṇa Tōsalī¹. The latter included Kōngōda *mandala*, which according to some scholars was to the south west of Purī and might have extended as far as the borders of the Gañjām District². As regards the extent of Uttara Tōsalī, light is thrown by the Neulpur grant of Subhākaradīva³ and also by the present copper plates. The Neulpur plate records the grant of certain villages in Uttara Tōsalī which are to be located in the Balasore District⁴. All the four plates published here refer to grants of land in Sarēph *āhāna* which also was situated in Uttara-Tōsalī. **Sarēphā** (or Sarēpha) should be identified with Sōrō in Balasore, in the vicinity of which the present copper plates were discovered. In the Revised Rent roll of Shah Sujah (*circa* A D 1650) Sōrō appears as one of the principal divisions of Sarkar Jalesar. It is also mentioned as Sōrō dandapāta in the *Mādalā pāñi*⁵. Even now Sōrō is an important station in the Balasore District. **Varukāna**,⁶ the name of the adjoining *vishaya*, is perhaps to be identified with the present Baruā pargana which appears as Barwa, a *mahal* under Sarkar Bhadrak, in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*⁷. The other localities I am unable to identify.

A —Plate of Mahārāja Śambhuyasas, the year 260

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm⁷[*] jaya-skandhāvārīt=Tamparavadama(?) vāsakāch=chhruta vinaya-vibhū-
- 2 shanah pranayī jana-yathēśhta bhōgya vibhavah sarvva dīk parisara-
- 3 pratishthit ānanta punya kirttir=āpann ābhaya mantra dikshītō nija
- 4 bhujā parākrama krānta śattru-pakshah prajā pālana dakṣiṇō Mudgala⁸
- 5 kul āmva(mba)r endu śrī chūdā manih paramadaivata va(ba)ppa pād ānuddhyātō Mahā-
- 6 rāja śrī Śambhuyasāh kuśalī Uttara-Tōsalyām varttamāna bhavi-
- 7 shyan mahāsāmanta mahārāja-rājaputtra kumārāmāty ōparika-
- 8 vishavapati tadāyuktaka dāndavāsika sthānāntarikān=anyā[m]
- 9 ś=cha vallabha-jātīyān=Sarēpha-(ph-ā)hāra-vishaya mahāmahattara-
- 10 [kū]takōlas ādy adhikaranam mānayati viditam=astu vō yath=ai-

Reverse

- 11 tad vishaya samva(mba)ddha⁹ Sarēph āsanga grāmē¹⁰ Ghantākarnna-kshēttre timpir ā-
- 12 shtau sasya sahītā vāstu hasta śata dvaya-samētāh s ōparikarāh
- 13 s ōddēsā[h] sarvva pīdā-varjītā ā chandr ārkka samakālam mātā pīttirō-
- 14 r=ātmanas=cha puny ābhivridhayō Bhāradvāja sagōttara-Kānvēya-
- 15 Bharanasvāmīnē pratipādītās=tad=ēsh=āsmad dattah pratipāla

¹ Cf above, Vol XXI, p 38

² Above, Vol XV, p 1

³ Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, 1934, p 3

⁴ M Chakravarti, *J P A S B*, 1916, pp 46, 48

⁵ [The reading may be Vāru(or Varu)kōna. Names of villages ending in *kōna* are not uncommon, cf *Buludravakōna* in the 'Indian Museum Plates of Dēvēndravarmān' (above, p 74) and *Varahakōnā* in the 'Saktipur copper plate of Lakshmanasēna' (above, Vol XXI, p 214). It may be pointed out that there is a place called Mārkaṇa (on the B N R) only ten miles to the south west of Sōrō —Ed.]

⁶ See *J P A S B*, 1916, p 44

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ For this reading I am indebted to the Editor

⁹ This word, which was omitted at first, has been added below

¹⁰ [Reading appears to be *Sarēph ō[tsu]nga grāmē*, i e, in the village in the vicinity of Sarēphā —Ed.]

- 16 yitavy=ēty=ājñā svayam | uktañ=cha dharmma sāstrē [1*] Bahubhur=vvasudhā dattā
 17 rājabhū[1*] Sagar-ādibhi[1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih ta(m)s=ta)sya tasya tadā
 18 phalam(m) [1*] lkhittam(tam) mahāsāndhivigrahika-Nārāyanēna
 19 tāpittam(tam) mahattara-Vidē[sa]svāmīn[ā] | samvva(va)t 200 60 Kārtti dī 30

B —Plate of Sōmadatta , the year 15

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti | jaya-skandhāvārād=Āmratakshaka-vāsakāt=parama daivatādhidaivata śrī
 2 Para[ma]bhattāraka-pād ānudhyātō mahāva(ba)lādhikrit āntaranga-mahāsāndhi
 3 vigrahika Sōmadattah kuśali Ōdra-vishayē Uttara-Tōsalyām Sarēph-ā-
 4 hāra-vishayē varttamāna bhavishyan mahāsāmanta mahārāja rājaputra kumārā-
 5 mātīyōparika vishayapati-tadāyū(yu)ktaka dāndavāsika sthānāntarikān=a
 6 nyāms=cha chāta bhata-vallabha jātīyān=vishaya mahāmahattara kūtakōlasa
 7 pustapāl ādy adhikaranāñ=cha yath-ārham=pūjayaty=avagamayati cha vidita-
 8 m=astu bhavatām yath=āsmābhū=ētaḍ vishaya samva(mba)ddha Adayāra-grāmō(mah)
 śrī Parama
 9 [bha]ttāraka-pādānām=ā chandr-ārka sama-kālam=puny ābhūvridhayē rāja dattī-
 10 tāmra patta sthityā Vātsya-sagōtra Vājasaneyā Dhruvamītrasvāmy-Āruna-
 11 svāmy ādīnām=pratipāditas=tad=ēshām samuchita-tāmra patta-dā[na*]n=datvā(ttvā)
 12 bhūñjānānām na kēnachid=anyathā karaniyā ēshā cha dattih paramadaivata

Reverse

- 13 śrī Paramabhattāraka-pādānām dharmmasya cha gauravāt=pratipālayitavyā ||
 14 uktañ=cha dharmma sāstrē [1*] Va(Ba)hubhur=vvasudhā dattā rājabhūh Sagar ādibhih [1*]
 15 yasya yasya yadā bhūmus=tasra tasya tadā phalam(m) [1*] Sva dattām=para-dattām=vā
 16 yō harēta vasundharām(m) [1*] sa vishthāyām kpmir=bhūtvā ptnbhūh sāha pachyatē || [2*]
 17 Mā bhūd=aphala śankā vah para datt=ēti pārthivāh[1*] sva dānāt=phalam=ānanyam
 18 para dān ānupālanam(m) || [3*] Shashtim=varsha-sahasrāni svargē mōdati
 19 bhūmidaḥ [1*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam=va(kē va)sēd=iti || (t || [4*]iti)
 20 samvat 10 5 Vaisākha dī 10 3 lkhitam sāndhivigrahika-
 21 Kēsavēna tāpita mahattaraka-Sūryadēvēna ||

C —Another Plate of Sōmadatta , the year 15

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti[1*] Śāñchātakāt=paramadaivata śrī-Paramabhattāraka-pād-ānudhyātō mahā
 2 va(ba)lādhikrit-āntaranga-mahāsāndhivigrahika Sōmadattah kuśali Sarēph-āhāra-
 3 samba(mba)ddha Varukāna²-vishayē varttamāna bhavishyan mahāsāmanta mahārāja-rāja'
 4 puttra kumārāmātīyōparika vishayapati-tadāyuktaka dāndavāsika-sthānāntarikā
 5 n=anyāms=cha chāta bhata vallabha jātīyān=vishaya-mahāmahattara-kūtakōlasa
 6 pustapāl ādy adhikaranam cha yathārham=pūjayaty=āvagamayati oha viditam=astu bhava-

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² [See above, p 201 n 5 —Ed.]

Obverse

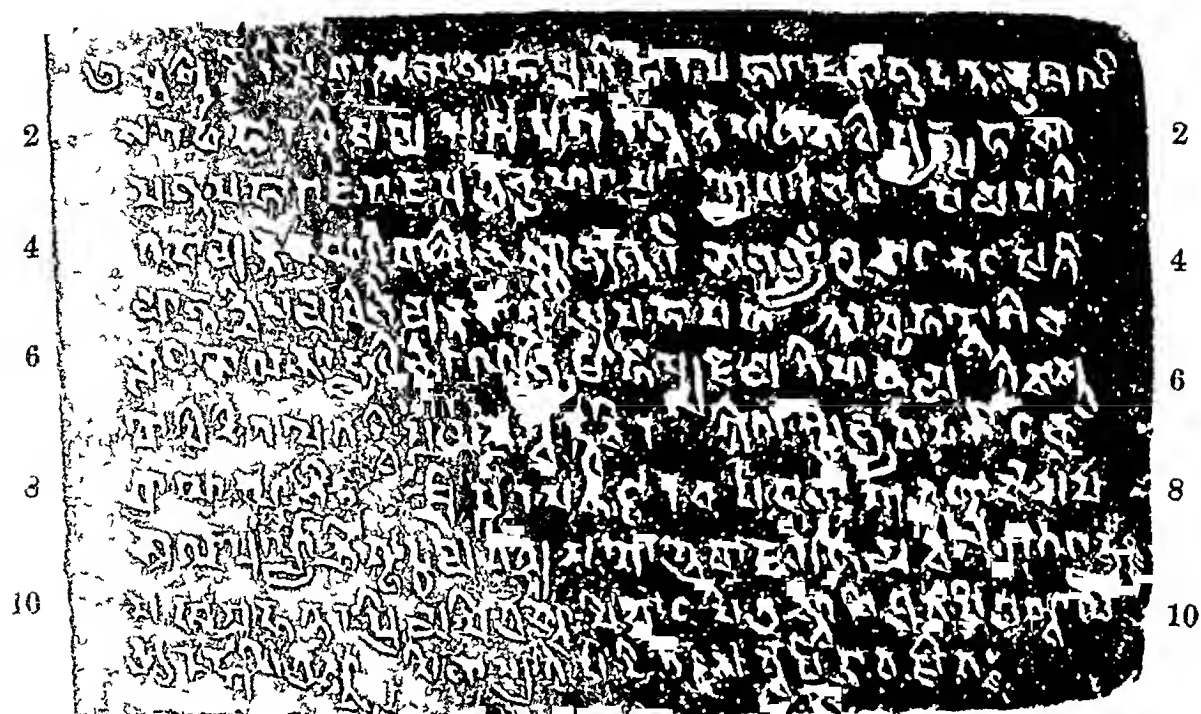
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ २ ॥
 ३ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ ९ ॥
 १० यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १० ॥

Reverse

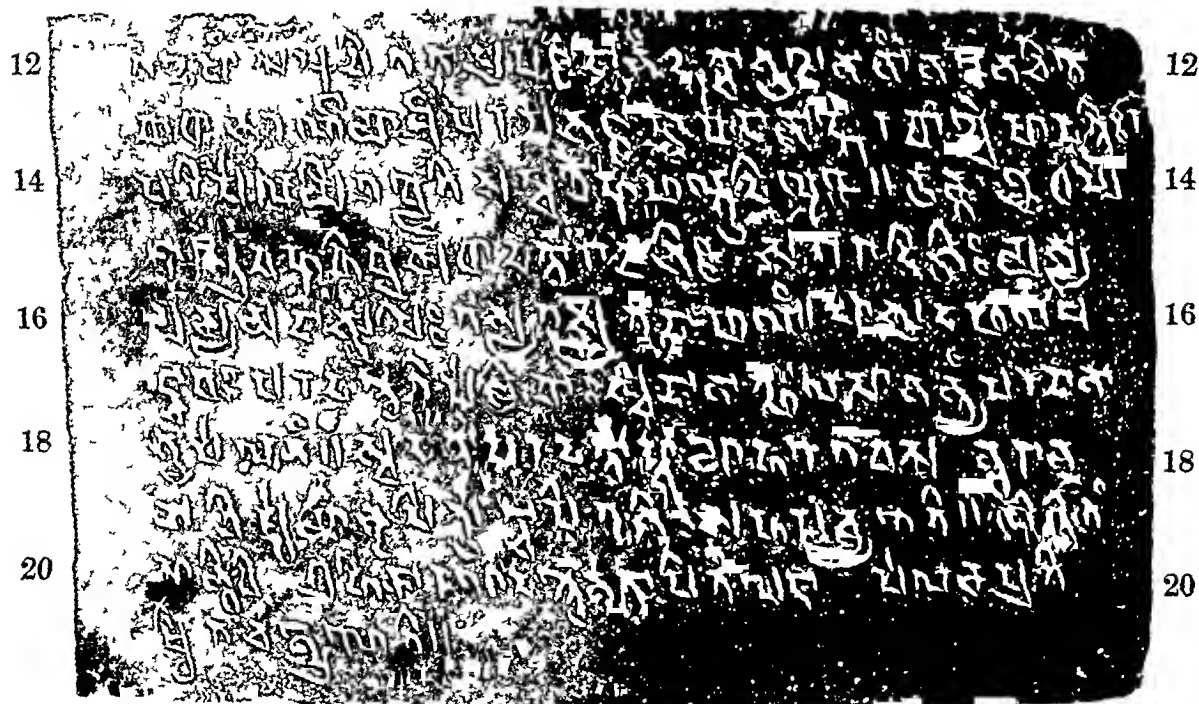
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 १२ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १२ ॥
 १३ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १३ ॥
 १४ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १४ ॥
 १५ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १५ ॥
 १६ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १६ ॥
 १७ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १७ ॥
 १८ यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः सदाशिवः ॥ १८ ॥

D. PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHANUDATTA, THE YEAR 5

Obverse



Reverse



- 7 tām=ētaḍ viśhaya samva(mba)ddha churḡ khula [śū]nyō **Va(Ba)hurvāṭaka-grāmah** parama-
daivata
8 śrī Paramabhata(tā)raḡa pa(pā)ḍānām=ā-chandr ārkka samakālam puny ābhivridhayē
Vātsya sagō
9 ttr-Vāṡasanēya charana **Dhruvamitrasvāmy-Ārungsavāmibhyām** rāja-tāmra patta-
sthitā
10 pratipīditas=tad=anayōs=samuchita rājadattā tāmra patta dānam dattvā bhuñjānayōr=na
11 kēnachid=vā(bā)dhā kāryā ēshā cha dattih paramadaivata-śrī Paramabhata(raka)-pādānām

Reverse

- 12 dharmmasya cha gauravāt=pratipālayitavyā | uktam cha dharmma śāstrē[1*] **Va(Ba)hubhir=**
vasu
13 dhā dattī rājabhīs=Sagar ādibhīh[1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
14 phalam(m) || [1*] Mā bhūd=aphala śankā vah para datt=ctī pārthivāh[1*] sva dānāt=phala-
m=īnantyan para dān ānupālanam(m) || [2*] Shashtim varsha sahasrāni svarggē ti
16 shthti bhūmidih[1*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti(t || [3*] iti)
17 samvat 10 5 Māgha dī 20 4 lkhitam Śubhasm̐hēna |
18 tāpitam pīḍāpālaka Divākarēna | utkīrṇanā Nārāyanēna ||

D —Plate of Mahārāja Bhānudatta , the year 5

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti[1*] **Virāñjā** vāsakān=mahāpratibhāra mahārāja **Bhānudatta**h kuśali
2 **Sarēph-āhāra**-viśhayāt samupagat in=varṭtamāna bhaviśhayan-mahāsā-
3 mantī mahārāja rājaputtra kumārāmāty ōprika-viśhayapati-
4 tadāyuktaka dāndavāsika sthānāntarikān=anyāmīs=cha chīta bhata jātī-
5 yān(y īms)=tad viśhaya vimyuktakīmīs=cha sa-mahāmahattara vri(bri)hadbhūgika
6 kūtakōlas ādy adhikaranān=yathārham=pūjyati mīnayati ch=āstu
7 vō viditam=ētaḍ viśhaya samva(mba)ddha chira khilā(la) śūnya **Va(Ba)[hurvā]taka-**
8 gr̥mō=smābhīh śrī Paramabhata(raka) pādānām=ī chandr ārka-sama
9 kīlam puny-ābhivridhayāt Vatsa-sagōttia Vāṡasanjya charanābhīyah
10 mahāmahattara **Priyamitrasvāmi-Vātamitrasvāmi-Dhruvamitrasvāmi-**
11 **Ārungsmitrasvāmīnām**=pratipādita² sarva-pīḍa varjitah[1*]

Reverse

- 12 tad=ēshīm samuchita tāmra patta dānam datvā(ttvā) bhuñjānānām na kēnachit
13 vā(bā)dhā karanīyō śrī Paramabhata(raka) pādānām=gauravāch=ch=aishā dattih
14 paripālayitavy=ctī samvat 5 Phalgu dī 10 7 || uktañ=cha dharmma-
15 śāstrē[1*] **Va(Ba)hubhir=vr̥sudhā** dattā rājabhīh Sagar ādibhīh[1*] yasya
16 yasya yadā bhūmih(mus)=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [1*] Mā bhūd=aphala sha(śa)
17 ākā vah para datt=ctī pārthivāh[1*] sva dānāt=phalam=ānantyan para dān ā
18 nupālanam(nam) || [2*] Sva-dattāñ para dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām[1*]
19 sa viśthāyām kṛmīr=bbhūtvā pītribhīh saha pachyat=ti³ || [3*] lkhitam
20 sāndhivigrahik Ārunadattēna tāpitam pīḍāpālaka Prati
21 shthitachandrēn=ctī ||

¹ Expressed by a symbol² Read *stāmibhyah pratipaditah*³ Read *pachyate* ||[3*] iti

No 33 —TWO COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

Two sets of copper-plates, each consisting of three plates, complete with ring and seal, were discovered in 1935 in the possession of a Muhammadan of Sirso, a village two miles north of Murtazāpur, the head quarters of a *tālukā* of the same name in the Akōlā District, Berār. They have since been acquired by the Local Government and deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. I am obliged to the Curator of the Museum for permission to edit them. To distinguish the sets, both of which were found at Sirso, I name them here as Sīsavaī grant and Lōhārā grant after the villages granted by them.

A.—Sīsavaī grant of Gōvinda III, Śaka Year 729

These are three copper-plates each measuring about 12 6" in length and 6 5" in breadth. Their ends are either raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side and the second on both the sides. About 6" from the centre of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 9" in diameter for the ring which has joined it to other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about 5" in thickness and 2 9" in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a round seal 1 6" in diameter. The latter contains in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuda, facing full front and squatting on a lotus. He carries a serpent in each hand. The ring was cut before the plates reached the Museum, but there is no reason to doubt its connection with the grant. The weight of the three plates is 213 *tolas* and that of the ring and the seal 56 *tolas*.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there and especially in the centre of both the sides of the second plate are damaged by verdigris, but they can be read without much difficulty from the traces left behind. There are sixty-two lines in all, of which sixteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. Some of them can be marked on the back of the first and the third plate. Their size varies from 2" to 3". The writer has treated ornamentally the *mātrās* for medial *ī*, *ai*, and *ō* and the curve for medial *i*, especially in the last line on each inscribed surface. It may be noted in this connection that the encircling curve for medial short *i* resembles that seen in the Khāmakhōd plates¹. A floral device is incised to fill up the empty space to the left of the hole opposite ll 24-26. The writer has inadvertently omitted letters and even words in some places, see *c g*, °*py=akṛishna charitō bhuvī* in l 2. In some cases these mistakes are corrected by incising the omitted letter immediately below, see *c g*, *ra* in *drisht āsū radhayah* in l 17, *n* in *nijām* and *pa* in *naya parō* both in l 25. In a few cases letters are unnecessarily repeated, see *c g*, °*py=amalayā* in l 7.

The characters are of the North Indian alphabet and resemble those of the Nāsari² and Rādhānpur³ plates of Gōvinda III. The forms of the initial *i* in *na* (l 8), the rare *ṣh* in *nirjhara* (l 11), *th* in *yathā* (l 33) and of *ph* in *phalākī* (l 22) are noteworthy. The superscript *r* everywhere appears above the line, see *c g*, *indur=yathā* (l 15). The form of the superscript *ñ* is not different from that of *n*, see *chāñchalañ=cha* (l 50). A final consonant is generally indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of its vertical. The sign of *visarga* is in many places used as a mark of

¹ Above, Vol XXII, p 93² G H Khare—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marathi), Vol I, pp 16 f.³ Above, Vol VI, pp 239 ff

punctuation The language is Sanskrit The first thirty three lines and part of the thirty fourth, which contain the eulogistic portion, are in verse Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses The record ends with a line in prose which states the names of the writer and the *dūtaka* In respect of orthography we may note that (a) the consonant following *r* is in some cases doubled, e g, in *anyar=nnā*, l 8, *durmmārggam*, l 12, (b) one of the two similarly sounding members of a conjunct is often dropped, see e g, *rudhrā*, l 10, *matam* for *mattam*, l 12, *-valabhō* for *vallabhō*, l 14, (c) the final consonant is wrongly omitted in many places, see e g, *Pallavā*, l 11, (d) the final *n* is either dropped (e g, in *vidiā*, l 25) or changed to *anusvāra* as in *tasmim*, l 19, *ślimukhām*, l 23, etc, (e) the final *visarga* is omitted, in accordance with a *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36, in *Kaṇm ādha sthita*, l 7 and *vibhūṣitā sphutam*, l 18, etc, but wrongly in some cases, see e g, *pāda sutah*, l 15, (f) the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in many places (e g, *śriyam*, l 29) and *vice versā*, though rarely, as in *irih*, l 30, (g) *y* is used for *j* in *yēshthō*, l 6 and *vice versā* in *ālajya*, l 50, (h) *v* is used for *b* throughout (e g, *vānāsana*, l 23), and the palatal *ś* for the dental *s*, see e g, *śudūram*, l 13, and *vice versā* in *śia śarm īchehaya*, l 30 In one case the lingual sibilant takes the place of the palatal in *prāvēshya*, l 43 As instances of wrong sandhi may be cited *Vimdhya ādrēsh=katahē*, l 26, *pūraish=paraih*, l 27, *naralavāsō syāt*, l 57, etc

The plates were issued from Mayūrakhandī by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda (III), who is described in ll 34 35 as *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārūpādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* with the *brudas* the illustrious *Prithivīallabha*, the illustrious *Prabhūtararsha* and the illustrious *Vallabhanarēndra*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārūpādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Dhārāvarsha* The object of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village *Sīsava* together with the site of habitation in another named *Mōragana* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Bhādrapada in the cyclic year Vyaya in the (expired) Śaka year 729 (expressed in words only) This date corresponds to Saturday the 21st August A D 807, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated The cyclic year according to the southern luni solar system was, however, Sarajit and not Vyaya¹ The latter cyclic year can be connected with the expired Śaka year only by the so called northern luni solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,² was current in the south down to Śaka 855

The donated village was situated in the Mānaka *viskaya* and was bounded on the east by the village Haripura, on the south by Khairadī, on the west by Athakavāda and on the north by Lakhaiparī The donee was the illustrious Rasiyapabhatta of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, a religious student of the Rīgvēda, who was the son of Annasāvi bhatta and the grandson of Vishnu who had studied the four Vēdas He is described as a resident of Dhārīśiva and a member of the community of the *Chāturvīdyas* of that place The charter was written by Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja The *dūtaka* was the illustrious Jadavulabhatta

¹ If notwithstanding the wording *Śaka nripa lal atita*, etc, we take the Śaka year as current as proposed in some cases by Kielhorn (see *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, p 266) the date would correspond to the 1st September A D 806, on which day also there was a lunar eclipse Besides, the cyclic year was Vyaya, as required, according to the southern luni solar system, but as in all other dates of Gōvinda's reign the Śaka years cited are expired and the system followed is the so called northern luni solar system, I prefer to interpret the date as above

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, pp 268 269 The cyclic year mentioned in the Wani Dindōri plates also is Vyaya As we find the northern luni solar system used regularly in all other records of Gōvinda III, the same was in all probability adopted in the Wani Dindōri plates The expired Śaka year intended to be mentioned in that grant was, therefore, 729 as in the present plates, but the word *ekōna*² was inadvertently omitted before *trimsat* in l 46 of that record Or, the year 730 may be taken as current, notwithstanding the wording *Śaka nripa lal atita* The lunar eclipse which, on no hypothesis, occurred on the full moon day of Vaiśākha (see *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, p 11) was another mistake of the scribe The nearest lunar eclipse was that which occurred in the previous Phālguna

Unlike the earlier Parthan¹ and Añjanavati² plates the present plates contain a long description of the conquests of Gōvinda III. They do not, however, make any addition to our knowledge of the events in his reign as the draft followed here is identical with that used in the Rādhapur plates, the number of introductory verses being exactly the same. The earliest record in which this draft is known to have been adopted is the Mannē plates³ of Śaka 724 recording a grant of Gōvinda III's brother Śaueha Khambha (or Stambha). The draft continued to be used regularly in all the plates issued subsequently by Gōvinda III from his capital⁴. It was also generally used by the Governors of the Karnātaka. The longest form of this draft is that seen in the Nēsari plates where we find five verses (viz., vv 21-25) not occurring in any other grant. As shown below, the same draft is used in the Lōhārā grant. Its importance in fixing the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign will be discussed later on.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Śrībhavana has now been satisfactorily identified with Sarbhōn in the Broach District⁵. Vēngī, the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas, is too well known to need identification. I have elsewhere⁶ suggested an identification of Mayūrākhandī, the capital of Gōvinda III, different from the one originally proposed by Babler. Sisavai, the donated village, is evidently Sirso where the plates were discovered. Mōra-gana, which must have been situated in its vicinity, cannot now be traced. Its site may have been occupied by modern Mūrtizāpur. Mānaka which gave its name to the district in which the donated villages were situated is probably Mānā, a station on the Bombay Nagpur line of the G. I. P. Railway, 8 miles east of Mūrtizāpur. Most of the boundary villages mentioned in the present grant can still be identified in the neighbourhood of Sirso. Thus Haripura is undoubtedly modern Hirpur two miles to the east, Kharadē may be Kharbādī three miles to the south-east, and Athakavāda Atkalī about three and half miles to the west of Sirso. Lakhaipari is clearly Likhupuri five miles north of Sirso. Dhārāsiva, where the donee resided cannot be definitely identified, but may be Dhārur in the Ākōt talukā of the Akōlā District⁷.

TEXT⁸

[Metres Vv 1, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 28 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 6 and 9 *Vasantatilakā*, vv 3-5, 7, 8, 10-20 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 21 *Āryā*, vv 24 and 27 *Indravajrā*, v 29 *Śālinī*, v 30 *Pushpātigrā*]

First Plate

1 [ओ⁹ । स वी¹⁰] व्याघ्रधरा धाम य नाभि¹¹ कमल छात(तम्)[।*] हरश्च यस्य
कार्त्तिकेक्षया¹² कमलछात(तम्) ॥[१*] — —¹³ [भव]-

¹ Above, Vol III, p 105

² *Ibid*, Vol XXIII, pp 13 ff

³ *J p Carnatica*, Vol IX, Nelamangala Taluka inscriptions, p 51

⁴ It is not used in the British Museum plates and the Kndab plates but the former were granted not at the capital, but at the Rāmāśvra tīrtha on the Tungabhadra, and the latter are suspected to be spurious.

⁵ This identification first suggested by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indragi (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Part I, p 123) has been shown to be satisfactory by Dr Altekar (see his *Rashtrakūṭas* etc., pp 67-68).

⁶ Above Vol XXIII, pp 12 f

⁷ [Dhārāsiva may with greater probability be identified with the village of the same name (spelt Dharaseo in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas Plate 42) now changed to Osmanabad, the headquarters of the district of that name in the Nizam's Dominions, and famous for its caves described by Burgess in the *Arch Surv of Western India* Vol III (pp 4 ff)—N. L. R.]

⁸ From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink impressions kindly supplied by Mr Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Only faint traces of the *alsharas* in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

¹¹ Read यन्नाभि

¹² Read कर्त्तिक

¹³ Supply रूपी

- 2 [हृ(हृ)ह]दुर्स्थलराजमानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकारेणपगूढकण्ठ, [1*] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्र-
विनिर्जितारि[चक्रो]-
- 3 पक्ष्ण¹राजः [॥२*] पक्ष्णेदमयाशु(श्रि)ताखिलमहाभूमृत्कुलभ्राजितात्² दुर्मध्याद-
परैरनेकविमलभ्राजि[पुत्रा]-
- 4 न्वितात् [1*] यस्यालुक्कुलादनूनविबु(बु)धव्राताश्रयो वारिधेर्लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)भद्रवत्स-
लीलमचिरादाक्षेष्टवान्वस्रमः [॥३*] तस्या-
- 5 भूत(त्त)नयः प्रतापविसरैराकृत³दिग्गण्डलखण्डाशो[1*] शष्टशोप्यचण्डकरताम्रह्लादित-
प्सातल[1*] धीरो धैर्यधनी विप-
- 6 [क्षव]नितावक्त्रावु(बु)जश्रीचरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिश दिग्भायिकाभिर्भित⁴
[॥४*] येष्टो⁵लघनजातया[प्यस]लया
- 7 प्यमलया⁶लक्ष्या समेतोपि सन्धोभून्निर्मलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न कचित् [1*]
कण्णधस्थितदान[सततिसृ]-
- 8 तो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दा[न]⁷ वीक्ष्य सुलजि(ज्जि)ता इव दिशा प्राते स्थिता
दिग्ग[जा]: [॥५*] अन्यैर्न जातु विजित गुरुश-
- 9 क्षिसारमाक्रातभूतलमन(न)न्यसमानमान(नम्) [1*] येनेह वध(वध)सवलोक्य
चिरा[य गंग(गम्) ॥⁸ दूर खनिग्रहमि-
- 10 येव कलिः प्रयातः [॥६*] एकनात्मव(व)लेन वारिनिक्षिप्ता(ना)प्यन्यत्र रुद्धा-
(ह्वा) धनं ⁹ निष्कष्टोसिभटोद्धतेन विहरद्ग्राह्यतिभीमेन च ।
- 11 मातंगान्मदवारिनिर्भरमुचः प्राप्यान्न(न)तात्पल्लवा[त्*] तच्चिन्न मदलेशमप्यनुदिन
य स्पृष्टवा¹⁰ न कचित् [॥७*] हेल्लाश्वी(स्वो)ल-
- 12 तगौडवाप्यकमलामतं(त्त) प्रवेश्याचिरात् दुर्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(त्र)लैर्यो वत्स-
राज व(व)लै [1*] गौडीय शरदीदु¹¹पा-

¹ The writer has omitted seven *aksharas* here by haplography as his eye caught only the second of the two
occurring word कण्ण Read °पक्ष्णचरितो सुवि कण्णराज

² Read भ्राजिताद

³ Read °प्राक्रान्त-

⁴ Read धृतम्

⁵ Read न्येष्टोल्लघन-

⁶ These four *aksharas* are redundant

⁷ The *anusvara* is redundant

⁸ The engraver at first cut न् and afterwards cancelled the subscript य्

⁹ Mark of punctuation superfluous

¹⁰ Read स्पृष्टवान्

¹¹ Read शरदिदु-

- 13 दधवल च्चत्र¹दय केवल ।² तस्माना(न्ना)[ह्र]त तद्यशोपि ककुभा प्राते
स्यता(त) तच्चणा(त्सुम्) ।[15*] लव्य(व्य)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं शु(सु)-
दूरम्(सु)-
- 14 च्छा(त्सा)र्यं शुध(ह)चरितैर्द्वरणीतलस्य [1*] क[त्वा] पुन[ः*] कतयुनाः(गा)श्रु(श्र)यम-
प्यशेष चिचं कथ निरुपमं कलिवल(क्त)भोभूत् ।[16*] प्राभूचै(है)र्यव-
- 15 तस्ततो निरुपमादिदुर्यया वारिधेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोनत³शिरःसक्तपाद[ः*]
सुतः ॥(1) पञ्चानन्दकार⁴प्रतपस⁵हि-
- 16 तो नित्योदयः खोजतेः पूर्वार्द्धेखि भागुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराज[ः*] ⁶सता ।
[170*] यस्मि⁷ सा(स)र्व्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्री-

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 राक्ष्मूटाच्यो जाते⁸ यादववश्वन्⁹धुरिपावसीद[ल]घ्यः परे [1*] दृष्टाशव¹⁰धयः
कता[ः*] म्यु(सु)श(स)दृष्टा दानेन येनो[ह्र]ता
- 18 सुक्ताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिना(नाम्) ।[119*] यस्याकारमभागुधं
तृ(त्रि)भुवनव्यापति(त्ति)रचोपित कण्ठस्येव निरोक्ष्य यच्छति
- 19 पितै(त)र्यैकाधिपत्य भुवः [1*] आस्ता¹¹ तात तवैतदप्रतिहता द्ता(त्ता) त्वया
कण्ठिका कि नाज्ञेव मया दृतेति पितर युक्तं वचो योभ्यधात् [112*]
तस्मि¹²
- 20 ¹³[स्मि]र्गविभूषणाय जनके जा(या)ते यशःशेषतां¹⁴मेकीभूय समुद्यतां¹⁵ वसुमतीस-
हारमाधिच्छया¹⁶ [1*] विच्छयां¹⁷ सहसा व्यधत(त्त) नृपतीने-

¹ Read कृत्र-

² Danda superfluous

³ Read परमेश्वरोनत-

⁴ It would be better to read पञ्चानन्दकार प्रतप- as in the Rādhanpur plates

⁵ स which was first omitted is written below the line

⁶ What looks like an *anusvāra* on *sa* may be due to a fault in the plate

⁷ Read यस्मिन्

⁸ The engraver at first cut तो but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial आ

⁹ Read वश्वन्मधु-

¹⁰ य which was at first omitted, is written below the line

¹¹ The *anusvāra* here is a little displaced

¹² Read तस्मिन्

¹³ The engraver first cut स्मि which he afterwards tried to change into स् without cancelling the curve for medial : and the *anusvāra* Read स्वर्ग-

¹⁴ The *anusvāra* is redundant

¹⁵ Read समुद्यता ।

¹⁶ Read माधिस्य

¹⁷ Read विच्छयायान्

- 21 को[पि] यो द्वादश ¹ ख्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरै[ः*] संवर्तकोर्कानिव ।
[1१३*] येनात्यतदयानुनाथ निगडल्लेभादपाश्यायतात्² ख देश
- 22 गमितोपि दर्पविसरायः प्रातिकु(क्)ले स्थित [1*] यावं न³ भुगुटी लला-
[ट*]फलके यस्योन(त्र)ते लक्ष्यते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद(द्व)द्व[*] स
- 23 गगः पुनः ।[1१४*] सधायाशु श्री(शि)लीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(द्वा)णसनस्योपरि
प्राप्त वर्धितव(व)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिहृध्या(ध्या)न्वित(तम्)[1*] संन⁴चनमुदी-
- 24 ह्य य शरद्वतुं पर्जन्यवहूर्जरो नष्ट[ः*] कापि भय(या)त(त्त)था न ससर
स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा [1१५*] यत्पादानतिसात्रकौकशरणाभा-
- 25 लोक्य लक्ष्मिं(र्क्षीं) निजा दूरां⁵भालवनायको नयपरो यं प्राणमप्राजलि. [1*]
को विद्वान्[न*] व(व)लिनो(ना) सहाय्यव(व)लकः स्र्द्धां वि[ध*]ते(त्ते) परां
- 26 नीतिस्त्वधि(द्धि) फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिक्यसवेदनं(नम्) [1१६*] विध्याद्रे⁶कटके
निविष्टकटकां श्रुत्वा चरैर्य(यं) निजै[ः*] खं देश समुपा-
- 27 गत ध्रु[व]मिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरित[ः*] माराश्वर्ममहीपतिर्द्रुतमगादप्राप्तपूर्वे⁷परैः
यस्येच्छामगुल्लया¹⁰ कुलधनैः पा-
- 28 दौ प्रणामैरपि ।[1१७*] नीत्वा श्रीमवने ¹¹धनो धनधनव्यासाव(व)रं प्रावृष
तस्मादागतव(वान्) समं निय(ज)व(व)लैरातुंगमद्रात-
- 29 ट(टम्) [1*] [त]त्रस्य[ः*] ¹²स्वकारस्थितामपि पुनः निश्चेष्ट¹³माकृष्टवा विक्षेपैरपि
चित्रमानतरिपुर्यः पल(ल्ल)वाना श्रुय(श्रियम्) [1१८*] लेखाहारमुखो-
- 30 दिताद्व(र्द्ध)वचसा ¹⁴यज्ञैत्य वे(वे)गीश्वरो नित्यं की(कि)कारवक्ष्यवादविरत(तं)
कर्म ख(स्व)स(श)र्मेच्छया [1*] वाद्याली[त्रि](ह)तिरस्य येन रचिता व्ये(व्यो)-

¹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous

² Read °दपाश्यायतात्

³ Read यावन्न

⁴ Read सन्नचन-

⁵ नि which was first omitted is written below the line

⁶ The *anusāra* is superfluous

⁷ प which was first omitted is written below

⁸ Read विध्याद्रे कटके

⁹ Read पूर्व परैर्ये

¹⁰ Read °मगुल्लयन्

¹¹ Read चनाधनधनव्यासावरं as in the Rādhānpur plates

¹² ख which was first omitted is incised below

¹³ Read नि श्रेयमाकृष्टवान्

¹⁴ The engraver at first cut द्य but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial द्या.

- 31 साग्रलब्धत्वाच्चद्राचै(त्रौ) सौक्तिकमास्तिकासिव धृता मूर्धस्वतारागणैः [॥१८६] सचा-
सात्परचक्रराजकमयात(त्त)त्पूर्वसेवा-
- 32 विधिव्याव(व)क्षालिशोभितेन शरणं सूधा(ध्री) यदह(ह्रि)द्वयं(यम्) [१*] यद्य-
दत्तं प[रा]द्विभूषणगणैना(र्ना)ल्लघत तत(त्त)या मा भैषी-
- 33 रिति सत्यपालितयशःस्थित्या यथा तन्निरा [॥२०६] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)लम-
वलोक्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [१*] चित्तिदा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 नपरमपुण्य[१*] प्रवर्तितो ब्र(व्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) [॥२१*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरम(मे)श्वरश्रीमहारावर्षदे-
- 35 वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीसप्रभूतवर्षश्रीवल्लभन-
रेद्रदे-
- 36 व[१*] कुशलो सर्वानिव यथास(स)[व१]ध्यमानक(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटा-
युक्ताका(क)नियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्त(त्त)-
- 37 रादो[न्] समादिशत्यु^३ व[१*] संविदितं(तम्) । यथा श्रीमयूरखण्डीसमा-
वासितेन मया सातापिचोरात्मनश्चैहिका-
- 38 सुभिक्षपुण्यशोभिद्वध(ह)ये ^१ धारासि^२वा[स्त]व्यतच्चातुर्विध्यसामान्य(न्य)कास्य(श्य)-
पसगोत्रव(व)हृचमत्र(त्र)ल्लचारि-
- 39 विष्णुचतुर्वेदपौत्राय अन्नसाविभट्टसुताय श्रीरिसियपमष्टाये माणकविधयातर्गतो
सौरगणग्रामधा-
- 40 नसमन्वितो^४ सीसवे^५ नाम, ग्राम[१*] तस्य चाधाटनानि पूर्वतः हरिपुरग्रामः
दक्षिणतः खैरडे पश्चिमतः अ-

^१ In the Rīdhanpur plates also the reading was =aruchad= but Kīelhorn proposed to amend it as =arachad= for reasons stated above, Vol VI, p 245, f n 1 I would read लग्राचद्राचौ सौक्तिकमास्तिकासिव धिष्टता, etc The Nom singular धृता which is evidently intended as an adjective of सौक्तिकमास्तिका shows that the latter also must have originally been in the Nom singular अचत्त is aorist, third person singular form of कृत् The intended sense is that the circular enclosure of the royal camp looked beautiful at night like a garland worn by clusters of stars

^२ Read यगृह्य

^३ Read समादिशति । अस्तु

^४ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous

Read धारासिध्वान्वय as in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhakā Mandala and Lōhūrā plates

^५ Read ससन्वित

^{*} What looks like a slanting stroke on the top of sa is an accidental scratch

TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR
A—SISAVAI GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA YEAR 729

22b



34

36

38

40

42

44

46

48

34

36

38

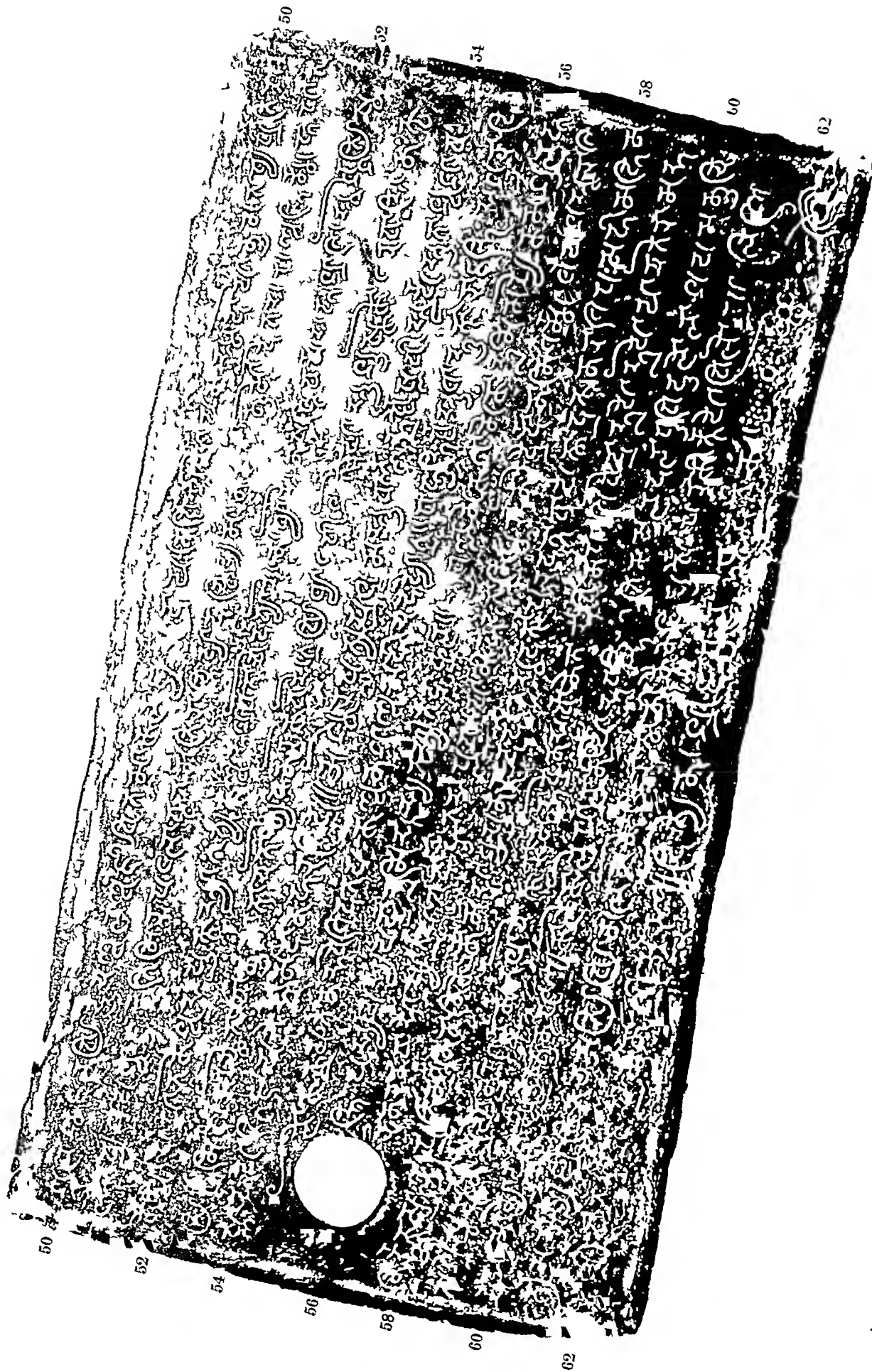
40

42

44

46

48



- 41 थकवाड उत(त्त)रत लखैपरियास एवमयः चतुराघाटोपलक्षितो ग्राम[¹]
सोद्वगः सपरी(रि)-
- 42 कर[²] सदादृष्टापरिध[³] सभूतोपात(त्त)प्रत्याय[⁴] शो(सो)त्यद्यमानविष्टिक[⁵]
सधात्य(न्य)हिरण्या-
- 43 देयो¹ अचाटभटप्रावेष्टा(श्य) सर्वरा[जकीयानामहस्त]प्रक्षेपणोय आचन्द्रार्कावर्णवक्षित-
सरित्प-
- 44 वर्तससकालोन[⁶] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य[⁷] पूर्वप्रत्तदेवना(व्रा)ह्म[दा]यरहित-
न(तो)भ्यतय(र)मिध्या(व्या) भूमिच्छि-
- 45 द्रव्यायेन शकनृपका[ला]तीतस(त्त)वर्ष(त्त)रस(श)तेषु सप्तपु(त्त) शून्यतृषत्यधिकेषु
व्य[य⁸]नाम्नि [सवत्सरे] [भा]द्र-
- 46 पदपौर्णमास्या सोमग्रहणपर्वणि व(व)लि[चर]वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक-
(क्रि)योत्स[र्प्य]णा-
- 47 धं ज्ञात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादि[तो]⁴ यतोस्योचितया व्र(व्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या
भुंजतो भोजयत
- 48 क्षपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदप्यपि परिपश्यना कार्या तथा-
गामिभद्रनृपति-
- 49 भिरभक्ष्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्य भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युक्लोलान्यनित्यैश्चर्याणि तृणा-

Third Plate

- 50 अलग्नजलवि(वि)दुचञ्चलञ्च जीवितमाकलज्य(य्य) सदायनिर्व्विसे⁵धोयमस्सदा(हा)यो-
नुमंतव्य[⁶] प्रतिपा-
- 51 ल[यि⁷]तव्यञ्च [1⁸] यथाज्ञानतिभिरपटलाहृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमान[क वा]-
हूमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्भक्षापात-
- 52 कैद्योपपातकैश्च सयुक्त[⁹] स्या⁶ इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [⁷] षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्रा(स्त्रा)णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठ
- 53 ति भूमिद¹ । आच्छेता(त्ता) चासुमा²ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२२³]
विध्याटवीश्व(ध्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटवासिनः [1⁴] क्ष-

¹ Read देयोचाट

² The engraver at first cut न and then changed it into व

³ Read एकीननिश्रदधिकेषु

⁴ Read प्रतिपादित, ।

⁵ Read निर्व्विशेषो

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उत्तमः

⁷ Read चासुमन्ता

- 54 एषाहयो हि जायते भूमिदानं हरति ये ॥[२३^{*}] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं
भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यभुताश्च गावः [1^{*}]
- 55 लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि (हि) दत्त (त) यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[२४^{*}] सुवर्ण-
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा युक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 56 मि [1^{*}] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥[२५^{*}] सुवर्ण-
मेकं गामेका भूमेस(र)प्येकमगुलं(लम्)[1^{*}] ह-
- 57 र नरकावासी स्यात् यावदाहु(सू)तसंभव(वम्) ॥[२६^{*}] यानीह दत्ता(त्ता)नि पुरा
नरेद्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1^{*}]
- 58 निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिसानि तानि को नाम साधु[?] पुनराददीत ॥[२७^{*}] स्वदत्ता
परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्वा नराधिप । महीं^३ सहिम्-
- 59 ता श्रेष्ठ दाना^४ श्रेयोनुपालनं(लम्) ॥[२८^{*}] तथा चीत्त रामभद्रेन(ण) ॥[^{*}]
सर्वानिता^५ भाविन[.] पार्थिवेन्द्रा^६ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
- 60 द्र[.] सामान्योय धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवन्ति ॥[२९^{*}]
इति कलदलावुविदुलोला श्रु(श्रि)यसमुच्चि-
- 61 त्व मनुष्यजीवित च [1^{*}] अतिविमलमगोभिरात्मनीनै(नं) हि पु[२९^{*}]वै[.]
परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[३०^{*}] लिखि-
- 62 त श्रीवत्सराजसूनुना श्रीअरुणादित्येन । श्रीजडबुलभट्टकृतं ॥^७

B.—Lōhārā grant of Gōvinda III, Śaka Year 734

These also are three copper-plates, each measuring 10 6' in length and about 7 7" in breadth. The first two plates are thinner than the third. Though their total weight is exactly the same as that of the Sisavaṃ grant, they are smaller in length and larger in breadth than the latter. All the edges of the third plate and the proper right edge of the other two are raised, while the rest are flat. The first is inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides, but as the record ended about the middle of the outer side of the third plate, its lower portion measuring about 3 2" in breadth is blank. About 4" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 9" in diameter for the ring which joined it to the other plates of the set. The ring and the seal attached to it, though more substantial, resemble those of the Sisavaṃ grant. The seal contains a worn out figure of Garuda larger in size, but otherwise of the same type as that of the Sisavaṃ grant described above. The plates weigh 213 tolas and the ring and the seal together 86 tolas.

¹ The engraver first cut क and then changed it into त

² Read एरन नरकावासी

³ Read सानेतां

⁴ The punctuation mark is followed here by several dots and an ornamental figure indicating completion of the record

⁵ Read महीं

⁶ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रा

⁷ Read दानाच्छेदो?

⁸ Read कलदलावुविदु

The seal contains a worn out figure of Garuda larger in size, but otherwise of the same type as that of the Sisavaṃ grant described above.

The plates are generally in a state of good preservation. Only a few letters at the end of lines 7-14 have been completely damaged by rust and two letters, one in the beginning of line 24 and the other at the end of line 40, have been lost on account of the subsequent widening of the hole for the ring, but these can be easily supplied from cognate records. There are seventy-two lines in all, of which sixteen occur on each inscribed surface except the second side of the second and third plates which have fifteen and nine lines respectively. The letters are deeply engraved, but do not show through on the back of the plates. Their average size is 3". The characters are of the North Indian alphabet. As we shall see below, the writer of the present record is stated to be Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who, as stated above, was also the writer of the Sisavai grant, but to judge from the formation of letters, the present inscription seems to have been actually written by a different person. We do not, for instance, find here any ornamentation of the *mātrās* such as that noted above in the case of the Sisavai plates. The formation of several letters, again, is different. The stroke for medial *u* is not round as in the other inscription and is added not at the lower end of the vertical stroke but a little above, see *urhad-ura* and *upula* both in l 2. The forms of *i*, *ih* (whether independent or subscript), *v*, *ś*, the subscript *n* of the conjunct *nn* and the final *t* are considerably different from those occurring in the earlier record, see *eg*, *ua* (l 10), *katham* (l 16) and *pratyartkhnō* (l 21), *viniryt* (ll 2 3), *sadrīsō-* (l 6), *larnn ādha* (l 9) and *bhīājūtāl* (l 3). *R* as the first member of the conjunct *rya* does not rise above the line but appears as a horizontal stroke to the left at the top, see *dhairya* (ll 6 and 16), *°m=utsārya* (l 15), etc. The language is Sanskrit and like the previous record the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. It shows many of the orthographical peculiarities noticed in connection with the previous record and though not altogether free from orthographical and other kinds of mistakes is, on the whole, more correctly written than the latter.

The plates were granted by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III, residing at Mayūra-khaṇḍī. His genealogy, titles and *brūdas* are identical with those in the previous record. In fact the text of the whole inscription, with the exception of the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the *dūtaka*, the date and some minor details and with the omission of seven verses three of them being from the eulogistic portion,¹ generally agrees with that of the Sisavai grant edited above. The object of the present inscription is to record the royal gift of the village Lōhārā in the Murumba district to Bhatta Rishiyappa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was a religious student of the Rīgvēda, the son of Annamabhatta and the grandson of Bhatta Māsōpavāsīn. He is described as residing at Dhārāsiva and belonging to the community of the Traividyaś of that place. The donated village was bounded on the east by the smaller Lōhārā village, on the south by two villages² named Mudupa, on the west by the villages Pipparikā and Mārurika and on the north also by two villages Sāmaripalla and Khēda. It is also recorded that Rishiyappa, reserving 400 *nivartanas* of the land in the afore mentioned village for himself, divided (the revenue of the remaining land) into 120 parts of which he assigned sixty to Mādhava, Śrīdhara, Dōdhāma, Aghakuti and others and the remaining sixty to Lōkabhatta, Śrīdhara Dikshita, Madhuka Dvivēdin, Prīhivibhatta and others. These transactions took place on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīrsha in the expired Śaka year 734 (expressed in words only). No cyclic year is mentioned in the grant. We find that in the expired Śaka year 734 there was a solar eclipse on the previous day which was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīrsha was current at sunrise of and therefore civilly connected with the next day, Tuesday the 9th November, A.D. 812,

¹ These are vv 7, 16 and 17 of the Sisavai grant

² These were probably the smaller (*laghu*) and the larger (*bṛihat*) Mudupa

which is thus the date of the present plates.¹ The charter was written by Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja. There were two *dātakas* Chandiyamma and Vayama.

It will be noticed that the donee of the present plates is, in spite of slight discrepancies in his description, identical with that of the Sisavai grant. He is also the donee of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaṅga Mandala plates² of Gōvinda III. The villages³ mentioned in the plates were, therefore, not unlikely to be some place in Berār. The villages³ mentioned in the plates were, therefore, probably situated somewhere in Berār, not very far from Sirso (Sisavai of the previous plates) where he or his descendants seem to have lived, and not in distant Gujarāt as surmised by the editor of the above plates. It may also be noted that Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who is mentioned as the writer of this grant whether he actually wrote it or not, figures in that capacity in five other sets of plates, viz., the Nēsari plates⁴ of Śaka 726, the Wanī Dindōri plates⁵ of Śaka 730 (for the expired Śaka 729), the Sisavai grant of Śaka 729, the Bahulāwād plates of Śaka 732 (for the expired Śaka 731)⁶ and the B I S M plates of Śaka 732. He was also probably the writer of the incomplete Rādhānpur plates of Śaka 730, judging by the writing on them which resembles that on the Nēsari and the Sisavai plates. He was thus the official writer in Gōvinda III's secretariat at least from Śaka 726 to Śaka 734.

Having disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the historical information furnished by it. The charters granted by Gōvinda III fall into two main groups. Under the first of these come the Paithan plates of Śaka 716 and the Añjanavati plates of Śaka 722. The second group includes almost all the rest.⁷ The draft of the genealogical and eulogistic portion adopted in the two grants of the first group consists for the most part of old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the earlier records of Dantidurga, Krishna and Dhruva. To the glorification of the reigning king, the draft devotes only two verses which mention no historical event except that he obtained the kingdom from his father in supersession of his brothers. No exploits of Gōvinda III,—not even his victory over the twelve kings headed by

¹ [There are instances of the *tithi* which commenced some time after sunrise being cited as the current *tithi* (See e.g., Nos 215 and 269 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918, whose dates have been calculated by the late Mr. Sivamikanu Pillai on pages 84 and 85 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1919.) It is, therefore, not necessary to take Tuesday the 9th November A.D. 812 as the date of the record for, the *pratiṭṭhita tithi* commenced at 5½ *ghaṭikas* after sunrise on the previous Monday which was also the day of the eclipse. The latter, viz., A.D. 812 November 8 Monday may thus be the date of this charter.—N. L. R.]

² These plates were first noticed by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in the *Journal of Indian History* for 1925, pp. 100 f. and subsequently edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27 f. The grandfather of Rishiyappa is called Vishnu in the present record, but Annasāvi (not Sannasāvi) as Mr. Khare has read in the B I S M plates) in the other two records. Rishiyappa is said to belong to the community of the Chāturvīdhas in the Sisavai grant, but to that of the Traivīdhas in the other two records. His name, *gōtra*, *Vāda* and place of residence (which both Mr. Gupte and Mr. Khare seem to have incorrectly read as *Vārāsiva*) are the same in all the records.

³ The plates record the grant of the village Daṣapura which was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountain. This is likely to be Dasur in the Ellichpur tahsil of the Akōlā District, situated only two miles to the south of the Sātpurā hills which were in ancient times called Vindhya. Some of the places mentioned in the grant can still be traced in the vicinity of Dasur. Thus Lādāvalikā, Pūmparīkī and Khēda of the grant are probably modern Ghat lādī, Pūmpri and Khed in the neighbourhood of Dasur. The Ambili *kuṇḍa* at which the king bathed before making the grant was probably a *kuṇḍa* at the source of the holy river Payōshpī (modern Pūrpā) not far from Dasur.

⁴ G. H. Khare—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁵ *Id. Int.*, Vol. XI, p. 160.

⁶ *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 13 f.

⁷ The only exceptions so far known are the British Museum and the Kaḍab plates, for which see above, p. 206.

Stambha and the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Ganga king, events which we know happened soon after his accession¹—are alluded to. And this is but natural, for that draft is found used as early as Śaka 716, within a year of his father's death. When it was prepared, none of the afore mentioned disturbances may have occurred. The same draft is again used in the Añjanavati plates issued six years later, without adding any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's achievements. It would scarcely be correct to infer from this that these six years in the beginning of Gōvinda's reign were altogether uneventful. At least the revolt of Stambha and the Ganga prince and their subsequent defeat must have happened during this interval,² but for some reason or other we find Gōvinda using the same old draft even in his Añjanavati plates. Only two years later in Śaka year 724 we find his brother Stambha issuing his Manne plates³ with his consent. Here we find for the first time the other draft describing the brilliant exploits of Gōvinda III,—his victory over twelve kings, the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Ganga prince, the complete rout of the Gūrjara and the submission of the Mālava king, the presentation of the choicest heir looms to him by Mārāśarva, his stay at Śrībhavana during the rainy season and his subsequent march to the bank of the Tungabhadra, the despoilment of the fortune of the Pallavas, the humiliation of the lord of Vēngī and finally the submission of the enemy's feudatories. It is incredible that all these events or even a majority of them occurred during the brief period of two years from Śaka 722 to Śaka 724. We have, therefore, to suppose either that the Manne plates are spurious or that some of these events occurred even before Śaka 722, the date of the Añjanavati plates. The first of these two alternatives will appear more plausible to the historian who knows the abundance of spurious records of this period in Mysore, to which Fleet has called attention.⁴ Again, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any record before Śaka 730, in which year we find it adopted in the Wani-Dindori⁵ and Rādhapur plates. Besides, one of the events mentioned in that draft, viz., Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king, seems to have occurred only a short time before Śaka 726 in which year he granted the British Museum plates while he was encamped on the bank of the Tungabhadra after levying tribute on the Pallava king. How then can that event be referred to in the Manne plates issued two years earlier?² To add to these suspicious circumstances, the date of the above mentioned Manne plates, though Sewell has declared it to be sound,⁶ appears to be irregular. The grant purports to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the asterism being Pushya in the expired Śaka year 724. Sewell takes this as equivalent to the 13th November A D 802. He, therefore, evidently takes the lunar eclipse to be that which occurred on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrsha. But the asterism on that *tithi* was Rōhinī and not Pushya. One is therefore naturally led to conclude that the plates are spurious. As stated above, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any genuine record before Śaka 730. It was, of course, known from the British Museum plates that Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king had occurred before Śaka 726, but as his other exploits have not been mentioned in any genuine record dated before Śaka 730, Dr. Altekar in his history of the

¹ See e.g., v. 12 of the present grant.

² I do not now hold the view which I previously advocated from the mention of Chākīrāja as *dūta* in the Añjanavati plates that the revolt of Stambha must have taken place after Śaka 722 (or A D 800), see above, p. 11.

³ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX (Nelamangala), p. 51.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 204 and 212.

⁵ The date of the Wani-Dindori plates is more likely to be the expired Śaka year 729 as shown above, p. 205, n. 2.

⁶ 'These plates have a sound date, naming the eclipse of the moon on the day stated'—Sewell in *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Ariyagar), p. 33. My attention to this apparent irregularity was drawn by Dr. Altekar.

words like *Māṅgaśūsha-paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the record ¹ As for the discrepancy of the *nal śatā* Pushya not being current at the time of the eclipse as mentioned in the record, it can be explained by supposing that though the grant was made at the lunar eclipse the plates were actually issued four days later when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya Analogous instances in justification of this explanation can be easily cited from the records of the period ² There are, thus, no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Manne plates of Śaka 724 to be genuine All the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem, therefore, to have been made during the first seven or eight years of his reign

It seems that soon after Gōvinda III's accession the twelve kings headed by Stambha rose in revolt against him Gōvinda released the Ganga prince apparently to create a rival in the Karnāṭaka to his rebellious brother, but as he seems to have joined Stambha and his allies, Gōvinda III defeated them all and put the Ganga prince into fetters again The ease and rapidity with which these victories were attained are graphically described in two stanzas included in all records of the second group ³ These operations could not have taken more than two years (Ś 716 and 717) after his accession The next four or five years seem to have been occupied by his campaigns in the Northern and Central India at the end of which ⁴ his son was born in *circa* Ś 721 In Āshādha of the next year we find him again at his capital Mayūrakhandī, issuing his Añjanavāṭī plates Engrossed in planning and fighting wars as he was during all these years, he had apparently no time to think of getting a new draft prepared for the plates which he issued in that year His expedition against the southern kings ⁵ may have occurred in Ś 722 and 723 At the end of it when his position was supreme both in the north and in the south, he seems to have caused a new draft descriptive of all his important conquests to be prepared which we find him adopting in all his later charters This draft is composed in an ornate *lāvya* style recalling, as Kielhorn has shown, ⁶ 'many expressions and poetical devices' used in the works of Bāna and Subandhu Noticing the king's predilection for it, his governors in the Karnāṭaka also seem to have adopted the same draft in their charters issued during his lifetime

If the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign as stated above is correct, his son Amōghavarsha must have been a fairly grown up youth of about sixteen, when he ascended the throne in *circa* Śaka 736 In that case the statement in the Sanjān plates ⁷ that Gōvinda III went to heaven, because he felt sure that his son was able to bear the burden of the three worlds, need not be taken as exaggerated Amōghavarsha I, must, therefore, have been nearly eighty at the time of his death

¹ See the wording of the grant—'चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरेषु समशतेषु शक्रवर्षेषु समतीर्तत्वात्मन प्रवक्ष्यामि विजयविजय[य]स्य सत्तरे मात्यपुरमधिवासति विजयस्त्राणावारे सोमग्रहणे पुष्यनक्षत्रे शुभलक्ष्णे'

² As shown above, the present plates were issued a day after the solar eclipse [See note 1 on p 214 —Ed] We may also note that the date of the Manne plates (second set) द्वाविंशदुत्तरैष्वतीतिषु समशतेषु शक्रवर्षेषु

दीपमासपौर्णमास्या सोमग्रहणे सोमवारे पुष्यनक्षत्रे According to S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* the lunar eclipse occurred on the *tithi* mentioned in the grant, but the week day was Saturday and the asterism Punarvasu It seems, therefore, that the plates were issued two days later on Monday when the asterism was Pushya as required

³ See *eg*, vv 12 and 13 of the present grant

⁴ See v 24 of the Sanjān plates, above, Vol XVIII, p 246

⁵ Two of these, the Pallava king and the lord of Vēṅgi are mentioned in the present record The kings of Kērala, Pāṇḍya, Chōla and other countries are mentioned in verses 21 23 of the Nēsari and v 32 of the Sanjān plates

⁶ See notes to his translation of the Rādhanpur plates, above, Vol VI, pp 246 250.

⁷ V 25, above, Vol XVIII, p 246

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, Vēngī, Śrībhavana and Mayūra-khandī have already been noticed Lōhārā, the donated village may be modern Lōhārā about 8 miles to the west of Kārañjā in the Murtizāpur tālukā Murumba, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated, may be Murambi, 3 miles south east of Lōhārā Of the boundary villages only two can be traced at present Mudupa may be Māndav, 3 miles to the south and Pīpparikā modern Pimpalgāon 4 miles to the east of Lōhārā The other villages cannot be identified

TEXT¹

[Metres Vv 1, 19 22 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 6 and 8 *Vasantatilakā*, vv 3 5, 7, 9 17 *Sardūlavikrīḍita*, v 18 *Āryā*, v 23 *Pushpātāgrā*]

First Plate

- 1 ओम्²[१^{*}] स बोव्यावेधसा धाम यनाभि³कमलं क्षतं(तम्) । हरेष्व यस्य
कातेदुकलया कमलक्षतं(तम्) ।[१^{*}] भूपीभ-
- 2 वह(वृ)हदुस्त्रलराजमानश्रोकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपभूढकाण्ड. [१^{*}] सत्यान्वितो विपुल-
चक्रविनिर्जि-
- 3 तारिचक्रोप्यलयाचरिते(तो) भुवि क्षणराजः [१२^{*}] पञ्चदमयाश्रु(त्रि)ताखिलमहा-
भूष्टकुलभ्राजितात्⁴
- 4 दुर्लभ्यादपरैरनेकविभलभ्राजिष्णुरक्षान्वितात् [१^{*}] यथापुत्रकुलादनुविबु(वु)धव्राता-
श्रयो
- 5 वारिधेः सखीं मंदवत्सलीलसचिरादाक्षयवा(वान्) वल्लभः ।[१३^{*}] तस्याभूतनयः
प्रतापविसरै-
- 6 राक्षसादिदण्डलक्षणाशोः सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रज्ञादितक्षातलः [१^{*}] धीरो धैर्यधनो
- 7 विपक्षवनितावक्रावु(वु)जश्रीहरो हारीक्षत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिक्षा[यिकाभिर्धृत⁵]
[१४[†]][ज्ये]-
- 8 छोलघनजातयाप्यसख्या लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सन्धोभूनिर्मलमण्डल[स्थिति⁵]-
- 9 युतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित् [१^{*}] कर्णाधस्थितदानसततिभृतो यस्यान्य[दानाधि⁵]-
- 10 क(क) दान वीक्ष्य सुलज्जिता एव दिशां प्राप्ति स्थिता दिग्गजाः [१५^{*}]
अन्यैर्न जातु
- 11 विजितु(त) गुरुशक्तिसारनाक्रान्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नम्)[१^{*}] येनेह व(व)[हमव-
लोक्य चिराय⁵]

¹ From the original plates The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink impressions kindly taken by Mr Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read यनाभि-

⁴ Read भ्राजिताद्

⁵ Only faint traces of some of the *aksharas* in the brackets can be seen on the plate

- 12 गग दूर खनिग्रहमित्येव कलि प्रयातः ।[१६^{*}] हेलाखीकृतगौडराज्यका ८ —
— ८ — ८¹
- 13 चिरात्² दुर्भार्गमरुमध्यमप्रतिव(व)लैर्यौ वत्सराजं व(व)लै [१^{*}] गौडोय शर — ८
— ८ ८ ८³
- 14 ल छत्रवय केवल तस्यान्नाहत तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्राते स्थित तत्क्षणात् ॥
[७^{*}] — ८ — ८⁴ छ-
- 15 मचिराय कलि सुदूरमुत्सार्य शुद्धचरितैर्द्वैरणीतलस्य [१^{*}] कृत्वा पुनः क्षतयुग(गा)-
श्रु(श्र)य-
- 16 मध्यशेषां(षं) चिन्न कथं निरुपम कलिवल्लभोभूत् ।[१८^{*}] प्रामूढैर्यवतस्ततो
निरुपमा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 दिदुर्यथा वारिधेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःससक्तपादः सुतः । पद्मानन्दक-
- 18 र⁵प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोन्नतेः पूर्वाद्रेरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविदरा-
- 19 जः सता(ताम्) ।[१८^{*}] यस्मि⁶ सर्वश्रुत्याश्रये जितिपतौ श्रीराङ्गकूटान्वयो जाते
यादववश-
- 20 वन्मधुरिपावासीदलघ्यः परैः [१^{*}] दृष्टाशावधयः कृतास्सुसदृशा दानेन येनो-
- 21 क्षता सुक्ताहाराविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां(नाम्) [११०^{*}] यस्याकार-
ममानुष वृ(चि)-
- 22 भुवनव्यापत्तिरक्षोचित(त) क्षणस्येव निरोच्य यच्छति पितर्येकाधिपत्यं भुव⁷ [१^{*}]
आस्ता तात
- 23 तवैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्डिका कि नाज्ञेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्तं
वचो यो-
- 24 ८⁸धात् [१११^{*}] तस्मि⁹ स्वर्गविभूषणाय जनके याते यशःशेषतामेकोभूय¹⁰ स-
- 25 सुव्यतान्वसुमती¹⁰ सङ्हारमाधितया [१^{*}] वित्ताया¹¹ सङ्घसा व्यधत्त नृपतीने-
- 26 कोपि यो द्वादश ख्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरैः[*] सर्वतर्को[र्क्षा]निव¹² ॥ [१२^{*}]
येनात्यंतदया-

¹ Restore °मलामस प्रवेष्टा°

⁴ Restore लम्प्रति°

⁶ Read यस्मिन्

⁸ The lost letter is श्र

¹¹ Read विष्णवाय

² Read °चिराद्

⁵ It would be better to read पद्मानन्दकर-

⁷ The *anuvāsa* is superfluous

⁹ Read तस्मिन्

³ Restore °दिदुपादधव°

¹⁰ Read वसुमतीसङ्घार-

- 27 लुनाय निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात्क्व' देश गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्य' प्रातिकूल्ये स्थि-
 28 तः [1*] यावंन¹ सुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते लक्ष्यते विज्ञेयेण विजित्य तावदचि-
 29 राक्ष(व)हः स गंगः पुनः ।[1१३*] संधायाय शिक्तीमुखा(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(वा)-
 णासनस्थोपरि प्राप्त
 30 वृद्धितव(व)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिद्वध्या(ध्या)न्वितं(तम्) [1*] सन्नन्नसुदीक्ष्य यं ग्रह-
 [तुं प]जन्त्यव-
 31 मूर्जरो नष्ट(ष्टः) क्वापि भयात्तथा न समर स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥[१४*] नीत्वा
 श्रीभवने धनाधन-
 32 धनव्यासांव(व)रा प्राहप तस्मादागतवा(वान्) समं निजव(व)लेरातुंगभद्रातटं तत्र-
 स्थ[ः स्वक]र-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 33 स्थि[ता]मपि पुनर्निश्चेपमाकटवा(वान्) विज्ञेयेरपि चिन्नमानतरिपुर्वः पक्षवानां श्रु-
 य(श्रियम्) ।[१५*]
 34 लेखाहारमुखोदितार्द्धवचसा यत्रेत्य वेगोश्वरो नित्य किंकरवध्यधादविरत कर्म
 35 स्वशर्मेच्छया [1'] बाह्यालीढतिरस्य येन रचिता व्योमाग्रलङ्कारचत्² रात्रौ मोक्ति-
 कसा-
 36 लिङ्गाभिष धृता मूर्धस्थतारागणैः ।[१६*] सचाभात्यरचक्रराजकमगात्तत्पूर्वसेवावि-
 37 धि'व्यावडांजलिशोभितेन ग्रहणं नाक्षा³ यट⁴हृदय(यम्) [1*] यद्यदत्तपरार्धभूषण-
 गणै-
 38 नीलकण्ठं तत्तथा ना भैषीरिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्या यथा तद्विरा ॥[१७*]
 तेनेदम-
 39 निलविद्युच्चञ्चलभवलीक्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [1*] चित्तिदानपरमपुण्य प्रवर्तितो
 ब्र(ब्र)ह्म-
 40 दायोयं(यम्) ।[१८*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-श्रीधारा[व*]-
 41 र्पदेवपादात्तुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-श्री-
 42 मन्त्रभूतवर्णपृष्ठवीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानेव यथा सव(व)-
 43 ध्यमानकान्नाद्रप्रतिविषयपतिग्रामभूटायुक्ताकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकामह-

¹ Read यावन्न

² °सचद

³ मौलिकमालिकेव विष्टता See above, p 210, n 1

⁴ Read विधिव्यावडा°.

⁵ Read मूर्धा

⁶ Read यदङ्गि

TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR
B—LOHARA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA YEAR 734.

11a

18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32

18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32

11b.

34
36
38
40
42
44
46

34
36
38
40
42
44
46

48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62

48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62

64

66

68

70

72

64

66

68

70

72

- 44 त्तरादो(दीन्) समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) । यथा मयूरखण्डोसमावासि-
तेन म-
45 या श्रीमहादेव्या ध्वा¹ विज्ञप्तिकया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकासुप्तिकपुण्ययशोभिषयै ॥²
46 [धा]राशिववास्तव्यत³चैविद्यसामान्यकाश्यपसगोत्रव(व)हृचसत्र(त्र)ह्यचारिणे भट्टमा[सो]-
पवा-
47 सिषौ[त्रा]य अण्णमभट्टसुताय भट्टरिषिअप्पाय सुख्ख(ख)विषयप्रतिव(व)वल्लोहारा-

Third Plate, First Side

- 48 ग्रामः कीलद्रङ्ग[क—ररी⁴]कसमन्वित⁵ तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः लघुलोहाराग्राम-
49 : दक्षिणत. सुदुपग्रामवय पश्चिम[त] पिप्परिकाग्रामः मारुरिकाग्रामश्च ।⁶
उत्त-
50 रत. सामरिपक्षग्रामखेडग्रामौ । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः रि-
51 षियप्पेनापि निवर्तनशतचतुष्टय(य)मालनिमि[त्तं] मान्यस्थित्या व(व)हृहृत्तत्वा(त्य)
माधवश्रीध-
52 रदो[धा]मअधकुटिदीक्षितप्रमुखाना पष्टिभागा[. ⁷] तथा लोकभट्टश्री[धर]दीक्षित-
मधुक-
53 द्विवेदिप्रथिविभट्टप्रमुखाना प(ष)ष्टिभागाः एव विंशोत्तरशत(तं) महाजनस्याहरणीकतः
सोद्वंगः स-
54 परिकारः सदण्डदशापराधः समूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सीत्यवमानविष्टिक सधोन्यहिरण्या-
देयः अचाट-
55 भट्टप्रावेश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय आचंद्रार्काण्यवक्षि-
56 तिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेव-
57 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मदायरहितोभ्यतरसिध्वा⁷ भूमिच्छिद्र⁸न्यायेन शकनृपकालातीतसवत्सरश-
58 तेषु सप्तसु चतुस्तृदधिकेषु⁹ मार्गशिर[.]शुद्धप्रतिपदि सूर्यग्रहणमहापर्वणि व-
(व)लिच-
59 रुवैश्य(श्च)देवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रयो¹⁰त्सर्पण्यं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गे-
60 ण प्रतिपादितः यतोस्योचितया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या भुजतो भोजयतः क्षयतः

¹ This *alshara* is redundant

² These *dandas* are superfluous

³ Read तत्तैविद्य-

⁴ The *alsharas* in the brackets appear to be incised subsequently in place of the original ones

⁵ Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous here

Read ⁷ सिद्धा

⁸ Read भूमिच्छिद्र

⁹ Read ऋदधिकेषु

¹⁰ Read क्रियोत्सर्पण्यं

The record consists of a single sheet of copper, engraved on both sides and contains 28 lines of writing, of which the first 24 occur on the first side. The last line on the reverse has a peculiarity, the original record had left a considerable blank space between its 13th *akshara* (with which the text proper terminates) and the enumeration of the date in figures and words at the end, this space was afterwards filled out by another hand with 21 *aksharas* out of which the last two could not be accommodated therein and were consequently inscribed lower down.

The language is Sanskrit. The text is partly in verse, partly in prose. There are a few mistakes due, no doubt, to the scribe, but these are of minor importance. The alphabet agrees more or less closely with Tafel V, columns XX-XXIII, in Buhler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

The object of the document is to record the grant of a village called *Gambhārī*, by the *Mahāmāndalikā* *Udayarāja* whose overlord was the king *Indradhavalā*, jointly to the Brahmins, *Dhārēśvara* and *Mahāditya* in the proportion of three to two. The interpolated portion of line 28—*upādhyāya Dhārēśvarāya panchahasya-bhūmī=datā Chuchuddaṇṇā grāmē*—seems intended to specify the apportionment so far as concerned *Dhārēśvara*, if so, the village must have been alternatively designated *Chuchuddaṇṇā*. The document (except this interpolated portion) was caused to be written by the Thakkura *śrī Sujana*, the *Akshapatalika*.

The record opens with an invocation to *Śiva* (ll 1-2). It then proceeds to set out, with suitable eulogia, the lineage of king *Indradhavalā* the founder of his family was *Khadirapāla* in whose lineage was born king *Sādhava*, from whom was born king *Ranadhavalā*, whose son was the king *Pratāpadhavalā*, whose son was the king *Śrī-Sāhasa*, whose son was the king *Śrī-Vikrama*, whose brother was the great king (*mahānripati*) *Indradhavalā*. The next enumeration (ll 12-16) appertains to the family of *Udayarāja* his descent is traced back to the *Kadambas*, in whose lineage was born *Samarasimha*, whose son *Praharāja* became the Prime Minister (*pradhāna-sachiva*) to the (unnamed) king of the line of *Khadirapāla*, his son, *Udayarāja*, was a feudatory (*mahāmāndalikā*) under *Indradhavalā*.

It is stated (ll 15-16) that *Udayarāja* was left 'in charge' while his overlord, king *Indradhavalā*, was engaged in sports, surrounded by women. Possibly, *Indradhavalā* was, at the time, staying at *Udyanna*, which seems identifiable with the town *Bihār* (see *infra*, p 225), since there is a reference to the place (ll 9-10) in association with his ability for sport, albeit the sport of conquest (*Indradēvō nīpa Udyannē [tri*] jagat-pratāpa samana-kṛidā garishtha dyutik*).

The grant was made (ll 16-18) at *Navanēra* (or *Navinara*?) *pattana*² (= mod. *Nabinagar*), after notifying, ordering and explaining to the assembled inhabitants of the village *Gambhārī* as well as to the king's officers beginning with the heir apparent (*yuvarāja*) and ending with the subordinate rulers and the military officers (*sāmanta-sēnādhipānīka*). The rights conferred by the grant are enumerated in ll 18-19, they are the usual ones found in the records of the period. The date is given (ll 19-20) in words as *Śrīmad Vikramādityasya dvādaśa-śata samvatsarē chatuṣpachāsad-varshādhlē Kārttika māsasya pūrnimāsyām(yām) tithau Soma dinē*, "in the year of *Śrīmad-Vikramāditya*, twelve centuries and fifty-four, on the full-moon day (*tithi*) of the *Kārttika* month, on Monday", and regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th October, A D 1197.

In ll 20-22 are set out the genealogies of the two donees (1) *upādhyāya śrī-Dhārēśvara*, of the *Brāhmana* caste, and the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, grandson of *pandita śrī Vāsu(su)dēva*, son of

¹ The metre requires a syllable like *tri*, in the record itself *tri* does not occur. [The reading is *dyā*, not *dya* and I suggest the restoration *udyann=ē[va*]* which is in keeping with the simile of the moon introduced in the verse. According to my reading there should be no reference to *Uddandapura* or *Bihār*—Ed.]

² [See below, p 229, n 2—Ed.]

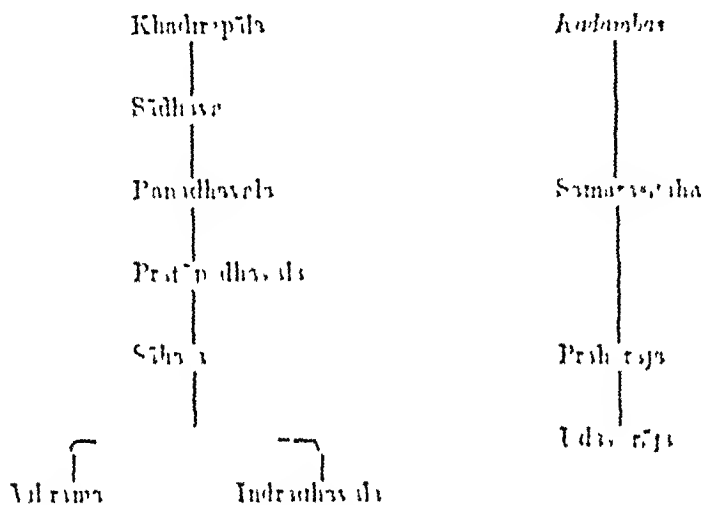
*āśasathī*¹ *sri* Rī(Ri)shu, and (2) *pandita* *sri* Mahāditya, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the *Kauṇḍin* *gōtra*, grandson of *pandita* *sri* Śrīdhara, son of *pandita* *sri* Kirttipāla

In ll. 22-23 occur the statements that the grant was made by a copper plate with the usual auspicious ceremonies and the injunction that the customary rights should be given to the donees in obedience to the established custom.

Lines 23-27 contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verse relating to land grants.

Lines 27-28 record that the document was caused to be written by the *Mahapatāhla*, *ṭṭal* *Tura* *sri* *Sujana*, a member of the *Śrī Vāṭavya* *lāyārtha* community and the date is repeated in figures.

The historical value of this record is considerable. The following pedigree² of the ruling lines—one tracing itself back to Khadirapāla, another to Samarasimha of the Kadamba stock—are disclosed:



We already possess some knowledge about Pratāp dhavala. In his *Memoir on The Prince of Burga* (1915), the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee wrote—

"During the reign of Lakṣmanasena the western part of Magadh seems to have passed into the hands of the Gāhadvāla King of Kānaṇḍ. The local rulers practically acquired independence, as an example of which we may cite the name of the Mahānāṭhā Pratāp dhavala of Jāpala.³ The earliest record of this generation is a short rock inscription near the Tutrahi Falls in the Sahabād District, the date of which corresponds to 19th April, 1158 A.D. According to an unpublished inscription at Rohtasgarh the king set up some monuments on the 27th March, 1169 A.D. In the same district there is another rock inscription at Tārāchandī inscribed in the Vikrama era 1225 corresponding to 1169 A.D. According to another inscription at Rohtasgarh, the family to which this dynasty belonged is called Khayāravāla *Janaka*. The relation between this chief and the Gāhadvāla Kings of Kānaṇḍ has been made clear by the Tārāchandī inscription of the same prince. This inscription was edited by Dr. Fritz Edward Hall in 1860. According to this inscription, in Samvat 1225 on Wednesday, the 3rd day of the dark half of Jyāsthā, = 16th April,

¹ The reading *āśasathī* was first made out by Prof. Bose. It signifies a person keeping the sacred fire known as *āśasathī* which together with four other fires would be called *pañcāgnīyaka*. We are reminded of the tradition that five *pañcāgnīya* Brahmins were imported into Bengal by "Ādhauri."

² Cf. the expression *erimay Japiliya Chaydika charara par-kīja paryapāna para* applied to Indradhavalā in ll. 11-12 of our record. Jāpala is modern Japla.

1169 A D, Pratāpadhavalā announces that a certain copper plate recording the grant of the villages of Kalahandī and Badapilā has been obtained by several Brāhmanas by bribing one, Dcu, the slave of King Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja. The inscription finally adds that the proprietary share of the rent should be collected yearly as before. This inscription shows very clearly that though Pratāpadhavalā was semi independent, he was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Gāhadavāla King of Kanauj. The villages stated above within his territories could be granted by the King of Kānyakubja to anybody he liked" (Memoirs A S B, Vol V, pp 107-8) ¹

The *Khayāravāla* of the Rohtasgadh inscription is evidently the *Khadrāpāla* of our record. Reading between the lines the conventional eulogies attached to the princes descended from 'the great family' of Khadrāpāla, we feel that it was Pratāpadhavalā who probably first attained an independent status by war. He is designated *Śaṅkara* and specially likened to Śiva in his aspect as the destroyer of the pride of Dakṣha. His son, Sāhasa, was doubtless an independent monarch, since he is described as being revered by kings once his enemies (*pranata-vairi narēndra mauḥi māṁkya lōkanada-pūṇṭa pāda pīṭhah*). I understand from Prof Bose that there is a place called Sāhasapura near the find spot of the record. It may have been named after Sāhasa. And it is interesting to observe the close resemblance, in style and phraseology, between our inscription and the copper plate land-grants of the Gāhadavāla kings the cessation of whose suzerainty over rulers of this region must have been a matter of recent history when the present record was issued.

King Vikrama, son of Sāhasa, is described in rather tame terms. His enemies are stated to have avoided facing a fight with him out of fear for the strength of his arms (v 7).

King Indradēva, also called Indradhavaladēva and Indradhavalā, was a brother of Vikrama. He seems to have considerably enlarged his kingdom by warfare. His titles, *parama Māhēśvara*, *sāi citara vicāra Chaturānana* and *Mahānripati*, imply high status, the first two appear modelled on the styles *parama-Māhēśvara* and *Vāchaspati* of the Gāhadavālas. His other epithet, *samaranīksamkāmalla*, suggests connection with the Chālukyas, we may compare the epithet *Nīksaṅka-saṅkara* applied to king Vallālasēna who married a Chālukya princess, Rāmadēvī, as proved by copper plate inscriptions of the Śūna kings ². In Ceylon, also, about this time, we come across a king called Kittimissanka, said to have belonged to the Kaṅga race ³.

Indradhavaladēva, according to our inscription, was successful with his sword against his foes and is described as having shone in the sport of conquest at *Udyanna* or *Udyanna*. Udyanna or Udyanna seems to be identical with Tāranāth's *Ōtariapuri*, going back to some such form as *Uddiyana* or *Uddina* ⁴. Alberuni ⁵ gives the form *Udunpur*, in connection with his statement that the *Bhaikshukī lipi* ("script used by Buddhist monks") was current in that place situated in Pūrva dēśa.

The feudatory chief Udayarāja claims to belong to the *Kadamba kula* ⁶ and is styled *Mahā-māndarika*. He seems to have been connected with the Kadambas of Goa. Our copper plate

¹ The ref. given by Banerji are *Ep Ind*, Vol. iv, p 311, *Ep Ind*, Vol v, App, pp 22, No 152, *J A O S*, Vol vi, p 547.

In Buchanan's *Shahabad Report* (Patna 1934), we are told of an inscription setting out the succession of these rulers (p 46), wherein Pratāpa, Vikrama and Sāhasa figure, but afterwards there are names which seem to indicate a change of dynasty. At p 48 of this Report there is mention of another inscription naming Pratāpa and Sāhasa, it is apparently identical with No 1759 of the "List of Inscriptions of Northern India" (above, Vol XX, App).

² Majumdar, *Inscr. of Bengal*, pp 58, 107, 118 etc.

³ *Cūlavamsa* (P T S ed.), ch 80.

⁴ [See above, p , n - Ed]

⁵ *India*, Vol 1, p 173 and Vol 2, p 314 (transl Sachau).

⁶ There is now a regular treatise on the Kadambas entitled *The Kadamba-Kula* by G M Moraes (Bombay, 1931) a copy of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Prof S K Chatterji.

begins with an invocation to Śiva as enemy of the demon Tripura, and we know that the family deity of the Goa Kadambas was Śiva in the same aspect (as *Sapta lōṭ īśvara*). The style *Mahā māṇḍalīka*, known to have been affected also by Īśvarīghoṣha in the Ramganj copper plate, seems to have been superior to the style *Mahāmāṇḍalīkara* adopted by the feudatory families of the Kanarese districts including the Goa Kadambas. In a copper plate grant dated Śaka 1017¹, the Śilāhāra prince Anantadēva (or Anantapāla) calls himself *Mahāmāṇḍalīka* as well as *Mahāmāṇḍalīkārādhipati*, so that we may perhaps presume that Udayarāja had *Mahāmāṇḍalīkaras* under him. He may have been connected also with the Kadambas of Kalunga—a line of feudatory chiefs under the Ganga kings, his father's name, Praharāja, points in the same direction, since it is a family surname in Orissa, the surname occurs in Orissan records, e.g., in the Puri copper plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva IV, dated Śaka 1305, and the inscription of A.D. 1436 on the Javarajaya doorway in the Temple of Jagannātha at Puri.²

Praharāja, father of Udayarāja, is stated to have been Prime Minister (*pradhāna sachiva*) to an unnamed prince of the family of Khadirapāla. This prince was in all probability Śāhasa. Some link between Praharāja and Śāhasa seems to be suggested by the circumstance that the words *suta*, *vairi*, *pranata* and *īrti* employed by the composer of our record in his description of Śāhasa are repeated by him in his description of Praharāja, and both descriptions are couched in the same metre, *Vasantatilālā*. Regarding Samarasimha, father of Praharāja, described in our copper plate as belonging to the Kadamba stock, it would be interesting to investigate data which might lead to his identity. In the *Prithvīrāja Vijaya*, a *Kādamba Vāsa* figures as Chief Adviser to Prithvīrāja who was victorious over the Muhammadans in 1192 A.D.³ In the *Prithvīrāja Rāsā*, a similar role is played by a *Samarr Sing* Tod⁴ who identifies him with the ruler of Chitor, says "The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host, brave, cool, and skilful in the fight, prudent, wise, and eloquent in Council, pious and decorous on all occasions, beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chauhan." It seems possible that Prithvīrāja's Chief Adviser was remembered by his family designation *Kādamba Vāsa* (= *Kādamba-Vamsa*) in the tradition embodied in the *Prithvīrāja Vijaya*, while he was remembered by his personal name *Samarr Sing* in the tradition relied on by the author of the *Prithvīrāja Rāsā* and that the latter confounded him with a homonymous personage who ruled over Chitor long after Prithvīrāja. If so, we might perhaps think of identifying this *Kādamba Vāsa Samarr-Sing* with our *Kadambal ulvatamsa Samarasimha*.

Our inscription shows that Udayanna (Bihār) was, even at the end of October, A.D. 1197, not yet conquered by the Muhammadans. But its fall was not delayed. The event is usually assigned to the year A.D. 1197. It probably happened slightly later. There is every reason to believe that the capture of Nadiā took place in the cold season of A.D. 1199. The data given in the *Tabaqāt al-Aṣiri* seem to have the effect of placing the capture of the 'fortress of Bihār' less than one year before the fall of Nadiā. We are told⁵ that Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyār, after obtaining a fief in the Mirzāpur District, used to make occasional incursions into the territories of Monghyr ('Muner') and Bihār, and with the plunder thus secured, he organised an attack upon the fortified city called 'Bihār'. The attack succeeded, and the victor went with valuable booty to Quthub-d-din who bestowed on him special favours. Meanwhile, astrologers at Nadiā announced their

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol IX, p. 35

² *J A S B*, Vol LXIV (1895), pp. 132, 134 and Vol LXII (1893), pp. 89, 92

³ *J R A S*, 1913, p. 277

⁴ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Ed.—W. Crooke) Vol I, p. 301

⁵ [See above, p. 223, n. 1—Ed.]

⁶ *Tabaqāt al-Aṣiri*, transl. Raverly, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol 2, pp. 548ff

prediction that the man who had captured Bihār would invade Nadiā "next year", whereupon the king Rai Lakhmanīya (=Lakshmanasēna) permitted those who did not desire contact with the Muhammadans to leave his capital. We know from the *Adbhutasāgara* that the king was a believer in astrology, we may take it that he believed in the prophecy and was preparing to leave Nadiā, when Muhammad i Bakhtyār, posing as a horse dealer, made his surprise attack on the palace. It would be reasonable to infer that the surprise attack was launched *before* the period assured by the prophecy, in other words, not more than about one year elapsed between the fall of the 'Bihār fortress' and the capture of Nadiā.

It appears from the *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri* account that the district of Monghyr ('Muner'), like Bihār, was at this period independent of Lakshmanasēna ('Rai Lakhmanīya'). Local tradition remembers it to have been under a Hindu king of Magadha called *Inderdaun* who is said to have succumbed to the Muhammadans led by Muhammad i Bakhtyār. The stronghold of Inderdaun is reputed to have been at Jaynagar (near Kūl) where, the story goes, his treasury was located. According to O'Malley¹, the Jaynagar tradition affirms that Inderdaun had "a trusted warrior, whom he raised to the highest posts, until at last he asked for the hand of his master's daughter in marriage. The king was very angry, and had a cavern made in which he placed all his treasure. When all was safely stowed away, the king invited his general to see his treasury, and when he unsuspectingly went in, he let fall the trap door and sealed it with a magic seal. It was not long before he suffered for thus killing his best general, for the Muhammadans came down and drove him a fugitive from place to place, until he was obliged to fly to Orissa." According to Waddell² 'forts' ascribed to Inderdaun are pointed out by local people at Mt. Uran, 20 miles south-west of the town of Monghyr.

We may perhaps identify this *Inderdaun* with the Indradhavaladēva or Indradēva of our copper plate. The element *-dhavala* is found in the style Vikrama dhavala applied in a Kadamba record to a Chalukya king otherwise known as Vikramāditya³, our inscription also has a pun on *-dhavala* with reference to our *Vikramārka* (*dhavalita surāmārggē Vikramārkkasya rājñah* ll 8 9). The name *Inderdaun* is usually restored to Skt *Indradymna*, where the element *dymna* seems to correspond to the *dēva* in *Indradēva*. It is worth while enquiring if the 'trusted warrior' whom Inderdaun 'raised to the highest posts' was identical with our *mahā-māṇḍalīla* Udayarāja.

TEXT

[Metres v 1, *Śiṣṭadharā*, vv 2, 8, *Mālinī*, v 3, *Śikhariṇī*, vv 4, 6, 9 and 14, *Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa*, vv 5, 7, 10 12, *Vasantatilakā*, v 13, *Indrajaṅgā*, vv 15 20, *Anushtubh*, v 21, *Pushpitāṅgā*]

Obverse

- 1 ॐ⁴ [॥*] क्षुभ्यत्समाख्यवानि स्वस्वदमरेश्वरो भातिकनिर्झराणि भस्वतलोषोधराणि
प्रचलकचतलोत्तिसतारोत्तराणि ॥(1) सज्जङ्गमखलानि चसदसुरेश्वरोन्मुक्तोहा-
2 रवाणि चायन्ताम्बः समन्तात्त्रिपुरहरमहाताण्डवाडम्ब(स्व)राणि ॥[१॥*] महति खदिर-
पातस्थान्वये दुर्निवारप्रसरदसमसैन्यः साधवः समाधरोऽभूत(त्) ॥(1) यद-
सिद्धतस[म]-

¹ Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, *Monghyr*, Patna, 1926, pp. 218 9

² *J A S B*, 1892, pp 1ff

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol IV, pp 205 6

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

- 3 स्तारतिमत्तेभकुम्भस्थलविगलितमुक्तालंकाता भगरथीः ॥२॥^१ ततो जात, श्रीमान-
गणितगुणग्रामरुचिभिर्यशोभिस्तेजोभिस्त्रिजगद्वतीगणीभुतभवः [१^{*}] स-
- 4 हामोरो वेरिपतिकशिरःश्रेणिमणिभिः स्फुरत्पादोषान्तो रणवपननामा नितिपतिः
॥३॥^१ तत्पुत्रो भगवान्दीनकटकः सङ्गतिशोभाकरः अदाव(व)न्युरवीरभट्टमदित,
सं[५॥]-
- 5 शक्तिदाम. ॥(१) नानादर्शनभोग्यभूर्त्तिमहिमाशयप्रचारो ह्यप्रमत्तानोऽतिव(व)लः प्रताप-
धवलो लोकेश्वरः शहरः ॥४॥^१ तस्यात्मजः प्रणतवरेनरेन्द्रमोलिसागिष-
कोकन[८५]-
- 6 जितपादपीठः [१^{*}] श्रीसाहसो नम्रपतिः सुरसुन्दरीभिरुद्दीयमानभुजविक्रमविभ्र-
सयी ॥५॥^१ वैजयन्तीकरप्रतिष्ठलउद्दीयकम्बु(म्)कान्तिच्छटागुष्टाकोभिरुदार
विक्रम[तथी य]-
- 7 स्त्रीर्त्तिविस्फूर्त्तिभिः [१^{*}] एता प्रस्फुरितोन्मिदुरचतु पाद्योविविच्छेदितच्छाचको
करानिता गुमुगुमायन्ते ममन्तादिश. ॥६॥^१ तस्यात्मजश्चिभुवनप्रवरप्रवीर
श्री[वि]क्र-
- 8 सो नरपतिर्विजयी जगत्यां [१^{*}] यम्य प्रचण्डभुजदण्डपल्लवागवन्तारयो युधि
भृग विमुखीभवन्ति ॥७॥^१ रिपुतिगिरनिजाय. सगभूमण्डलश्री. सरति गि-
रिदरीभ्योऽप्रणले स-
- 9 एलागे १.तरिपुजुमुदामे धामभिर्जामधारो धयनितसुरमार्गे विक्रमादेव्य राज्ञः
॥८॥^१ तद्भ्राता शितच्छरपणितरिपुर्शरिन्देवो नृप उज्ज्वल जगत्ताप-
शमनश्री-
- 10 डागरिष्ठयुतिः । गोभिश्चिद्रपरान्यकारपटनमलव्य(व्य)पुत्रादय. साचाञ्चन्द्र १.वापरो
विजयते भूमीशत्रुडाभणिः ॥९॥^१ दुग्धाव्य(व्य)फेनरुचयो यदरिप्रिया-
णाम[प्यु]-
- 11 व्रतानि जहति स्तनमण्डलानि [१^{*}] नेत्रोत्पलादिगणदजगमिचितानुसंपर्धमभवनाल-
लभिवेव हाराः ॥१०॥^१ सोन श्रीसञ्जापिनीयचण्डिकाचरणपद्मेनपर्युपासन-
- 12 परपरसमाहेतुरसमरनि शङ्कसमसारितविचारचतुराननमहापतिश्रीमदिन्द्रधवलदेवेन वि-
जयिना । श्रीमोक्तलो किल कादस्व(स्व)कुलावत न (तम)
- 13 स्फूर्ज्यशः समरसिंह इति प्रसिद्ध । तस्यात्मजः रुद्रिपालकुलप्रदीपच्छाप-
प्रधानसचिव प्रहराजनामा ॥११॥^१ वाचि स्त्रियः सुरगुरोः स समान-
बु(बु)द्धिः प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिरभ

^१ [See above, p. 223, n. 1 —Ed.]

- 14 वत्सलानुवर्त्तन् । यस्य प्रतापदहनासमतापतप्ताः स्वर्गोपि शान्तिसुपयान्ति न
वैरिवीराः ॥[१२]*] तन्नन्दनो वन्दिजगामिनन्दी वामेक्षणीवीक्षणीवल्लभः [१*] [अं]-
- 15 भन्महोभाण्डलिका, सजात^१[सुज्ञः] कलासुदयराजनाभा ॥[१३]*] यस्योदयसमग्र-
सङ्गरमिलप्रत्यर्षिपृथ्वीपतिप्रोद्गामेधटाभिपाटनपटौ दोर्दण्डयुग्मे
- 16 स्वयं । साम्राज्य(ज्यं) सकलं निधाय विलसद्गमाजनैरावृतः स्वैर वीरनरेन्द्र
इन्द्रधवलं श्रीडारसं सेवते ॥[१४]*] स महाभाण्डलिकाश्रीउदयराजः ।
न[वने]रपत्तणा-
- 17 यां^२ । गम्भारीश्रामनिवासिलोकानुपगतानपि च राज्ञो युवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितभाण्डा-
गारिकाचपटलिकप्रतीहारनैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगोद्व-
- 18 नौसाधनिवादण्डनायकासामन्तसेनाधिकारिकानाञ्चापयत्यादिशति वो(वो)धयति च विदि-
तस्य भवता यथोपरिलिखितग्राम स्वशी(सी)मापर्यन्तं सजलस्थलं
- 19 सलोहलवणाकरं सगर्तोषरः(रं) सास्रमधूजं वनवाटिकावृणजन्तुगोचरपर्यन्तं सोर्द्धाध्व-
तुराधाटिविशुद्ध ओमहिस्रमादित्यस्य द्वादशशतसम्पत्तरे
- 20 चतुःपचाशद्वर्ष(र्षा)धिके कात्तिकमासस्य पूर्णिमास्या(यां) तिथौ सोमदिने ॥ भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजातीयपण्डितश्रीवाशु(सु)देवपौत्राय श्रावसथिथीरि(रि)प्रिपु-
त्राय उपा-
- 21 ध्यायश्रीधारेश्वराय अस्मै अश्रय ३ तथा कौशिकगोत्राय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजा-
तीयपण्डितश्रीश्रीधरपौत्राय पण्डितश्रीकीर्तिपालपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीमहादित्याय
अस्मै अश्र-
- 22 इय २ विधिवत्(त्) ज्ञात्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिदृष्टये शोकाण्य-
कुशकुसुमकरतलोदकपूर्णं ज्ञात्वा चन्द्रार्कं यावत्ताम्रेणोदकपूर्वेण शासनोक्त्य
- 23 प्रदापितवानिति मत्वा भागभोगादिकं यथादीयमानं पूर्वप्रवाहेनाज्ञाविधेयीभूय
दास्यथ [१*] तथा हि भवन्त्यत्र पौराणिकाः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठहति
- 24 यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ
॥[१५]*] व(व)हुभिर्व्यशु(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्व्यस्य^३ यस्य प्रदा-
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

Reverse

- 25 लम् ॥[१६]*] हिरण्यमणिसुक्तानि वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च [१*] तेन सर्वमिदं
दत्तं येन दत्ता वशु(सु)न्धरा ॥[१७]*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति
भूमिदः [१*] आचक्षे चानुमता(न्ता) च हये(य्ये)व नरका व्रजेत(त्) ॥[१८]*]-

^१ Read सजात or स जात^२ [I would read पतलाया —Ed]^३ Read सगरादिभिः । यस्य

- 26 तडागाना सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च [1^{*}] गवां कीटिमदानेन भूमिहती न
सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[१८॥^{*}] गामिकां स्वर्णमिकां च भूमेरप्यर्धमङ्गल [1^{*}] ध्वज-
रक्षमायाति यावदाश्तस(स)ङ्गयम् ॥[२०॥^{*}] सकलसि-
- 27 दसुदाहन्तमिस(श)य्य स्मृतिविहित धितमायनी नरेन्द्रा. [1^{*}] सत्यतरतरद्वभ-
विष्य न्वधसनुचित्व न कीर्तयो विनोप्या ॥[२१॥^{*}] निस्त्रापितमिद
त्रोधास्त्वकायस्वान्वयाच-
- 28 पटलिजठसुरत्रीसुजनेनेति ॥ 'उपाध्यायधारिभाराय पचद्वय भूमिर्दत्ता(त्ता) पुत्र-
ज्ज्वा ग्रामे' सन्वत् १२५४ कार्तिकशुदि १५ सोमे ६

No. 35—SRINGI RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA

By SAMPURN Pr. ABBAYA KERRY VAO, M.A., UDUMPI.

The inscription under consideration was noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gauri chandra Oghri in the *Indo-Iranian Record*, Apr. 1924-25. He has also made full use of this record in his *Rajaputane ka Itihas*.¹ But as the record is not yet published in full I cite it here for the first time at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Archaeologist for India.

The place known as Srīṅgi-rishi is situated in the heart of hills about a mile and a half west of the village Vihharani which is about four miles from the east of the fort of Ashmra of Srī Kalinga and is rather difficult of access.

The inscription is fixed in a niche in the western wall of a small verandah below the temple whose plinth is about 1 ft. high from the level of water. The construction and subsequent conservation of which is the main theme of the record.

Including *Srīṅ(Srī)ṅgi-rishi* on the top, there are in all thirty-one and a half lines of writing in the inscription which covers a space about 1' 10" broad by 1' 3" high. The record is engraved on a slab of black stone which has been damaged by two big cracks running almost parallel to each other. In addition to the cracks the slab is broken in three places thus destroying portions of the inscription.

With regard to the palaeography attention may be drawn to the representation of the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* which are joined to the consonants both by *prāṇa* and by *śrī* *mātrās* side by side for example *ai* and *ō* in *prāṇa* (l. 8) and *śrī* *mātrās* (l. 6) and for *ai* and *au* in *uttamāchara* (l. 18) and *āditya* (l. 15) and *prāṇa* (l. 9). This method of indicating the *mātrās* may be due to the fact that though by this time Nāgarī characters had assumed almost a definite form, the representation of the medial vowel, particularly the diphthong, was still in a state of transition.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Of the few minor mistakes it shows, it may be pointed out that the dental nasal has been employed for the palatal one in *guhā gīhāṇ-jitā* (l. 5), *śāśit-samāh* (l. 6) has been used for *śāśit samāh* and *śāyam prasthā* (l. 27, & 28).

¹ This portion beginning with उपाध्याय is written in a different hand.

² The word यज्ञे which the scribe could not fit into the space available was written below the line.

³ For quotations from this record, see *Rajaputane ka Itihas*, I, sec. II, foot notes on pp. 649-50.

for *s=ēyam praśastiḥ*. The word *gadha*¹ in *mamdal āṅṛṇi gadhō*, (l 9) is evidently, a *dēśi* word. Besides, there are some mistakes of engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding orthography we find that the dental sibilant has once been employed for the palatal one in *Sambhūr=akārūd=* (l 17). So, also *v* has once been used for *b* in *Śālē vāna-vasu-* (l 29). Consonant after *v* is occasionally reduplicated. The whole inscription is in verse except adorations to Viśva Mū[tā] (at the top), and Bhagavatī (l 1), as, well as portions of ll 28 and 32.²

The inscription belongs to the time of prince Mōkala of Mewār whose date of accession³ is not yet definitely known, and its object is to record the consecration of a small reservoir of water constructed by him at the hilly site known as Śringī-rīṣhi, thereby to achieve bliss in the other world for one of his wives, named Gaurāmbikā, who was apparently not living at the time. She came of the Bāghelā family, and was the daughter of some prince, only last three syllables of whose name, *iz nabhramā*⁴ are visible in the text now preserved. The ceremony took place on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the Vikrama year 1485 (= A D 1428). Mōkala accompanied by his other wife Māyāpurī worshipped the sage Rīṣhyaśringa and with the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana consecrated the reservoir.

The inscription is important inasmuch as it gives some historical information with regard to the four successive princes Hammīra, Kshētra, Laksha and Mōkala. It opens with an invocatory verse in praise of Bhārati, the goddess of learning, in the next verse the poet declares his intention of describing the princes born in the family of Bappa. Then begins the genealogy from Hammīra to Mōkala.

It has been said about Hammīra that he captured the city Chēla by name, and conquered by his might the notorious Bhīls who were his enemies. He went to Rānathambakā⁵ or Ranthambhor, and there killed Jatrēśvara who was inimical to him. He also reduced Palhanā-pura to ashes.

Chēla as mentioned here is the Chēlā-vāta of the Eklingī inscription of V S 1545⁶ (= A D 1488) and the Jilwāda of modern times, situated on a high plateau on the north western border of Mewār, overlooking the territory of Gōdwār, a part of Mārwar. From the time of prince Rāi Mal (A D 1473-1509), this place has been in the possession of a Sōlankī Sardār as his *jāgīr*. Formerly this Sardār held authority over some portion of Gōdwār also, which was in all probability conquered by Hammīra together with Chēla. Before the time of Rāi Mal, the place might have been in the possession of the Chauhānas.⁷ His victory over Bhīls means that Hammīra had also acquired the portion of Mewār now known as Bhōmata, almost fully occupied by the Bhil community, which evidently was not a part of Mewār at the time. Or, it may hint at

¹ See Hc̣machandra's *Dēśināmamālā*, p 99 (ed Bühler).

² Below this last half line of the record is clearly visible in the impression a line of writing too carelessly engraved to be legible. It appears to read *श्रीमन्महाराजेश्वरः* and seems to be a later addition made by a mason engaged to repair the older structure of the verandah containing the inscription.

³ No record helpful in definitely determining either the date of the death of prince Laksha, the father of Mōkala, or the time of the latter's accession to the throne of Mewār has till now been discovered. But it is certain that Mōkala ascended the throne prior to V S 1478 (= A D 1421) as an inscription of his reign found in a ruined Jaina temple at Jāwar is dated in that year.

⁴ It is not certain whether this is the concluding part of a personal or place name as the compound may be either *Karmadhāraya* or Genitive *Tatpurusha*.

⁵ The reading appears to be *Na[ratham]bālam* which, by metathesis, may stand for *Ranathambakam* = (Skt. *Ranastambhaka*), popularly known as Ranthambhor.

⁶ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp 117-23.

⁷ *Rāj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 548, n 4.

the acquisition of the part of Mewār now known as Vāgada (Vatapadraka of inscriptions), which at present forms the territory of two different states, *viz*, Dūngarpur and Bānswārā ¹ About the identification of Jaitrēśvara, who died at the hands of Hammīra, the present inscription does not give any clue But in v 25 of the Ēklingjī inscription of V S 1545 mention has been made of a Jaitrakarna born in Ilāchala (Idar), sustaining the loss of life at the hands of Hammīra The *Ēkalīnga mākātmya* also mentions Jitakarna, the *Ilā durga-nāyaka* or 'the lord of the fort of Idar' as conquered by Hammīra Thus it is not difficult to ascertain that Jaitrēśvara of the present record was none else than Jaitrakarna of the inscription at Ēklingjī and Jitakarna of the *Ēkalīnga mākātmya* He was, as is evident, the master of the fort of Idar, but when killed by Hammīra he seems to have been at Ranthambhor as known from this record There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Ranthambhor was a part of his dominions, but as it was at that time the centre of Rājput confederacy against the Pathān monarchy of Delhi, it seems quite probable that he might have gone there in connection with some such activity The last exploit of Hammīra as mentioned here is the reduction of Palhanāpura to ashes The latter is the phonetically decayed form of Prahlādanapura This city was founded by Prahlādana-dēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu Formerly it was a part of the Paramāra dominion, but now it is the capital of a separate state known as Pālanpur ²

Hammīra was succeeded by his son Kshētra popularly known as Khētsī With regard to him it has been recorded here that he conquered Amī Śāha in battle, leaving alive not a single man of his army, and brought his entire treasury and numberless horses to his own capital He also demolished Māndalgarh which a monarch as mighty as Alā ud dīn had dared not touch

Though the present inscription is of little help in identifying Amī Śāha we are in a position to do so from other records Thus, this event has been mentioned in v 156 of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalīnga mākātmya*, as a bygone illustration to prince Kumbhā's victory over Mahamūd Khiljī of Mālwa, where Amī Śāha, conquered and killed by Kshētra, has been described as *Mālava patr* or the Sultān of Mālwa It is therefore clear that Amī Śāha whom prince Kshētra defeated, was the governor of Mālwa, and the scene of this battle was somewhere in the vicinity of the famous fort of Chitor as recorded in v 22³ of the unpublished inscription of V S 1517 (= A D 1460) located in the uppermost story of Kumbhā's Tower of Victory at Chitor Thus Amī Śāha was none else than Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī who was the first Sultān of Māndu (Mālwa) as known from the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* ⁴ He was contemporary to the Delhi Sultān Mahammad Tughlak Col Tod in his treatment of Kshētra says that 'he obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Humāyūn at Bakrol' ⁵ Here he has obviously been misled by the bardic chronicles wherein 'Amī' might have been identified with 'Humāyūn' on the meagre phonetic semblance between the two names, or the name of a well known monarch such as Humāyūn might have been inserted in place of that of one who was not so well-known, a practice that was not infrequent among the bards of Rājputānā Humāyūn ascended the throne in V S 1587 (= A D 1530), whereas Kshētra's accession had taken place in V S 1421 (= A D 1364) They, therefore, could not be contemporary to each other Rai Bahadur Ojha says that Col Tod had in his knowledge the dates of accession of both Kshētra and Humāyūn, but that the misstatement was due to not comparing them at the time of writing ⁶

¹ *Raj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 549, n 1

² *Ibid*, p 549, n 2

³ *Ibid*, p 563, n 1

⁴ A Rogers' Eng Trans, Vol I, p 407

⁵ Tod's *Rajasthān*, Vol I, p 321 (W Crooke's ed)

⁶ *Raj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 565, para 2.

Kshĕtra was succeeded by his son Laksha, about whom it has been stated in the present inscription that he was a prince of great religious ardour and that he freed Gayā of the barbarous tax levied by the Muhammadans, which all Hindu pilgrims had to pay. This tax was a source of great discomfort and torment to the Hindus and evidently prevented them to a great extent from undertaking any pilgrimages. Laksha, the pious Hindu prince, pacified the Muhammadan governor of Gayā with offers of gold and horses and got this tax totally abolished for the Hindus. This tax was in force not only at Gayā, but was, in fact, levied over *Tristhalī* or the three main Hindu religious centres, viz., Kāsī, Prayāga, and Gayā. Laksha got all these sacred places freed from the tax as known from v 207¹ of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V S 1517 (=A D 1460). This meritorious deed of Laksha also finds mention in v 38² of Rāi Mal's inscription of V S 1545 at Ēklingjī.

Mōkala, the son of Laksha, ascended the throne of Mewār after his father's death. According to this record he fought two battles, one with Fīrūz Khān and the other with Ahmad, wherein he utterly defeated both. This Fīrūz Khān was the son of Shams Khān Dandānī, the brother of Zafar Khān or Muzaffar Shāh I, whom Muhammad Tughluq II had appointed as the governor of Gujarāt in place of Furhut-ool moolk and who afterwards became an independent Sultān.³ When Tātār Khān, the son of Muzaffar Shāh, having deprived his father of his kingdom, himself seized the throne, he appointed Shams Khān, his uncle, as his minister. Shams Khān afterwards poisoned Tātār Khān at the instigation of Muzaffar Shāh,⁴ his brother, and the latter being pleased with this service had bestowed upon him the *qāqir* of Nāgor.⁵ When Shams Khān died, his son Fīrūz Khān became the owner of Nāgor. When he began to annoy Mōkala by his foul intentions, the latter attacked Nāgor and Fīrūz Khān fled from the field of battle and his army was utterly routed. This victory of Mōkala over Fīrūz Khān is recorded not only in this inscription, but also in v 51 of the Samiddhēśvara temple inscription⁶ at Chitor of the same year as the present one and in v 44 of the Ēklingjī inscription of V S 1545. The event is also described in Persian chronicles such as *Tibhāt-i Akbarī*, but there it is said that Rānā Mōkala was defeated by Fīrūz Khān and three thousand men of his army were killed in the battle.⁷ This discrepancy between the two records—epigraphical and historical,—has wrongly led the author of *Vira-Vinōda* to think of two battles fought between Fīrūz Khān and Mōkala in one of which the latter was victorious and in the other defeated.⁸

Mōkala's second battle as known from this record was waged against Ahmad wherein also the latter was defeated. It is rather difficult to ascertain who this Ahmad was. In v 221⁹ of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V S 1517, Ahmad of our inscription has been confused with Mahammad whom Col. Tod has regarded as Nāsir ud-dīn Mahmūd, the grand-son of Fīrūz Tughluq, and the son of Muhammad Shāh, and whom he believes to have been defeated by Mōkala near Rāipur in Mewār, on his way to Gujarāt to which direction he was fleeing after his defeat at the hands of Timūr in the battlefield of Pāmpat.¹⁰ But this is not possible, for Timūr reached

¹ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 572, n 1

² *Bhāv. Inscr.*, p 111

³ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 584

⁴ Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol IV, p 9 and *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 584

⁵ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, pp 584-85

⁶ Above, Vol II, p 417

⁷ Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p 148, n 5

⁸ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 585, n 5

⁹ *Ibid.*, p 586, n 1

¹⁰ Tod's *Rajasthān*, Vol. I, p 331 (W. Crooke's ed.).

Delhi on December 18, A D 1398, a period much prior to the accession of Mōkala. Therefore Ahmad of our inscription seems to be Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt who was a contemporary of Mōkala and the latter might have defeated him in some battle. It also seems quite probable that the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription might have inserted by mistake *Mahammad* in place of *Ahmad*, the two names being phonetically similar.¹ An attack of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt directed against Jilwārā in the dominion of Rānā Mōkala, after extracting tribute from the ruler of Dūngarpur, has been referred to in *Tabkāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ālfi*, but this event is said to have taken place in A H 836 (A D 1433) which is five years later than the time of our inscription.² This shows that the fight referred to in our inscription is quite different from that mentioned in the Persian chronicles. It is possible that Mōkala had to fight Ahmad Shāh twice.

Other historical information from the record with regard to Mōkala is that he erected a strong rampart with three gates round the famous shrine of Śrī Ēkalingajī. He weighed himself against gold, silver and other precious objects and gave them in charity as many as twenty-five times. He performed one of these ceremonies at the holy *Tīrtha* of Pushkar, on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika.

The record was composed by one Yōgīsvara who had the epithets *Vānivilāsa* and *Kavirāja*. These epithets show that he was a very learned man and was held in high esteem at that time. Nothing else is directly known of him from this epigraph. The use of *ru* in place of the vowel *ri* in *Rushyasringa rushi* (l 20), however, seems to suggest that he was a native of South India.

The mason (*sūtradhāra*) was **Phanā**, the son of Hādā. According to the inscription he was a famous figure and was held in high respect by others of his profession, and was fully conversant with works on literature and architecture.

The date of the inscription which is given both in numerals and in words is **Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in Samvat 1485**. It seems to be irregular for it corresponds to Saturday, 17th July, 1428 A D.

TEXT³

श्रीः⁴विश्वमा[त्रे नमः]

1⁵ ॥०॥ श्रीभगवत्यै नमः । देवीं देवकिरीटचक्रनिकारासमोमिपादां बुजा वीणास्तुटि[क]
— — — — — [— — — — —]⁶ — — — — —
— — — — —

2 [म]रती । नत्वा मोहहरां परा खजन्तीं सुतां कसिद्रूप्यां (णाम्) ॥१७ वीरान्व-
यजवशजान[धि] — — — [य]थाबुद्धि तांका[स्त्रि] — — — — —
— — — [चंभीर]राजा[दि]-

¹ *Raj Itihāsa*, Fase II, p 586

² Bayley, *His of Guy*, p 120, n 4

³ From ink impressions and the original

⁴ Read Śrī

⁵ Each line generally ends with one or two *dandas* which are for the most part to be regarded either as ornamental or superfluous

⁶ Syllables within these brackets are only partially visible

⁷ Metre *Śardūlavatī-ṛīḍita*.

- 3 कान् । शश्वद्याचक्रवाङ्छिताधिकोलसत्स्वर्णप्रदानोद्यतामंत्राभाहृतवैरिराजनिकरान्गौरी-
श[सिवाप]रान् ॥२^१ सीयं वप्पजवशभूषण[मणी रूपेण पु]ष्पायुधो हम्भी-
- 4 रो धरणीधरः [स]मभवद्वीर सुधीरो रणे । नित्या व्यासचराचरा विजयिनी
यस्येदुकुदो[ज्ज]ला कीर्ति[र्मूर्तिरि]वैश्वरी विजयते मान्या सदा भूभुजा
(जाम्) ॥३^१ चेलास्थं पुरमग्रहीद-
- 5 रिगणान्मिस्त्रान्मुहागिहकान्जि(ञ्जित्वा) तानखिलान्निहत्य च वंलात्स्थातासिना
संगरे । यो ग[त्वा] न[रथ]वकं समवधीज्जिज्ञेस्वर वैरिणं यो दूरस्थित-
- 6 पत्तण्णापुरमपि क्रोधाकुलो दग्धवान् ॥४^१ एवं सर्वमकाटकं समगमभूमडलं
भूपतिर्हमीरो लल[नास्सरः] सुरपदं सपात्य क(का)ञ्चित्तमाः^३ [।*] सम्यग्-
मंहर तत. स्वतन-
- 7 [य] सुस्थाय्य राज्ञे निजे जेनं क्षत्रियवंशमडनमणि प्रत्यर्थिकालानल(लम्) ॥५^१
आजावमीसाहमसिप्रभोवाज्जित्वा च हत्वा यवनान्शेषान् ॥(।) यः कोश-
जात तुरगान्संस्थ[र]-
- 8 न्समानयत्स्वां किल राजधानीं(नीम्) ॥६^४ टिल्ली^५चारुपुरेश्वरेण बलिना सृष्टोपि
नो पाणिना राज्ञा श्रीमद[ला]वदीति विलसन्नाना [ग]जस्वामिना ।
सोपि जेनमहीभुजा
- 9 निजभुजप्रौढप्रभावादहो भग्नो विभ्रुतमडलाकतिगढो जित्वा समस्तानरीन् ॥७^१
इंद्रेणाशुरशकिना प्र^६म[ता स]प्रार्थितः शकारः सत्येते दशुजाः पद मम
बलादादातुकासा विभो ।
- 10 एव किं करवात्यथो वद हरः^७ श्रुत्वा वचः शशुना नीत[ः*] जेनमही-
पतिनि(र्नि)जपदं दैत्यांतहेतोः स्वयं(यम्) ॥८^१ दिव्यागनाभूषि[तवास]भागे
दैत्याति(त)के जेनधराधिनाथे । स्वर्गस्थिते कल्पितदानदत्ते(क्षो)
- 11 लक्षोभवद्देवतर्षुधानां(नाम्) ।।[।*]८^८ येन कांचनतुलादिदानतस्त्रोषिता द्विजवरा । ✓
महीतले । येन दुर्जयसमस्तभूभुजः संहृ[ता]ः सदसिधारया रणे ॥९^०
दत्वा(क्षा) [तुंगतु]रगहेमनिचयास्तस्मै गढ(या)-

¹ Metre *Sārdūlavahṛdita*

² The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression

³ The arrangement of words in this line is obscure *Samagamat* is to be connected with *sura padam* and *sampālya* with *bhū mamdalam*

⁴ Metre *Upajati*

⁵ The name of this well known capital of India begins either with *T* or *Dh* in most of the inscriptions of this period

⁶ This syllable seems to have been engraved over an erasure

⁷ Read *Hara*

⁸ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁹ Metre *Rathōddhatā*

- 12 [स्वा]भिने सुता येन हता गया कारभरावर्षाखनेकान्यतः । प्रीता, स्वर्गगता
वदति पितरस्त्वद्यापि सत्याशिषं तस्यासा[विति] लक्ष्मूललभुजो वशस्त्रि
नटतु ॥११^१ तस्मिन्प्रयाते त्रिदिव
- 13 — — लक्ष्मिर्देवसकल्पितकल्पहृत्ते [१^२] देवैकलिगार्चनव^३क्षलक्षे विख्यातदुर्बोधनयैकदत्ते
॥१२^३ तस्या^४ क्ष्यापतिवदितात्रिकमलो [ल]क्षेश्वरस्यालजः श्रीभो(मा)च्योकल
एष वशतिलका सपूर्णचंद्राग-
- 14 [नः ।] — — [ग]हृतमत्रपावनजलैर्जाताभिषेकस्ततः स्व राज्य परिपालयत्यरि-
कुल सचासयन्सवेतः ॥१३^१ यस्याग्रे समसूत्यलायनप[र]ः पेरौजपा(खा)ना^५
स्वयं पात्वाह्लाद^६ दुःसहोपि समरे सत्यथ को-
- 15 — — [१^७] — — चाण्वशेन शुष्कवदनो सु[क्ता]नको एष-
वागश्वेनापि विवर्जितो गिरिशुहागिहात्रित साप्रत(तम्) ॥१४^१ यः पंचवि-
शति[तु]लाः ससदाद्विजै(जे)भ्यो हेनस्तथैव रजतस्य च फद्यकाना-
(नाम्) ।
- 16 — — — — — य विमुक्तिहेतो सोयं नृपो विजयते वरकीर्त्तिपूरः
॥१५^६ येन स्फाटिकसछि(च्छि)तामय इव ख्यातो मही[म]डले प्राकारो
रचितः सुधाधवलितो देवैकलि-
- 17 — — — — — सत्पाटविलसद्वा(द्वा)रचयालगतः कैलास तु विहाय
स(र्ग)भुक्कारोद्यन्नाधिवासे मति(तिम्) ॥१६^१ कार्त्तिक्यामथ पू[र्णि]मावरतिथौ
योदात्तुला काचनी शास्त्रज्ञ^७ प्रयस
- 18 — — — — — दिक् स द्विजे । देव^८ पुष्करतीर्थसाविण्यमसुं नारायणं
शाश्वतं रुपेणादिवराहमुत्तमतरेः स्वर्णादिभोः पू[ज]घन् ॥१७^१ कन्याधेनुधरा-
तुरगभरथत्रयादिदा-
- 19 — — — — — पुष्करेषु विदितो जेष्टा(ज्येष्ठा)[दि]षु अद्वया^९ । तेन
त्रस्तसमस्तभूपलनासगीतसत्कीर्त्तिना पु(खु)ष्माण्वयशं[करे]ण सुधिया
विहप्रियेण चितौ ॥१८^१ पर्याये

^१ Metre *Sardulavirīdīta*

^२ The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression

^३ Metre *Indratayā*

^४ Pead *tasya*

^५ The composer seems to have employed this foreign name without the case termination

^६ Metre *Isantatilakā*

^७ The syllable *tam* seems to be carved over an erasure

SRINGI-RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32

SCALE TWO FIFTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

- 20 ५२(रम्) । रु(ऋ)व्यशृंगरु(ऋ)पिस्तो-
नव्याजमालव्य भूप[ति]ः ॥१८^१ किं वाचो महिमा गिरिरिह मया योगीश्व-
[रेण]मुना विख्यातस्य महीतले हिमवता
- 21 — — — — — । — — — — — तरे निवसति श्रीशान्तया कातया
साक पुण्यनदीलसत्परिसरे साख्या(त्वा)द(ष्ट)पि[१*] शृंगिकः ॥२०^२ [यत्रा]सौ
क्षणमेकमेव वसतिः^३ श्रीमानृषी(षि)
- 22 [शृंगिकः पु]ण्याचारपरो विभाड[कस्तुतो यो]गी तपःसागरः । काले तत्र निरतरं
जलधरा वर्षत्यपारावु(भु)भिर्नैवाकालमृतिर्भवेन्न हि त[था वं]ध्या भवेयु /
स्त्रियः ॥२१^२ वाघेलान्व-
- 23 यदीपिका वितरणप्रख्यातहस्ता च [या*] एभ्रमभूमिपालतनया पुण्यायुध-
प्रेयसी(सीम्) [१*] या रूपेण निजेन ता समजयत्सीभाग्यसंशोभि[ता] या
सर्वत्र पतिप्रतानुगणने सुख्ये-
- 24 व संकीर्त्यते ॥२२^२ तस्या[१*] सदिदीवरलो[चना]याः सपूर्णपीयूषकरानना[याः ।]
गुणान्विताया गुणतोषितायाः श्रीपार्वतीसेवनसादरा[या]ः ॥२३^४ गौराविकाया
निजवल्ल-
- 25 भायाः सप्तोक्तसंप्राप्तिफलैकहेतोः [१*] एषा पुर[स्तस्य] विभाडसूनोद्वा(व्वा)पी
निवद्धा किल मोकलेन ॥२४^५ वाप्या पुण्यसरिजलेन सतत संपूरितायाभिह
ज्ञान यः कुशते
- 26 द्विजः स हि भवेद्देवादिविद्यालती । राजन्यो यदि [कटकै]र्विरहितं प्राप्नोति
राज्यं चिर वैश्यो वैश्रवणाधिका श्रियमहो शूद्रोपि सौ[ष्ठ्यं प]रं(रम्) ॥२५^६ ✓
- २७ यः कुर्यादृषिपचम्या
ज्ञान वाप्या प्रियान्वितः । ब्राह्मणो वा तथान्योपि स ल[भते]प्सित[फलं]
(लम्) ॥२६^१ योगेश्वरेण कविना रचिता मनोज्ञा सो(से)य प्रशस्तिरुचिता-
मृत[पूर्ण]वर्णा । आकर्ण्य या सुविबुध-
- 28 धाः सुखिनो भवति श्रीभार[ती]मिव कथा कलुषापहन्त्री(चीम्) ॥२७^७ [इति]
श्रीवाणीविलासकविराजयोगीश्वरविरचिता प्रशस्तिर्जयति ॥ मायापुरी[वल्ल]भया
समेतो विभाडसू-

^१ Metre Anushtubh^२ Metre Śārdūlavakrīḍita^३ Read vasati^४ Metre Upajāti^५ Metre Indravajrā^६ Metre Vasantatilakā

- 29 न(नु) ¹परिपूजयस्तु त्रिलोचनस्यात्मगुरोरनुज्ञा सप्राप्य चामीकरदान[दत्त][:]*
 ॥२८^२ शक्ते वा(वा)णवसुधुतिप्रविलसत्त्वं(चं)द्राकित(ति) धियुते पंचम्या
 शु(सु)तियौ [र]वौ च नभसः पजे सिते
- 30 सग्मतिः [।]* श्री[मत्त]जनरेखरस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलो भूपतिर्विद्वद्द[विभूषितः]
 समकरोद्वापौप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)मिह ॥२९^३ उल्कीर्णपि(षि)लसूत्रधारगुरुणा से[यं]
 प्रशस्ति[:]* शुभा वि-
- 31 स्थाते[न] फनाभिधेन [सु]धिया द्वादामजेनामुना [।]* साहित्यादिकगि[त्वि]-
 शास्त्रविलसत्पा(त्पा)योधिना साधुना श्रीनारायणसेवकेन नृपतेः श्रीमोकल-
 स्वाज्ञया [॥३०*]^३
- 32 ^४सवत् १४८५ ययं आवण शुदि ५ रविदिन(ने) ॥ चिर(र) नंद[तु] ॥ ॥३१॥
 श्री. ।

TRANSLATION

[Obaisance to] the illustrious [Mother] of the universe Adoration to the illustrious Bhagavati

(Verse 1) Having paid obeisance to the illustrious goddess of learning, my supreme mother and the dispeller of delusion, with (*her*) lotus like feet (*looming*) lovely with the gems on the crests of gods all round, holding a lyre and a crystal [rosary] . and wearing beautiful ornaments studded with pearls ,

(Verse 2) [I describe] to the best of my knowledge, the heroes such as prince Hammira, etc , the descendants of Bappa, who had been ever ready to offer shining gold more than desired by those in need, who had killed numbers of powerful enemies in battles and who had been devout worshippers of the Lord of Gauri (i e , Śiva)

(Verse 3) There came in being the well known ornamental gem to the family of the descendants of Bappa, the heroic prince Hammira, the very Cupid in form, resolute in battles and victorious, whose fame, like the body of Īśvara (i e , Śiva), permanent, all pervading, white as the moon and the jasmine flower and always respected by (*other*) princes reigns supreme

(Verse 4) (*It was he*) who captured the city of Chōla after having conquered and perforce killed in battle with (*his*) famous sword his enemies, the Bhils, residing in caves , who murdered the mimical Jaitrēśvara going himself to Narathambhaka (Ranthambhor) and also being agitated by anger, burnt down the distant city of Palhanāpura

(Verse 5) Hammira, the very god of love for damsels, having thus protected the earth for a certain number of years and having then established over his kingdom his son Kshōtra, (*who was*) an ornamental jewel of the Kshatriya race, the destructive fire to (*his*) enemies, and worthy well⁶ to take up responsibility, went to the abode of gods

¹ There is an *anusvara* over *pa* which is redundant

² Metre *Upajati*

³ Metre *Sāraṇāṣṭakā*

⁴ This half line begins from the middle of the slab

⁵ This is a topless *chha* and many people employ it even now particularly at the end of letters to denote auspiciousness

⁶ Lit well to wear armour सभ्यसमंहर of the text echoes सभ्यविनीतसमंहर कुमार of the *Raghuvamśa*, VIII, v 94.

(Verse 6) *(It was Kshētra)* who having conquered in battle **Ami Sāha** by the might of *(his)* sword and totally annihilated the **Yavanas**, verily brought the entire treasury and numberless steeds to his own capital

(Verse 7) Oh ! even that famous fort of **Māṇḍala**,¹ which even the lord of the lovely city of Delhi, powerful and owning elephants, known by the shining name of **Alāvādī**, dared not touch with his hand, was shattered by prince Kshētra, after having conquered all the enemies with the impetuous might of his arms

(Verse 8) *(God)* Śankara was *(thus)* solicited by humble Indra in fear of demons, “ O Eternal Hara ! here are these demons aspiring to seize my position by force , O tell me, what should I do under such circumstances ? ” On hearing *(these)* words, prince Kshētra was taken away by Śambhu himself to his own abode, in order to destroy the demons

(Verse 9) Prince Kshētra, the death incarnate for demons, having *(thus)* settled down in heaven with heavenly damsels adorning *(his)* left side **Laksha**, expert in giving *(as much)* charities *(as could be)* imagined, came to be the desire-yielding tree for the learned

(Verse 10) *(It was he)* by whom best of the Brāhmanas on the surface of the earth were gratified by various charities, like gold weighed against himself, and by whom all *(other)* invincible princes were killed in battles with the sharp edge of *(his)* sword

(Verse 11) May the famous line of that prince Laksha ever rejoice *(in this world)* by whom **Gayā** *(the holy Tīrtha)* was freed from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years, by paying *(as ransom)* lofty horses and heaps of gold to the lord of Gayā, and for which *(whose)* ancestors gone to the upper world, gratified as they are, even now confer *(on him)* genuine benedictions

(Verse 12) That Laksha—who , who had assigned the desire-yielding tree to suppliants, who had *(his)* attention fixed upon the worship of God Ēkalīnga and who had been the only expert in political matters which are avowed to be inscrutable—having gone to the upper world—,

(Verse 13) This illustrious **Mōkala**, the son of that lord Laksha, the holy forehead mark of the family, with face like the full moon and with lotus like feet revered by *(other)* princes, having been *(installed ling)* by bathing in water made holy by incantations *(and)* fetched from , protects his kingdom frightening the group of enemies all round

(Verse 14) *(It was he)* from whose presence **Pērōja Khānā** (**Fīrūz Khān**) himself had resorted to fleeing *(and)* Pātsāha **Ahmada**, although irresistible in battle . abandoning *(his)* has, at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with speech obstructed and bereft even of *(his)* horse, taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save .

(Verse 15) This well known prince, who weighed himself against gold, silver and *Phadyakas*² twenty five times and distributed them among *devīyas* for the liberation of , and who is full of glorious fame, reigns supreme

(Verse 16) By him was erected a rampart, which was renowned all over the earth, which looked as if built of nice crystal slabs being whitewashed with lime and which was adorned with three beautiful gates having handsome panels, [round the site of] the God Ēkalīnga, where Lord Śambhu had indeed made up his mind to reside, leaving aside Kailāsa

¹ Lit the circular fort, modern Māṇḍalgarh

² This seems to be the name of a small silver coin whose value might have been worth two annas, for in some parts of Rājputānā a two anna piece is even now called a *Phadyā* or *Phadyaka* (*Rāj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 588, n 4)

(Verse 17) He who was conversant with the holy lore having first of all worshipped with high class gold, etc., the Eternal Nārāyaṇa with the (*external*) appearance of the Primeval Boar, at the holy site of Pushkara, [and having] in company of Brāhmanas—weighed himself against gold on the beautiful full-moon day of (*the month of*) Kārttika, and gave it away in charity

(Verse 18¹) By giving maidens, cows, pieces of land, horses, chariots, books, etc., in charity, looked upon in the land of Pushkara with reverence (*even*) among (*his*) seniors (?)

By him who was wise, dear to the learned on earth, conducive of felicity to the family of Khummāna and whose fame was sung by the frightened wives of all princes

(Verse 19) In turn Of the prince, resorting to the pretext of eulogising the sage Rishyaśringa

(Verse 20) How is to be described by me, this Yōgīśvara, the majesty of the mountain here, which is famous all over the earth and which with the Himālaya, and on which, in the beautiful vicinity of a holy river², resides (*the sage*) Rishyaśringa in person, with (*his*) beloved, the illustrious Śāntā

(Verse 21) Wherever this illustrious sage Śringika who is the son of Vibhāṇḍaka, who is an ocean of austerity, and solely given to meritorious deeds, puts up even for a moment, there the clouds pour inexhaustible waters at the proper time, untimely death never takes place and women do not remain barren

(Verse 22) (*For her*) who was illuminating to the family of Bāghclās, who had her hand renowned for charities, who was the daughter of prince nabhrama, who by virtue of her own beauty surpassed (*even*) Cupid's beloved (i.e., Ratī), who was graced with prosperity, (*and*) who in the enumeration of women true to their consorts is celebrated everywhere as the foremost—

(Verse 23) For her, whose eyes were like beautiful lotuses, whose face was like the full moon, who was possessed of merits, who could be pleased with merits (*and*) who took delight in attending upon the illustrious Pārvatī—

(Verse 24) For (*that*) Gaurāmbikā, his own beloved, this reservoir of water in front of that son of Vibhāṇḍa has been constructed by Mōkala with the sole view of her achieving (*a blissful situation in*) the other world

(Verse 25) Whosoever takes bath in (*this*) reservoir here, perpetually filled up with the waters of the holy river—(*if*) a Brāhmana, he verily becomes versed in (*branches of*) learning like Veda, etc., if a Kshatriya, (*he*) gains lasting royalty free of adversaries, (*if*) a Vaiśya, (*he obtains*) wealth more than that possessed by Kubūra, (*and if*) a Śūdra, (*he*) too gets a unique state of excellence

(Verse 26) Whosoever, a Brāhmana or anybody else, would bathe in (*this*) reservoir with (*his*) wife on (*the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada called*) Rishi Pañcāmī, (*he*) would gain his desired aim

(Verse 27) This well known charming panegyric—whose letters are appropriate and full of sweetness, (*and*) which the learned delight upon hearing as (*they do*) by (*hearing*) the illustrious story of the Mahābhārata, the dispeller of opacity—has been composed by the poet Yōgīśvara

(Line 28) Let there be victory to this panegyric composed by Yōgīśvara, the lord of poets (*lavirāja*), and who had the epithet *Vānivilāsa* (in whom moved gracefully the goddess of learning)

¹ Owing to their fragmentary nature it is difficult to understand correctly the sense of this and the next verse

² This really speaking is not a river but an ordinary mountain stream which flows in rainy season

(Verses 28 29) Prince Mōkala, son of the illustrious prince Laksha, of refined intellect and expert in giving charities of gold, after worshipping that son of Vibhānda, with his beloved Māyā-purī (and) having obtained the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana, consecrated the reservoir here attended by a host of learned people, on Sunday the auspicious fifth day of the bright half of Śrāvana in the happy year signified by the shining moon, the Vēdas, the Vasus and the arrows (=1485)

(Verse 30) This well known auspicious epigraph has been engraved by order of the illustrious prince Mōkala, by the famous and wise Phanā, who is the son of Hādā, who is foremost of all (other) masons, who is a glittering ocean of the lore of mechanics and literature, etc, and who is a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa

(Line 32) Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in the year 1485 (of the Vikrama era) May (this) rejoice for long

NO 36 —A PALI COUNTERPART OF THE NALANDA TEXT OF PRATITYASAMUT- PADAVIBHANGA

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH D, M A, B L, CALCUTTA

Dr N P Chakravarti has rendered a distinct service to Buddhist scholarship by editing from two brick inscriptions found at Nālandā¹ a Sanskrit text of what is presumably the *Pratītyasamutpāda vibhanga-sūtra*. This is found to be the same work as one on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, the title of which, as preserved in Tibetan, is *Pratītyasamutpāda vibhanga-nirdēśa*. Vasubandhu's commentary, only a few fragments of which have been published by Professor Tucci from a manuscript found in Nepal,² was popularly known as *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā*³. A Sanskrit text similar to that found at Nālandā was translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in 661 A D. The title of the Sanskrit original, as restored by Nanjo from the Chinese, is *Nīdāna sūtra*⁴. Now all that is wanted is a Pāli counterpart of the Nālandā text.

Though the actual title of the text is not recorded in any of the two brick inscriptions, there can be hardly any doubt that the text presented in them is a *Pratītyasamutpāda vibhanga sūtra*, a *Sūtra* of the *Vibhanga* or *Niddesa* class, of which several examples are to be found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, particularly in its *Vibhanga-vagga*. As a *Sūtra*, the text bears all the main characteristics of a discourse, viz, an introduction, a statement of the subject matter, elucidation of the points raised, and a fitting conclusion.

Vibhanga is, of course, the same Buddhist term as *niddesa*, e g, *Sachcha niddesa*⁵=*Sachcha-vibhanga*⁶. The *Vibhanga suttas* developed and contained in the Five *Nikāyas*, i e, in the *Sutta-pitaka*, represent the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the second book of the *Abhidhamma pitaka*, called *Vibhanga*. The earlier or *Sutta* form of each *vibhanga* or exegesis has been distinguished in it as *Suttanta-bhājanīya* from *Abhidhamma bhājanīya*. In the *Suttanta bhājanīya* portion of each of the *vibhangas*, *Sachcha*, *Satipatthāna*, *Dhātu*, *Indriya*, and the rest, the unnecessary *Sūtra* characteristics have been done away with and only the relevant points have been concisely stated,

¹ Above, Vol XXI, pp 193 199

² J R A S, 1930, pp 611 623

³ Above, Vol XXI, p 200

⁴ Nanjo's Catalogue No 623

⁵ *Dīgha*, II, pp 304 313

⁶ *Majjhima*, III, pp 248 252

nothing of doctrinal importance being left out of consideration. The *Suttanta bhājanīyas* presuppose each a full text somewhere in the *Sutta piṭaka*, but unfortunately all such texts cannot be traced in the extant Pāli Canon. The only reasonable inference to draw from this would be that the text of the Pāli Canon as it comes down to us is not complete in all respects, and accordingly it needs to be supplemented.

It is historically important to note that there is a Pāli counterpart of the Sanskrit *Pratītyasa mutpāda vibhanga sūtra*, which is contained in the *Suttanta bhājanīya* section of a *vibhanga*, called *Paṭicchhasamuppāda vibhanga*. The title adopted in the P. T. S. edition of the *Abhidhamma* text is *Pachchayākāra vibhanga*.¹ But *Paṭicchhasamuppāda vibhanga* is precisely the title under which the chapter was known to Buddhaghosa.² Besides the correspondence between the titles in Sanskrit and Pāli, there are other points in which the two texts show an agreement. First, in both, only the *anulōma* mode of formulation of the Law of Causal Genesis has been adopted to explain the *samudaya*, *ūchaya* or *prabhava* aspect of *dukkha*. Secondly, in both, the *uddiṣa* or *dēsanā* is followed by a *vibhanga* or exegesis. Comparing the two texts, item by item, one may notice only slight differences here and there. But, upon the whole, there is nothing in excess and of importance in the Sanskrit version of the *Vibhanga sūtra* which is not included either in the Pāli *Paṭicchhasamuppāda vibhanga* or in the text of the *Vibhanga* as a whole. Further, the *Abhidhamma* chapter has a purely *Abhidhamma* section without its counterpart in the Sanskrit text. One has to regret the loss of the full text of the Pāli *Paṭicchhasamuppāda vibhanga sūtra* which is presupposed by the *Suttanta bhājanīya* in the *Abhidhamma* treatise.

NO. 37—A NOTE ON THE BARAH COPPER PLATE OF BHOJADEVA

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARIU, B. A., MADRAS

In his article on the above inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.) Dr. Hirananda Sastri has wrongly understood two expressions and suggested interpretations which do not appear to be correct.

Dr. Sastri says (*ibid.*, p. 16) that the Maukharī King Śarvavarman is called *Paramēśvara* in the Aśīrgadh Seal inscription. But it is not so. Both this and the Nālandā Seal inscriptions³ call him *Paramamūhēśvara*. On the other hand it is the Dīū Baranārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II that refers, among previous kings, to *Paramēśvara Śarvarman*⁴ whom Fleet identifies with the Śarvavarman of the Aśīrgadh seal.⁵

Again, Dr. Sastri asserts that 'the fact that he is described as a *Paramēśvara* would show that he was a 'subordinate prince' (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). Here again the doctor is unfortunately misled, for the title in question denotes 'paramount sovereignty' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 332), and not a subordinate position. It must be noted in this connection that this title was of such special significance that a conquering monarch took great pride in assuming it after he vanquished a mighty

¹ *Vibhanga*, pp. 135 ff.

² *Samamoha vinodanī*, p. 130. *Idam*
Lharatī ādinā nayena tantī nikkhitta

³ *C. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 220 and above, Vol. XXI, p. 74

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216, text l. 15

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215

Paṭicchhasamuppāda vibhanga yū ayarū aryyāpachchayā sañ

for The Western Chālukya king Satyāśraya acquired the surname *Paramēśvara* (*labdha Paramēśvar-āpara nāmadhēya*) by the conquest of Harshavardhana, the 'lord of the entire Northern Country'¹

In the matter of identifying *Paramēśvara* Śarvavarman with *Mahārāja* Śarva, of the Sañjān plates, who in his own words was a 'petty ruler', Dr Sastri, has, I think, fallen into an error in interpreting the significance not only of the surname *Paramēśvara* as pointed above, but also of the expression *anumatī*

The points to be considered in this connection are (1) whether "the petty ruler" Śarva of a kingdom at the foot of the Vindhya hills could or should have had any hand in the gift of a village lying in the Kānyakubja *bhukti*, which, from the nature of the circumstances, must have been directly under the king (i.e., overlord) Nāgabhatta himself, whose capital was Kānyakubja and (2) whether the expression *anumatī* here connotes, the sanction of an overlord to a gift made by his subordinate. In fact the question of a suzerain's sanction does not arise here for the reason given in the foregoing clause, but it implies the confirmation and maintenance by a later king of the grant made by a predecessor. For example, we find that grants made by previous monarchs, of the same village to the same deity, were re-affirmed by the subsequent kings, in their respective times. A very good example of this is found in the Dēo Baranārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II (C I I, Vol III, p 216, text, lines 12 ff). From a careful study of this grant, it will be seen that the expression *śāsana* is applied to the original grant or later affirmation made by the overlord, the king (*ibid*, lines 13 and 16). The subsequent affirmations are made in accordance with the original gift (cf *pūrva dattakam=avalambya* of line 15 of the grant). The expression *anumatī* of the Barah copper plate must be construed in the sense of *anu[mō]dita* of line 17 of this grant. The issue, therefore, reduces itself to this, viz., the grant made originally by (the Maukharī)² *Paramēśvara* Śarvavarman and confirmed later by (the Pratihāra) *Mahārāja* Nāgabhatta was restored by *Mahārāja* Bhōjadēva, after suspension (of it) for some time in the reign of Rāmabhadradēva.

The village granted as *agrahāra*, namely, Valākā is evidently Barah, where the plates were discovered.

Dr Sastri's readings and interpretations of two other important expressions in this inscription also appear to me to need correction.

In line 10 of the text (p 18) he reads *एद्वा मागञ्च सहासजस्री* *विचित्रासिखितं* and translates it (p 19) as 'finding that the allotment was for the time being obstructed'. The original, I think, correctly reads *एद्वा मागञ्च* which would give the natural sense that 'the enjoyment was for some time obstructed'. There is no relevancy in supposing a reference here to *bhāga* while the plate actually reads '*bhōga*'.

A similar mistake is committed by the editor in his reading *प्राग्मागञ्जमेवैव* in line 13 of the text and translating it as 'in accordance with the same old apportionment'. Here also the plate actually reads *प्राग्मागञ्जमेवैव* which means 'in accordance with the original or previous enjoyment'. Here too there is no necessity or relevancy in assuming a reference to *bhāga*, i.e., apportionment³.

¹ Above, Vol IX, p 100 and Vol X, p 102

² [Prof Bhandarkar is also inclined to identify Śarvavarman of the Barah Plate with the Maukharī prince of that name. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 6, n 1—Ed.]

³ [While this article was in the press, a note discussing some of the points noticed here, appeared in *I H Q*, Vol XIII No 3, pp 503 ff—Ed.]

No. 38 — A NOTE ON THE RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADIVA SAMVAT 987

By KHAN SAMIR S. R. DASGUPTA

At the end of his explanatory note on these copper plates¹ Dr. Hirahol advances a theory that Bhramarakōṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakralōṭya, on the ground that the name of Chakralōṭya seems to survive in Ghumara, which he believes to be a name given to the falls of the river Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa. This theory is incorrect for the reason given below —

(i) *Ghumara* is not a proper name and it is not applicable only to the falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa, it is a word used in Bhojpur meaning "waterfall".

(ii) In his introductory note² Dr. Hirahol has stated "though styled 'Lord of Bhōṭāvatī the best of cities' Madhurāntakadiva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalā* (feudatory chief) as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his title was limited to Bhramarakōṭya which is described as a *mandala* in l. 15". On the second plate in lines 15 and 16 it is stated that the village of Rājapura is situated in Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* (province). Again on the third plate in lines 28-29 names of witnesses from Chakralōṭya *mandala* are given. The grant was made in A. D. 1065 and Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* and Chakralōṭya *mandala* are mentioned in it as two separate units of administrative territories. Madhurāntakadiva was not only the feudatory chief of Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*, but appears to have borne the title of the ruler (one such *harāditya* are the same as those of the Nāgavamsi line). We know from the Bhojpur inscription of the time of Jagaddībhūshana³ that King Dhīrāvata was alive in A. D. 1060 (i.e., 5 years before the grant of Rājapura was made by Madhurāntakadiva). At this time one Chakralōṭya as the feudatory chief in South Bhojpur and it seems that Madhurāntakadiva was holding a similar position in Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*.

(iii) From the Kuruppal Tanti inscription⁴ it is clear that King Dhīrāvata's son Sōmavaradēva was the ruler of Chakralōṭya in A. D. 1069. We can say that much that King Dhīrāvata's death took place between A. D. 1060 and 1069 and during this period (perhaps a period of minority administration) Madhurāntakadiva, although a *Maṇḍalā*, became more powerful and perhaps made attempts to oust the rightful person from the throne. The Kuruppal stone inscription⁵ tells us that Sōmavaradēva finally defeated and killed Madhurāntakadiva.

Thus it will be seen that Bhramarakōṭya was not an alternative name of Chakralōṭya, as suggested by Dr. Hirahol. I would place Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* on the right bank of the river Narangī as it is stated in the copper plates that Rājapura is situated in the Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ Hirahol, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.) No. 269.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, pp. 32 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

No 39 —ALLAHABAD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 87

BY STEN KONOW, OSLO

The Government Epigraphist has sent me estampages of two inscriptions on stone slabs, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum 'No particulars about their findspot', he says, 'are available but like the two inscriptions already published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVIII, pp 159 160 these also have undoubtedly come from Kosam¹'

The two records mentioned by him were published by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahu One, No II, belongs to the reign of the *Mahārāja Śivamēgha*, the other, No III, is, according to the editor, dated in the year 88, probably of the Gupta era, during the reign of the *Mahārāja Bhadramēgha* The latter, which I shall henceforth simply call **III**, is of special interest in the present connexion

According to Mr Sahu it was secured from the village of Hasanābād, close to the ancient remains of Kosam It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom Its present dimensions are 2' 10' in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3" Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of *aksharas* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface His reading of the remaining portion is —

- 1 Mahārājasya śrī Bhadram[ēghasya]
- 2 [Samvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5
- 3 sya Śamarasya (?) puttra Him[ī]ngana
- 4 ayayādāvadāra

The two inscriptions sent to me I shall distinguish as a and b respectively The slab containing a seems to be almost identical in shape with that described by the Rai Bahadur It is rounded at the top, and the inscription, in five lines, covers a space 2' 4" wide and 1' high The other slab is rectangular, and the record b is 1' 9" long, the height being 1' 4" There are seven lines, the seventh only containing two *aksharas* The contents of the two epigraphs are practically the same I shall therefore deal with them together and also discuss their bearing on the reading and interpretation of **III**

The **alphabet** is early Gupta or pre Gupta of the Eastern variety We find *la* with the downward turn of the left limb, *eg*, in *Mādgalī* b 4, and the characteristic eastern *ha*, *eg*, in *Mahārājasya* l 1, *sha*, on the other hand, has not the round eastern base stroke attached to the central bar as a loop

With regard to **individual letters** we may note the rounded *ē* in *saptāśīlē* l 2, *putrēhi* l 4, *Shandhakēna* b l 5, etc, which looks like *ε* (the regular form is seen in *mēgha* b l 1), the *ri* in *bhrātrīhi* b l 4 but regular in *trītiya* l 2, the different shapes of *llā* in *paḷlāna* l 3, where the *a* form is calculated to raise doubt about the correctness of the reading I have therefore asked one of our leading authorities in Gupta palaeography, Dr Else Luiders, how she would read the *akshara*, without telling her how I read and explained it Without any hesitation she read *llā*, and this reading must be considered to be absolutely certain The final *m* with the

¹ [Mr B M Vyas, the Executive Officer, Allahābād Municipality, informs me that the inscriptions were found in a village adjacent to the Fort of Kauśāmbī in Manjhanpur Tahsil of the Allahābād District —Ed]

virāma stroke above is found in *siddham* in a l 1. The numeral symbols for 3, 5, 7, and 80 are used both in a and in b.

The execution and preservation of the inscriptions are, on the whole, very good. The sixth to eighth *akṣaras* of l 1, and the seventh and eighth of l 5 of a are defaced, and so are the final letters of ll 3 5 of b. There are, further, several superfluous and accidental strokes and dots, e.g., in a above l 1, above the *ra* of *saṃśāraṇē* l 2, across and above the *tā* of *ilāyam* and *ra* of *puruvāyam* l 3, before the *i* mātrā of the second *putrēhi* l 4, after *Śaṃk[ā]ya* l 4, where the three strokes are perhaps meant to be a sign of division, across the right leg of *ga* in *bhagava-* l 4, in b after the *bha* and above the *gha* of *Bhadrāmēghasya* l 1, above the *ya* of *tritiya* l 2, above the *yyā* of *saṃdāryyēhi* l 4, etc. The apparent *i* mātrā above the *ē* of *ilāyam* a l 3 has perhaps been cancelled, and the same may be the case with the *i* above *shk* in *pushkariṇyām* b l 5. The *ā* stroke is absent or defaced in several places, e.g., *Mahār[ā]jasya* a l 1, *sap[ā]sītē* a l 2, *et[ā]yam* b l 3, *pallāna[ā]jasya* l 3, *Śaṃk[ā]ya* a l 4, *bhagavat[ā] a(ā)ryyāya* a l 4 5, *et[ā]p[ā]* a l 5, the same is the case with the *i* of *d[ī]va* a l 3, the *ē* of *Bhadrām[ē]* at the end of a l 1 (and of III l 1) and of *Sandhak[ē]na* a l 4 and *sa[m]vatsar[ē]* b l 1, the *anuvāsa* in *punya[m]* a l 5, *sa[m]vatsar[ē]* b l 1, *et[ā]yam puruvāya[m]* b l 3, the *tā* in *sap[ā]sītē* b l 2, etc.

The orthography is fairly consistent. But we find *vaiddhatu* a l 5, *varddhatu* b l 7, *Sandhak[ē]na* a l 4 for *Shandhakēna* b l 5. The writing *pratishehāpitā* for *pratiśthāpitā* b l 6 is a mere slip. Instead of *bhagava* a l 4 the engraver seems to have begun to write *bhagva*.

The language is mixed Sanskrit, and the dual has, as usual, been replaced by the plural. We may note the use of the plural dual of the words *putra* and *bhātṛi* for 'son and daughter', 'brother and sister', respectively, in accordance with Pāṇini I. 11. 68 (*bhrātṛi-putrau śvasinduhit-riḥyām*). The word *pallāna* for Sanskrit *pariyāna* 'saddle', cannot in any way prove eastern affinities, on account of its *l*. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* para. 285, gives *pallāna* from Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and it is a well known fact that such words are often widely distributed outside the territory where they have developed in accordance with the phonetical laws of an individual language or dialect, of the common *pallāna*, Sanskrit *pariyāna*.

As already stated, the contents of the two records are almost identical, though some details are found only in a and others only in b. They record the setting up of two slabs as a seat (*āsa napattā*), at a pond (*pushkariṇyām*, only in b), for the Holy Noble Dēvī (*bhagavat[ā] a(ā)ryyāya dū[ī]ya*), only in a), by the son and daughter (*putrēhi*) of the saddler (*pallāna[ā]ra-*) Śap[h]ara, the brother and sister born from the same womb (*saṃdāryyēhi bhātṛi*, only in b), the son and daughter of Mādgali (*Mādgali-putrēhi*), Śaṃkā and Shandhaka.

The two slabs were accordingly intended to form a seat for an image of Dēvī. It is then evident that the slab with the rounded top was to be placed vertically behind the image, and the rectangular one below it. In such circumstances we must evidently take a as the first record and this inference is further strengthened through the fact that a begins with *siddham*.

It is further evident that there can never have been more than two such slabs in the *āsana*, and this makes it necessary to say something about the slab containing inscription III, published by Mr. Sahni.

A look at the plate published with his paper will show at once that the slab containing III has the same shape as that on which a is engraved. And a close examination of the facsimile will show that the text is the same as that of a, with some minor differences.

It is easy to see that the defaced *akṣaras* in the beginning are, as in a, *siddham*. Then the first line contains *mahār[ā]jasya śrī-Bhadrāma*, just as a, even with the same omission of the final

ē In the opening of l 2 we can still distinguish the first *akshara*, viz, *gha*, so that we must read *ghasya*. After this *a* runs *sa[m]vatsarē sap[ā]sītē 80 7*, but there is not room enough for so many *aksharas* in **III**. Mr Sahni read the defaced letters which can still be traced at the end of the passage as *rē 80 8*, but that reading seems to me to be impossible. What he read as 8 looks like *da*, and what he took to be 80 can hardly be that numeral figure, which has a straight upright within a circle. Before the apparent *da* (Mr Sahni's 8) I can see a distinct *tī*¹. It almost has the appearance that the engraver had misread his draft. Then follows, as in *a*, *vaishapaksha*, but instead of *a*'s *tritiya* 3 *divasa* 5, which runs into l 3, we find 3 *divasa* 5 as the end of l 2. The beginning of l 3 is effaced, and about ten or eleven *aksharas* are missing. What follows after the gap is clearly *śya Śapharasya putīhī Mādgal[i]*, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the gap must be filled by the help of *a* as *[ētāyam pururāyam pallānakāra]śya putīhī Mādgalī [putīhī]*. Including the three letters of *putīhī* fifteen or sixteen *aksharas* are absolutely defaced at the beginning of **III** l 4, and as the end of the line can be read *vatyā āryā dēv a*, I have no doubt that we must restore the missing portion from *a* as *Śanikāya Shandhakēna cha bhaga a*.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that **III** is practically identical with *a*, and we must try to explain this state of things. Now the traces of *aksharas* which Mr Sahni mentions, are hardly visible in the plate of **III** below l 4, and it is *a priori* not unlikely that the inscription was never completed, that the engraver, for some reason, did not proceed beyond l 4. And if I am right in my explanation of l 2, the reason was evidently that he had made some serious mistakes in copying his draft. In other words, the slab containing **III** was meant to form the back of the Dēvi throne, but was discarded when the engraver's slips were discovered, and the slab containing *a* was dressed and provided with a new and corrected legend in its stead.

In such circumstances it would be permissible to make use of **III** for settling the reading of *a*, because the engraver may have made some mistakes even there. And I think that such must have been the case in the name of the *pallānakāra*. In *a* it is clearly *Ś[ā]para*, while the second *akshara* in *b* is entirely defaced. Now **III** almost certainly has *Śaphara*, and I have little doubt that the actual form of the name was *Śāphara*.

Our records are dated in the year 87, in the third paksha of the Rains and on the 5th day. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni thought of the Gupta era, so that the corresponding Christian date would be in the summer of A D 406. The *Mahārāja Bhadramēgha* is not known from other sources, but we must apparently assume that he held sway in *Kausāmbī*. Little as we know about the history of *Kausāmbī* in early times, we cannot do more than to note the names of this *Mahārāja* and of the *Mahārāja Śivamēgha* of Mr Sahni's Inscription II. The latter is probably identical with the ruler known from a Bhītā seal, which Sir John Marshall² refers to the 2nd or 3rd Century, while the late Jyāswal³ thought of the 4th Century A D. If Sir John is right, the era of our record must be the Kanishka reckoning, and the date correspond to A D 215-6, while the Kalachuri era would take us to 335-6. Sir John's dating is perhaps, after all, the most probable one. The two rulers mentioned above evidently belong to one and the same dynasty, but we have no means of ascertaining who is the older of them.

TEXT

a

1. Siddham Mahār[ā]jasya sri-Bhadram[ā].

2. ghasya sa[m]vatsarē sapt[ā]sītē 80 7 varsha-paksha tritī-

¹ [From the impression Mr Sahni's reading appears to be correct.—Ed.]

² *ASI, An Rep* 1911 12, p 61

³ *J B O R S*, Vol XIX, p 299

3 ya 3 d[ɪ]vasa 5 ē[tā]yam puruvāyam pallānak[ā]rasya Ś[ā]pa(pha)
 4 rasya putrēhi [Mādgalī] putrēhi Śamk[ā]ya Sandhak[ē]na eha bha[ga]va-
 5 ty[i] a(i)vyāya d[ē]vī[ya] īsanapattā sth[ā]pit[ā] [!'] Punya[m] vardhatu [!]*

b

1 Mahār[ī]asya śrī-Bhadremēghasya¹ sa[m]vatsar[ē] sa-
 2 p[tā]sitē 80 7 varsha-paksha tritīya 3 divasa [pa]-
 3 ūchama 5 ē[tā]yam puruvāya[m] pallānak[ī]rasya Śapa(Śāpha)
 4 rasya putrēhi saudāryyēhi bhrāt[ī]hi Mādgalipu[trē]
 5 hi Śamkāya Shandhakēna eha pushkī(shka)riṇyām ā[sa]-
 6 napattā pratishēhā(shthā)pitā [!'] Prīyatām dharmma Punyam va-
 7 rddhatu [!]*

TRANSLATION ²

[Hail]-Of the *Mahārāja* śrī-Bhadramēgha, in the eighty-seventh-87-year, the third-3-paksha of the Rains, (the fifth)-5-day, at this date, by the son and daughter of the saddler Śāphara, (the brother and sister from the same womb), the son and daughter of Mādgalī, Śamkā and Shandhaka, slabs for a seat [for the Holy Noble Dēvi] were put up (at her pond May Dharma be pleased) May merit increase

No 40 —SONEPUR PLATES OF MAHA BHAVAGUPTA(II)-JANAMEJAYA , THE YEAR 17

By B CH CHHABRA, M A , M O L , Ph D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

These plates were first inspected by me at Sonepur Raj, the headquarters of the Sonepur State in Orissa in November 1936 when I was on tour in that part. Regarding their discovery I have been told that some three years prior to my visit certain workmen, while digging foundations on a plot of land opposite the modern Khambāsvarai temple at Sonepur Raj, lighted upon a massive stone coffer which was forthwith made over to the State authorities. It was this box that contained the present plates. This along with its contents had since been kept intact at the Sonepur Police Station where it was shown to me. It is oblong in shape and measures 16½" long, 12" broad and 13' high. It has a slipping lid on it and was evidently designed specially for the safe deposit of the *tāmrāsāsana*. It was not possible then to examine the writing on the plates, because they had been preserved just as they were found, stuck together with crust and verdigris.

Later, in April 1937, the plates were obtained on loan from the Sonepur Durbar by the Government Epigraphist for India, who got them properly cleaned by the Archaeological Chemist in India and had their impressions taken. This afforded me an opportunity of studying the record from the original as well as from its inked estampages.

The document consists of three copper leaves, held together by a ring of the same metal. Each leaf is slightly narrower in the middle and measures about 8½' long by 5½" high at either end. The ring is 4' in diameter. Its ends are secured under a circular seal (diameter 1½") The seal is completely defaced so that it cannot be ascertained whether it originally contained any legend. It shows, however, some very faint traces of the Gajalakshmi symbol in the centre. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 202 tolas. The first plate is inscribed only on one face, while the remaining two bear writing on both the sides. There are altogether 51 lines of writing,

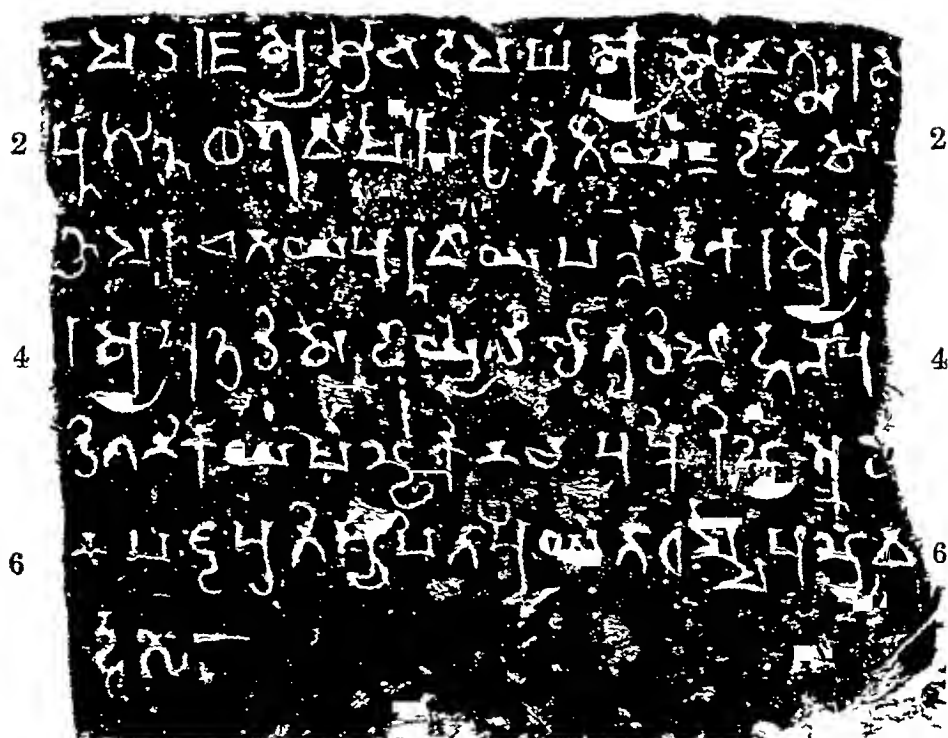
¹ [The name in question decidedly ends in *magha* as found in other inscriptions including those recently discovered. The stroke above *m* in this record may be accidental.—Ed.]

² Brackets = in a only, parentheses = in b only

A



B



of which 11 are on the first face, 12 on the second, 13 on each of the third and the fourth and only 2 on the fifth

The alphabet is of the same northern type as is usually found in the records of Sōmavamsī rulers of Kōsala. The language is Sanskrit. The record is composed in prose, except that twelve of the customary verses and a eulogistic one occur at the end. Of orthography the following points may be noted: (1) As a rule, *s* is used for *ś*, *śudhyati* (l 33) and *sula*° (l 37) being exceptions. However, *ś* is correctly used in those conjunct consonants where it appears as the first member, e.g., *śrī*, *śva*, *ścha*, etc. (2) *B* is invariably represented by the sign for *v*. (3) The consonant after *i* is doubled in most cases. (4) An *anusvāna* takes the place of a final *m*. (5) The sign for *avagraha* is employed twice (l 21 and l 45). (6) *Sandhi* is not observed in a few cases. Besides, the inscription contains various mistakes, such as wrong spelling, incorrect grammar, omission of letters and words, etc. They, too, have been pointed out partly in the text and partly in the notes below.

The inscription belongs to the Sōmakulī *P M P* Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadēva(II)-Janamējayadēva, the successor of the *P M P* Śivaguptadēva. It records the donation of a village, called Gōttaikēlā, included in the Luputurā-khanda in Kōsalā. While the king himself is the donor, the donee is *Kamalarāna vanik-sihāna*, by which term possibly a merchants' association is meant. This *vanik-sihāna* is described to have migrated from Khadirapadra and to be resident in Suvarnapura. It is further stated that the Kamalarāna Merchants' Association transferred the same gift, as a registered grant, to *Śrī Kēsava bhattāraka dēvakula* and *Śrī-Ādityabhattāraka-dēvakula* (i.e., two temples, one of Vishnu and the other of Sūrya) for defraying the costs of offerings to the deities and of repairs to the shrines.

The charter was issued from Ārāma on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshādhā in the 17th year of the king Janamējayadēva's reign. It was written by Kailāsa's son, Alava, the *Māhāśhapatalin* (attached to) the *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rānaka* Malladatta, and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Sivillī. The writer Alava is undoubtedly identical with Kailāsa's son, Allava, the *Kāyastha*, who wrote the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year, in which he is explicitly mentioned to be connected (*pratibaddha*) with the *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rānaka*, Malladatta, son of Dhārādatta¹. This Malladatta appears to have served for a long time as Minister of War and Peace under Mahā Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya, for he figures in his Pātnā Plates of the 6th year² on the one extreme and in his three Katak Grants of the 31st year³ on the other. As may appear from the above references, several copper plate grants of Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya have already been published, from which we know the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 13th and 31st years of his reign⁴. The record under discussion now adds the 17th year to that list.

The king had a minister, named Sādhārana, who is highly extolled in a stanza towards the close of the present inscription. He is described there to be a profound scholar and an able administrator, in whom the king reposed great reliance. The same person acted as *Dūtaka* in the Nāgpur Museum Plates referred to above, wherein his father's name is stated to be Śōbhana and he himself is styled *Mahāmahattama Bhata(tta)*, but is not mentioned as *Mantrin*. Probably he was raised to ministership sometime subsequent to the 8th year of the king's reign. Evidently he, too, remained long in service, enjoying royal favours all along. He received a munificent gift of four villages from his master in the latter's 31st regnal year, as is recorded in the

¹ Above, Vol VIII, p 143, Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No 1560

² *J P A S B*, Vol I (1905), p 13, Bhandarkar's *List*, No 1558

³ Above, Vol III p 350 and note 5, Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos 1562-64

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos 1557-1564

aforementioned three Katak Grants. From these records we learn that Sādhārana was 'in' grant from Takārī, a resident of Turvunā in Kōsala, belonging to the Bhavadvāja gōtra.¹

Of the localities mentioned in the record, Suvarnapura is the same as the modern town of Sonpur, situated at the confluence of the Tel and the Mahanadi.² Ārāma, from where the charter was issued, is described to be a prosperous city with palatial buildings, temples, gardens, tanks and what not. On the other hand, we know that the three Katak Grants of the 31st year were issued from the same Ārāma, but that in those records it appears as a mere site of the royal camp (*lataka*).³ Besides, a part of the description of Ārāma in the present plates is practically identical⁴ with the account of Murasīman (another camping place from where some of Mahā Bhavagupta(II) Janamājaya's grants have been issued) in the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year. It follows, therefore, that the present description of Ārāma is only conventional and may not be depended upon as an exact portrayal of the locality. In view of these considerations it is safer to assume that Ārāma was a place, perhaps not far from the town of Sonpur,⁵ where the royal camp was often pitched. *Luputurā / handa*, wherein the donated village was included is mentioned also in an earlier grant of the same donor where the word is spelt as *Luputurī*.⁶ According to Rai Bahadur Hira Lal⁷ this *Luputurā / handa* is probably the same as *Lupatimgā* of the Pīṭhī Plates of the 6th year⁸ which he was inclined to identify with *Lupur*, six miles south-east of Boling in the Pīṭhī State. B. C. Mazumdar⁹ has, on the other hand, pointed out *Nup-tara* and *Nupur-singa* within the Sonpur State one of which he thought, must be identical with *Luputurā*. I agree with the latter view and opine that *Nuptura* must be the village after which *Luputurī / handa* was named. As for *Gōttaikēlā* the donated village Mr. Sirkar, the Secretary of the Sonpur State, kindly informs me that it is now known as *Gotirkele* and is about three miles from the town of Sonpur.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 ॐ¹¹ स्वस्वमन्त्रमणिःकुट्टिममदनच(व)लयन¹-कवरवार¹विलासिनोज
- 2 नचर¹¹नृपुरवचत्र(स्त)पाराप(व)तकुलपचस्वनव(व)धिरितदगदि¹¹नाना-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 350. The reading seems to be *Turivula* rather than *Turivuna*. See also below p. 253, n. 7.
² We have *Tela Mahanadi anjama imala jala paritrikrita* *pillana Suvarnapur at isla*
srīmad vijaya katalat in the 13a-cungī Durgā Plates of Mahā Bhavagupta(II) Varatīkṣa. I. B. O. P. S. Vol. II, p. 52. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1550.

³ *Srīmad Nīlāma samavasinah srīmatā vijaya katalat*. It may be pointed out here that I lect. who has edited these grants, has explained *īrama* as 'pleasure garden' and taken *katalat* for (the city of) *kāṭaka*, identifying it with the modern Cuttack. Some other scholars have correctly taken this word in the sense of 'camp'. See above, Vol. XI, pp. 188f.

⁴ See below n. 14.

⁵ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1558-60.

⁶ We may even take *īrama* to mean 'a pleasure garden' with a palace where the king occasionally resided.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, p. 94. It has been read as *Lupattara* but the correct reading is *Lupatūra*.

⁸ Above, Vol. XI, p. 201.

⁹ Above, Vol. III, p. 344.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XI, p. 101.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹² This *aśhara* looks more like *ne*. The *ī* stroke is parted into two at the end, whereby perhaps *ai* is meant. The proper sign for *ai* *matrā* is, however, seen below in *na* of *nanīdya* l. 23.

¹³ The letter *ra* is clear on the plate, though the impression shows a curve against the horizontal stroke of it.

¹⁴ Read *da a diṣṭo nana*. With this description we may compare *anīla tara vilasini charana nōpā(nupu) ra rai ṛdbhranta matla paravata lalata(l) sakala diq antar agata tandi jana vistarita līrtleḥ rīmulō Murasī(ṣī)-manah* of the Nagpur Museum Plates of the 8th year (above, Volume VIII, p. 141).

- 3 देसा(श)न्तरादागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकि(की)र्त्तैर्विविधविद्यालंकृतविद्वज्जन-
 4 नितकाव्यालापस्तुतधनपतिविभवस्था¹र्क्षितरचितविचित्रप्रासादाद्या-
 5 लिकादेवकुलोद्यानवापीकूपतडागोपसो(शो)भाजितसुरपुरम्-
 6 हिम्नः ।² प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डमण्डलाग्रतुण्डस्वण्डितारातिमत्त-
 7 मातङ्ग विमुक्तसुक्ताफलप्रसाधितासे(शे)षमहीमण्डल³
 8 सकलभूपालभौलिमालाविलग्नभाणिक्यभयु(यू)खत्रातामिरञ्जि-
 9 तक्रमकमलयुगलात्⁴ श्रीमदाराभात् परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
 10 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीसि(शि)वगुप्तदेवपादानुध्या-
 11 तपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 सोमकुलतिलकचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमन्मवगुप्तराजदेवः कुस(श)-
 13 ली कोसलायां⁵ गुपुतुराखण्डप्रतिव(व)क्ष्णोत्तङ्केलाग्रामे ।¹ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् सपु(पू)-
 प्य तद्विध-
 14 यौयथाकालाध्यासिनः समार्हृतसन्निधातुदाण्डपासि(शि)कपिसु(शु)नवेतुका-⁶
 15 वरोधजनराजवल्लभादोन् सर्वान् समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवता ।² य-
 16 थास्माभिरयं ग्रामः सन्निधिं सोपनिधिं सर्ववा(वा)धाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिक-
 17 रकरादानसमेतः साम्न(स्त्र)मधुक³ सगर्तोपरश्चतु[.]⁴सीमाप-
 18 र्यन्तः सजलस्थलसहितः ।¹ खदिरपट्टविनिर्गताय सुवर्णी-
 19 पुरवास्तुव्याथ श्रीकमलवनवर्णिक्रयोनाय सलिलधारापुरःसरमाच-
 20 न्दतार⁵कार्काक्षितिसमकालोपभोगार्थं मातृ(ता)पित्रोरत्ननक्ष पुण्यसो(शो)-
 21 ऽमिहृष्ये ताम्न(स्त्र)सा(शा)सनेनावारौक्त्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य समुचित-

¹ Probably the intended reading is *vibhava sparaddhinō rachita*

² This *danda* is unnecessary

³ Read *prasādhit asīsha rana mahī mandalāh* This and the following compound qualify *Maha Bhavaguplaraṇadēva* and not *Arāma* These two attributes of the king occur also in his Katak Plates of the 31st year (above, Vol III, p 349, text II 34 37)

⁴ Read *ṇuṇṇalāh* and see the foregoing note

⁵ The word *Kōśalayām*, which was evidently first omitted by inadvertence and later supplied, is engraved in smaller characters on the space above the ring hole opposite l 17 and is to be read after *kusalī* in l 13, as indicated by a *kālapada* sign after each of the two words

⁶ Read *vantirū a°*

The letter *ra* appears below the line Evidently it was first omitted and was later supplied

22 भोगभागकरहिरण्यादिभिर्भवन्ति सुखेन प्रतिवस्तुष्वर्थं (व्यम्) । अनेनापि प्रा-
 23 सं(स)सा(शा)मनेन सुवर्णपुरीयथीकमलवनवगिक्स्थानेन व(व)लिचरुनेवेद्य-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिकरणार्थं (य 01 र्थ) श्रीकेस(श)वर्त्रीश्रादित्यभट्टारकाभ्या । टंवकुन्नी(ला)-
 25 भ्या सा(शा)मनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः¹ । भाविभिय भूपति भिर्दत्तरिय(य)मम्मटोया धर्मगा-
 26 रवादस्मदुगोहा(धा)ञ्च स्वदत्तरिया(वा)नुपालनीया । तथा चोक्त धर्मभा(शा)स्त्रे ।
 27 व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिर्व(भि) । यत्तु [यम्²] यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा
 28 फल(लम्) । [11॥³] सा भृदफलस'का(गत्ता) व' परदत्तेति पार्थिवा । स्वदानात्फ-
 ल[सा⁴]नन्त्व प-
 29 रदत्तानुपालने । [12॥⁵] पट्टिर्षमस्तमाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद [1']
 30 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वक्ष्यन्ति पितामहा, [1'] भूमिदाता कुले जा-
 31 तः स ननाता भविष्यति । [11॥⁶] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(स्त्रा)ति यच्च भूमि प्रथ-
 च्छति । उर्भा
 32 तौ पुष्पकर्माणि नियतं स्वर्गार्गा(गा)सिना । [15॥⁷] तडागाना मन्त्राणि(स्त्रिण)
 वाजपेयस(श)-
 33 तानि(तेन) च । गवा कीटिप्रदानेन भूमिर्त्ता न शुध्यति । [16॥⁸] स्वर्णमेक
 34 रथैर्महुलं(लम्) । हरन(त्र)रकमायाति यावदाहतसंभव⁹ । [17॥⁹] अन्यायेन
 35 रन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतर्चैव स हन्यात्सप्तमं कुल(लम्) । [18॥¹⁰]

¹ This is clearly a mistake for *harany adikam uparany abhar=*
² This *danda* is unnecessary
³ The impression shows a superfluous seratch attached to it giving it the appearance of *tri* but on the plate it is plain *ti*

⁴ The small vertical stroke seen after *sa* on the impression does not appear on the plate
⁵ The second half of this stanza has been left out through mistake We may add it thus *akshepya cl=*
⁶ Read *sutaryanam=* or the *pada* will be too short of a syllable
⁷ The *anusvara* over *la*, which is clear on the plate, has not come out on the impression
⁸ Read *harayata=cha* or the quarter will have a syllable in excess

226

[illegible]

222

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

qzz

लींभी न कीयं नो वृथा मम दाम्नात्तवामा नालवष्टी वल्लदः॥ नृक्षुपुत्र
 लींक्षालोत्तमस्तु न श्योत्रिबोक्षणादहो लक्ष्म्यैवामुल्लभनयास्यो न॥

३८ ३९ ४० ४१ ४२ ४३ ४४ ४५ ४६ ४७ ४८
 ३८ ३९ ४० ४१ ४२ ४३ ४४ ४५ ४६ ४७ ४८

36 तां स्वा(वा) ।¹ यो हरेच वसुधरां(राम्) [।²] स विष्ठाया कृमिभूमि³त्वा
पचते पितृभिः सह ।[।9*॥] आ-

Third Plate, First Side

37 दिव्यो वरुणो विश्वप्र(र्ष)ज्ञा सोमो हुतास(श)नः । शु(शू)लपाणिस्तु भगवान् ।⁴
अमिन-

38 न्दन्ति भूमिदं(दम्) ।[।10॥⁵] सामान्योय धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा काले काले पालनीयो
भवद्भिः [।⁶]

39 रिति⁷ सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः[।⁸] ।[।11॥⁹]
इति-

40 कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला ।¹ श्री(श्री)यमगुचिन्त्य मगुयजि(जी)वितं च [।²]
सेकलमिदमु-

41 दाहृत च बुद्धा(बुद्धा) ।¹ नहि पुरुषैः परकि(की)र्तयो विलोप्याः ।[।12॥²] परम-
महारकमहाराजाधि-

42 राजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्री[म³]⁴ज्जन-

43 मेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्ब(संव)त्सरे समदसमे⁵ आषाढ-

44 माससितपक्षपञ्चम्या । यत्राहृत⁶ ।¹ सम्ब(संव)त् १७ आषाढशुदि ५ । ज्ञेया-

45 ऽग्नेधार्थसा(शा)चस्मृतिविम[ल⁷]धिषा वेदवेदाङ्गविद्या ।¹ सौ(शि)चाकल्पेतिहास⁸प्र-

46 कटसुरगुरुप्राप्तभूयिष्ठधान्ता । नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरतनुना म-

47 न्निष्णा यस्य राज्य निर्वू(र्व्यू)ढं सोयमुच्चैस्तु(स्त्रि)जगति विदितो देवजनमेजय-

48 श्रीः⁹ ।[।13॥*]¹⁰ " स सुत ।

49 व सुत त्कि हरद . . .

¹ This *danda* is unnecessary

² This *mi* is superfluous, read *kṛimīr-bhūta*

³ The two syllables *riti* are superfluous

⁴ The portion *vuddhā* occurs below the line

⁵ Read *saptadasē*

⁶ The impression shows a small stroke attached to *sa*, which does not exist on the plate

⁷ Instead of *Śrī Janamējayaādīvaḥ*, the writer has used *dēva Janamējaya śrīk* evidently to conform to the metrical scheme, which purpose still remains partly unfulfilled unless we read *Janmējaya* for *Janamejaya*. The corresponding reading in the Katak Plates of the 31st year is *dharmma Kandaṣṣadevaḥ*. The Katak Plates have two verses in praise of Śīdhārana, one of which is the same as occurs here (Above, Vol III, p 349, text 1 37 42)

⁸ Metre *Sragdhara*

⁹ It appears that the matter engraved after *śrīk* in this line and the next has intentionally been scored out by the original engraver himself, probably because some objectionable mistakes might have crept in. In spite of his attempt to erase the engraving of this part, certain letters can still be made out, which indicate that the contents of this portion mentioned the names of the writer, the engraver and so forth. If so, nothing of the original charter has been lost, as those names appear in the two lines on the reverse of this plate

Third Plate, Second Side

- 50 'लोखीतसीद तास्रसासनं महासन्धीवीर्यही राणकधीममदत्त' ॥ मन्नाचपट-
 51 लीना कौलाससुतेन श्रीअलवेन ॥ उक्तीणसु सीवृष्णासुतेन चरटामनेतो ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

(Ll 1 13) *Om*! Hail!

From the prosperous *Āiāma*, which has (all) the ten quarters deafened by the fluttering noise of the flocks of pigeons frightened by the jungle of the anlets (*uṛa*) on the feet of the numerous excellent courtesans (*mōring*) within the enclosures of numerous having floors (*śuddha*) with bright jewels, which has its fame spread by minstrels hailing from different countries which (in opulence) with the wealth of Kubēra (lit. lord of riches) exalted in poetic narrations produced by scholars endowed with various learning, (and) which has eclipsed the grandeur of *Āmrāvātī* (lit. city of gods) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces, lofty buildings, temples, gardens, step wells, wells and tanks,

the illustrious *Paramabhattachārāla Mahānūjādharāja Paramāvara Mahā-Bhava-guptarāja dēva*, the overlord of *Trikalīnga*, in ornament of the *Sōma-kula*, (and) a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, who has meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P. V. P. Śivaguptadēva*, a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara* who (i.e., *Mahā Bhavagupta*) has the entire circle of the [battle] field decorated by the pearls loosened from the (temples of the) enemies' rutting elephants rent aunder with the point of the semitar (*unielded*) by his cudgel-like impetuous arm (and) who has the pair of his lotus like feet tinted by the collection of rays (*en-nation*) from the precious stones attached to the wreaths over the coronets of all the princes being in good health,

(Ll 13 17) having paid homage to the *Brāhmanas* in the *Gōttakōḍī* village included in the *Luputurā khanda* in *Kōśālī*, issues a command to all (his officials) of that district (persons) who may at any time be holding office, (namely) *Samāhantṛi*, *Sannadhātṛi*, *Prinda*, *Āśika*, *Pisūna*, *Īrātrīla*, *Āvādhajana*, *Rājavallabha*² and so forth —

(Ll 15 21) "Be it known to you that by (the) copper charter We have for the accretion of merit and fame to (Our) parents as well as to Our elf, donated this (*Gōttakōḍī*) village with liberations of water, having made (it) tax free, exempt from all hindrance extending up to (its) four

¹ Mistakes of spelling in this and the next line are too many and too obvious to need correction.

As surmised in the foregoing note, these two lines seem to contain the same matter in its revised form as was written and cancelled in ll 18 19. It may, however, be observed that the writing of ll 50 51 is not by the same hand to which the engraving of nearly the entire grant is due and differs from the rest in several respects: its mistakes of spelling are more numerous, its characters are bigger in size and some of them are quite different in shape, e.g. *v* and medial *u*. This rouses a suspicion as to whether it was the original engraver himself who is responsible for effacing the writing of ll 48 49 and adding that in ll 50 51 or whether it was somebody else who some time later tampered with that portion of the charter. If latter is the case the motive of the tamperer is not clear. Any way, no material harm has been done to the original grant by altering or substituting the last lines in question.

² Not all of these designations have been satisfactorily explained. *Samāhantṛi* literally 'one who collects', probably answers to 'a collector of revenue'. *Sannadhātṛi* means 'one who approaches or ushers' and perhaps signifies 'an usher'. These two terms occur also in *Kautilya's Arthashastra* where they have been rendered respectively as 'collector general' and 'chamberlain' by Dr. R. Shamasastry in his translation of that work (second edition, pp. 63 and 60). *Dandopasāḍa* denotes 'one who holds a rod and rope and may stand for 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals' (See A. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Benāḷ*, Vol. III, p. 185). *Pisūna* may correspond to 'a spy'. *Īrātrīla*, 'one who holds a cane', may be the same as 'a door-keeper'. *Āvādhajana* can here mean either 'royal ladies' or 'a warden of ladies' apartment' or simply 'a watchman'. What exactly the function of a *Rājavallabha*, literally 'king's favourite', was is difficult to explain.

boundaries, along with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits, mango and *Bassia latifolia* trees, pits and barren plots, water and land, with (*the privilege of*) collecting toll and revenue, to the illustrious Kamalavana Merchants' Association, immigrant from Khadirapadra (*and*) resident in Suvarnapura, to be enjoyed as long as the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth (*endure*)

(Ll 21-22) " Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, offering (*to it its*) customary share of income, rent, (*tribute of*) gold, and so forth

(Ll 22 25) " Being in possession of the charter, this illustrious Kamalavana Merchants' Association has, in its turn, bestowed (*the same village*), having registered it as a deed, on the two temples, (*one*) of the lord Kṛṣṇa (*and the other*) of the lord Āditya, for charity, oblation and offerings as well as for repairing wear and tear (*in the temples*)

(Ll 25 26) " And, future kings should, through respect for the *dharma* and out of regard for Us, protect this Our grant as their own grant For, it is declared in the *Dharmasāstra* —"

(Ll 27 41) [Here follow twelve of the customary verses]

(Ll 41 44) (*This charter has been issued*) during the victorious reign of the illustrious P M P Janamējayadēva, the overlord of Trikalunga, an ornament of the Sōma-kula, in the seventeenth year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshādha, where in figures (*it is*) Anno 17 Āshādha *śudi* 5

(Ll 44 48) Highly renowned in (*all*) the three worlds is this very illustrious Janamējayadēva, the administration of whose kingdom has been carried on by his minister, Sādhārana by name, an eminent Dvija (*lit* twice born) by birth, whose intellect is clear owing to (*his knowledge of*) all the lore of polity and law worth knowing, who is manifestly a very Brihaspati (*lit* preceptor of gods) in (*expounding*) the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅga *vidyās* (*such as*) Śikṣhā, Kalpa, Itihāsa (*and so forth*) (*and*) who is (*on account of all that*) possessed of supreme glory

(Ll 50 51) This *tāmrasāsana* has been composed by Kailāsa's son, the illustrious Alava, the *Mahākṣapatalin*¹ (*attached to*) the illustrious Mahāsāndhivigrahaṇ Rānaka Malladatta, and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Sivallā

No 41 --KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA [KALACHURI] SAMVAT 593

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

Kāritālāi is now a small village twenty nine miles North by East of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jubbulpore District The place seems to be of great antiquity, for an inscription in shell characters² and another of the Gupta period³ have been discovered there There are several old temples at Kāritālāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, a fragmentary inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja, the son of Yuvarājādēva I Kāvūravarsha was brought over to Nāgpur⁴ and is

¹ This designation denotes 'the high officer in charge of the *akṣapatala* office' The latter term has been variously rendered by 'Record Office', 'Court of Rolls', 'Court of Justice', 'Archive' and 'Accountant General's Office' The word *mahākṣapatalin* has been discussed by Prof J Ph Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt I, p 133 Dr Shamasastri translates the term *akṣapatala* as 'accountants' office' in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* (p 66)

² Hiralal Inscriptions in C P and Berar (Second Ed.), p 43

³ C I I, Vol III, pp 117ff

⁴ Cunningham has described the ruins at Kāritālāi in *A S R*, Vol IX, pp 78 He mentions a huge statue of the Boar 8' long, 7' high and 2' 9" broad The Kāritālāi stone inscription was probably put up at a temple of the Boar incarnation, see cv 27 and 35 of it, above, Vol II, pp 178 9

at present preserved in the Central Museum, Nāgpur. The present inscription seems to have been discovered by the late R. B. Hualal in 1928 when he visited the place on his way to the Śilahārī caves which are situated not very far from Kārītālū.¹ A short notice of it appears in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, but the record has not been published so far. I edit it here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology in India.

From the account given by R. B. Hualal the inscription seems now to be affixed to the temple of Dēvī Madhū at Kārītālū. It is fragmentary. The preserved portion measures 10½" in breadth and 1' 10½" in height. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *al-sharas*. The fourteenth line runs along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Samvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As said before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left hand side, but on the right hand, sixty to seventy *al-sharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space of 1' 6" in breadth. Of this only about one fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four fifths broken away and lost.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *u*, one in *I al-shmanarāja* (l. 11) and the other in *Druhina* (l. 2), etc., and to those of *gh* in *Imūghavarsha* (l. 12) and *Ghatānaya-* (l. 11). The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā* compare *g* in *jagat* and *dīg=ṛia*, both in l. 2, *Nāgabhat* in l. 9 etc., with *rā* in *yat-āsantati* in l. 6, *th* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *parihantū* (l. 4). Similarly *th* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see *prithunū* (l. 4). The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a serif, (see *pāyāsū-*, l. 3, *nag ānūārī*, l. 11, etc.), but in some cases by a curve turned to the left as in *lshinōu* (l. 2). The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō*, and *Upēndia*, l. 1), but in two cases viz. *Rudrābhya* (l. 1) and *ai I al-shmanarājadev* (l. 11) the medial *i* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve, while in two others we see fully developed *prishtha mātrās* also (see *līdhō* l. 3 and *pāda* l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the introductory observance and the marginal line recording the date, etc., the whole record is metrically composed. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant preceding and following *i* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātū varṇyam* (l. 1) and *mātrām* (l. 2), *v* has been used for *b* in *vala* (l. 7) and the guttural nasal for *anusāra* in *Ishin ānhasō* (l. 6).

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory observance to *Druhina* (Brahman) *Upēndra* (Vishnu) and *Rudra* (Śiva) come three verses invoking the blessings of the three deities. Ll. 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of *Nāgabhata*, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down

¹ The second edition of his *Inscriptions in the C. P.*, etc. (1932) mentions it, while the first edition of it (1916) contained no reference to it. In 1928 R. B. Hualal was accompanied by the Government Epigraphist (see *Inscriptions*, etc., p. 45, n. 1), but there is no mention of this record in his report for 1927-8. Perhaps it was not considered as of sufficient importance.

in the Śruti and Smṛti. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king Amōghavarsha bowed to the feet of some one who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. The thirteenth line speaks of the erection by him of a structure resembling a hill. Finally the marginal line states that the record was composed by Prasannāditya of the Ghata family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the illustrious king Lakshmanarājadēva.

The late R. B. Bahadur Hirralal who first noticed this inscription read the date as 693 and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri Chēdi era which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. in Bāghelkhand, he took it as equivalent to A. D. 941,¹ obviously identifying Lakshmanarāja mentioned in it with the king of the same name, of whose reign we have another fragmentary inscription from Kāritalai itself. As Yuvarājāditya Kēyūrarsha, the father of Lakshmanarāja, was the father-in-law of the Rāshtrakūta king Baddiga Amōghavarsha III, it is clear that he flourished in the beginning of the tenth and his son Lakshmanarāja about the middle of the same century. The mention of Amōghavarsha may be adduced to support this view. In A. D. 941, which, according to R. B. Hirralal, is the date of this record, Amōghavarsha III was no doubt dead, for his son Krishna III succeeded him towards the end of A. D. 939.² But this presents no difficulty, for the record does not state that Amōghavarsha was living in A. D. 941. It refers to him incidentally in connection with the holy person who constructed the temple at which the inscription was originally put up. Besides, from the Sudī inscription³ we learn that Amōghavarsha III was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter with Permīdi Butuga II. That inscription is no doubt taken to be spurious, but we need not for that reason reject all historical information in it, unless it is contradicted by other incontrovertible evidence. As there was no other Lakshmanarāja in the family of the Kalachuris of Tripurī known till then, R. B. Hirralal seems to have felt amply justified in reading the date as above.

But the reading is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrāh inscription of Prabōdhasraya and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn.⁴ The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee first read it as 6, but it appears as 5 in his article on the Chandrāh inscription.⁵ Other instances in which the figure stands for 5 can also be cited.⁶ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this being referred to the Kalachuri era corresponds to A. D. 841.^{2, 8} The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading, for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshtrakūta king of that name who ruled from A. D. 814 to 880. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris were

¹ See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (second ed.) p. 45.

² For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 (see *L. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30). His son Krishna III's Deoli plates were issued in A. D. 940.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 179.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85; above, Vol. I, p. 354.

⁵ *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 119.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 148. There is a similar difference of opinion about the reading of the year in 11 67 of the Śīradā inscription from Hund, above, Vol. XXII, p. 98 and n. 3.

⁷ See for instance the figures of the year and the *tithi* of the Baltrā plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, above, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Khajurāho inscription of Kokkala, Cunningham's *4 S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX and that of the *tithi* in the Palampur plates of Bhūmaditya, above, Vol. XXI, pl. facing p. 172.

⁸ The evidence of palaeography is also in favour of this earlier date. I would particularly draw attention to the formation of the medial diphthongs by lengthening the top line to the left to end in a small curve (l 14) and the round form of *th*. In the later Kāritalai stone inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja (circa 950 A. D.) the medial diphthongs are in all cases denoted either by strokes on the top or by *prishtha matrās* and *th* is flattened on the right side.

matrimonially connected in the ninth century also, for Amoghavarsha I's son Kṛṣṇa II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter¹, though this marriage may not have taken place before A. D. 812.² Besides, Amoghavarsha was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahā Lakṣmī to ward off a public calamity.³ It is not therefore, unlikely that Amoghavarsha had gone to the Chōḍi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhatta's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhatta is evidently Nāgabhatta II of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty, who was completely routed by Amoghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.⁴ Nāgabhatta was not living in A. D. 812 the date of the present inscription, for according to the Jun work *Prabhūtaśaśarita*⁵ he died in V. S. 890 (A. D. 837-8), nor is Amoghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grandfather. The defeat of Nāgabhatta II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before A. D. 800. The personage who in the preceding line is described as a destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is therefore probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*samjāhṛ*) is lost at the end of that line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhatta is mentioned in l. 9, but as the name of Amoghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amoghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name, for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga Amoghavarsha III.

If my reading of the date is accepted the Lakṣmanarāja mentioned in the present inscription becomes the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. He was the predecessor and may have been the father of Kōkalla I⁶ who stands at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁷ and the Benares plate of Karka.⁸ The Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha state that after his victorious campaign in North India Gōvinda III returned to the bank of the Narmadā and conquering Kōśala, Kulunga, Vāṅgi, Dāhala, Ōḍṛala and Mālavā made his servants govern them.⁹ This seems to mean that Gōvinda raided the six countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes or deposing them placed his own nominees in charge of their countries. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Mālwā from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gūṇḍa and Vāṅgi.¹⁰ In some other records of the Gujaraṭ Rāshtrakūṭas we find references to battles fought

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263-70.

² As I have shown elsewhere (above, p. 217) Amoghavarsha I was born about A. D. 799. He was therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in A. D. 812 his son Kṛṣṇa II was already married to Lakṣmanarāja's granddaughter, for he is known to have reigned till about 911 A. D. Perhaps Amoghavarsha had gone to Tripuri to seek the Kalachuri king's help when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

⁶ This Kōkalla was a contemporary of Bhūja I of Kanauj who flourished from circa A. D. 835 to 885. His son-in-law Kṛṣṇa II reigned from about A. D. 880 to 911. Kōkalla may have therefore flourished from about A. D. 850 to 885.

⁷ Above, Vol. I, pp. 251ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.

¹⁰ See lines 26-27 of the Baroda plates of Karka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

by them with the Gurjara Pratihāras in Ujjayini¹ Mīlwī was, therefore, made a protectorate and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūtas established in Gujārāt to check the advance of the Pratihāras. The same may have happened in the case of Dāhala also.² As Lakshmanarāja is the earliest known prince of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala, it is not unlikely that the present record in its lost portion mentioned the establishment of the Kalachuri family in Dāhala after the defeat of Nāgabhūta. Subsequently the Rāshtrakūtas made many matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris³ and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara Pratihāras.

It would not be out of place to discuss here the relation of this Lakshmanarāja with other princes of the same name known from two other records discovered in North India. The Kahlī plates of Sōdhadēva⁴ mention a Kalachuri prince Lakshmanarāja in whose family was born the prince Rājaputra whose descendant in the eleventh generation named Sōdhadēva made a grant in V S 1134 (A D 1077). The date of this Rājaputra is approximately settled by the statement in the record that Gunāmbhōdhidēva I, his descendant in the third generation, helped Bhōja in his wars against a Guṇḍa king. This Bhōja can be no other than the Gurjara Pratihāra Bhōja whose known dates range from A D 836 to 882. Gunāmbhōdhidēva I may therefore have flourished about A D 850. His third lineal ancestor Rājaputra can consequently be placed in *circa* A D 775. The indefinite manner in which the relationship of Rājaputra to Lakshmanarāja is mentioned in the Kahlī plates makes it difficult to conjecture the date of the latter, but that he did not flourish later than the beginning of the eighth century A D seems certain. He cannot, therefore, be identified with Lakshmanarāja of the present inscription.

There are three other kings named Lakshmanarāja known from a stone inscription found at Kasīā⁵ in the Gōrakhpur District, U P. Rai Bahadur D R Sahu has assigned this inscription to the 11th or 12th century A D, but on palaeographic evidence it appears to belong to a period not later than the tenth century A D.⁶ The princes mentioned in this inscription were ruling over a territory contiguous to the kingdom of the Kalachuris of the Kahlī plates. One would, therefore, expect to find some links connecting the two families in the genealogical lists of the two inscriptions, but none have been noticed so far. A careful comparison of the two lists would show, however, that there are two names common to them, *viz*, Rājaputra and his son Śivarāja. The former name is evidently a *brūda* and we find it actually stated in the Kasīā inscription that the real name of the prince was Lakshmana and that he was called *Rājaputra* because of his virtues. The *Rājaputra* of the Kahlī plates flourished about A D 775 which is, therefore, the date of Lakshmanarāja II of the Kasīā inscription. Lakshmanarāja I, his great grandfather, and

¹ See *c g*, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 67

² So far as one can judge from the present fragmentary record, it seems to have contained glorification of the Rāshtrakūtas rather than of the Kalachuris. It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning king is added in the margin.

³ See *c g*, the Kardā plates of Karka III, II 16 25, *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 265

⁴ Above, Vol VII, p 89

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, pp 128ff

⁶ It may be noted here that in the Kasīā inscription, (1) the medial diphthongs are denoted by small curves added to the left of the top line, (2) the medial *u* appears as a small serif at the bottom of the vertical, (3) the left limbs of *dh* and *lh*, the tail of *h* and the vertical of *th* have not yet developed as in the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh or twelfth century A D. Its *th* has, however, developed a vertical stroke on the right. I would, therefore, assign the inscription to the tenth century A D. The record seems to mention two successors of Lakshmanarāja III and the names of one or two more may have been lost in the mutilated portion. As I have placed Lakshmanarāja III of the Kasīā inscription in *circa* A D 850, the last Kalachuri prince mentioned in the record must have reigned some time during the tenth century A D. This date is corroborated by the palaeographic evidence detailed above.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 वमा ई जगत्पारावर्द्धिनिःक्षिपात् २
 तद्वेलादसंशयायात्म्ये इमं दनात् ३
 कथं यत्प्रतिपत्तिरिति ० तीर्थं यत्प्रदत्तं ४
 न कर्मः यत्प्रतिपत्तिरिति ० यत्प्रदत्तं ५
 लोकादसंशयायात्म्ये इमं दनात् ६
 कृतिनवत विद्वत्वितामश्वाराम ७
 महाद्विपुलं यत्प्रदत्तं ८
 मयसा न ह सा न मयसा न ९
 कथं यत्प्रतिपत्तिरिति ० यत्प्रदत्तं १०
 तिस्रश्चाचार्यवलाद्विषयः ११
 श्रीमदमायवर्षं यत्प्रदत्तं १२
 वाय रः १३

No 42 —FOUR GANGA COPPER PLATE GRANTS

By S N CHAKRAVARTI, M A, CALCUTTA

The four sets of copper plate grants belonging to the Ganga kings of Kalinga were acquired through Mr S Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedī, Ganjām. They have been found, as Mr Rajaguru was told by the owner of the plates, in some villages of Northern Ganjām, and were purchased by Mr N G Majumdar, M A, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. They are now deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. I edit the charters by the kind permission of Mr Majumdar.

A —Plates of Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription are three in number and measure about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". Their rims are not raised. Each plate is inscribed on both sides. The inscription is damaged in several places. But practically the whole of it can be made out quite satisfactorily. The ring on which the plates were strung is about 3" in diameter. The small oval seal, below which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about $\frac{3}{4}$ " by $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It is damaged and the emblem on it is no more visible. The weight of the three plates, with ring and seal, is about 70 tolas.

The alphabet of the inscription resembles that of the Dhanantara Plates of Sāmantavarman,¹ and may be assigned to the 7th Century A D. The language is Sanskrit. Except three of the customary verses in lines 28-35 the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography the following peculiarities call for remark. —*v* and *b* are not distinguished, both being indicated by the sign for *v*. A consonant after *r* is doubled only in a few instances, e.g., *Gōkarnnēśvara* (l 5), and *li(ḷi)ttayō* (l 35). The letter *t* preceding *r* is doubled in *śakti ttaya-* (l 9), etc. *Viśaṅga* has been wrongly used in *bhagavataḥ=chara āchara-* (ll 12), *pitrih-* (l 11), and *vēhubhūhi=vasudhā* (l 28), and wrongly dropped in *Saga ādibhi* (l 29). The sign for final *t* has been used twice, though wrongly, in *-ādhiśthānāt=bhagavataḥ* (l 1) and *sa karanāt* (l 14).

The inscription is of the Ganga King of Kalinga, Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva, who was a devout worshipper of the lord Gōkarnnēśvara, residing on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain. From his residence at Śvētaka the king by this document informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned in the Ndadāsringa²(?) *viśhaya*, that he gave the village of Bhusundā in the said province to Ravisarman, a Brāhmana of the Kāśyapa *gōtṛa*, the Vājasanēya *charana* and the Kāṇva-*sākhā*, who was a resident of the Pratiśthāna *viśhaya* of the *bhāttāraka* Guṇēśvara³. The *dūtaka* was the Mahāsāmanta Pūrnadēva who had the title of *Pañchamahāśabda*. The grant was written by Khanda, the son of the Mahāsandhivigrahaṇ Śrīsāmanta⁴ and engraved by Vichitra-hasta.

I am inclined to identify Jayavarman of the present grant with Jayavarman, brother of Anantavarman of the Parlakimedī plates⁴, which record the gift of the village Tālatthērē in the district of Krōśhtukavarttanī by Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarmān, at the request of his brother Jayavarman, to Viśhnusōmāchārya, a Brāhmana of the Parāsara *gōtṛa*, who was an inhabitant of the village of Śrangātikā in the district of Kāmarūpa or Assam.

¹ Above, Vol XV, pp 275 ff² [See p 262, nn 8 and 12 below —Ed.]³ [This may be only a title in which case the name of the official has not been given —Ed.]⁴ *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1920-21*, pp 15, 93; R D Bannerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol I, pp 232-33, J A H R S, Vol II, pp 273 ff

TEXT¹*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 Om² svastī [h*] Svōtak ādhṛṣṭhānāt³ d bhagavatah⁴
 2 ś=char āchāra-gō śakala 'aśṭika s'cī hāra
 3 [dha]ra[sya⁵] śhṛṭv mpaṭhī pralaya kārā
 4 [na hē]tōh Māhēndr āchala śikhara māt⁶ i
 5 nah śrīmad Gōkaruṇṭṣvara bhātārakah⁷ chara

First Plate, Second Side

- 6 na kamal ārādhanād-avāpti pūṣya ru
 7 chasō Gūṅg āmalā kul ambar⁸ tndah sva bhā
 8 ja va(ba)la parākram ākrānta il ala ka-
 9 ṅg idhṛṭya[h*] tal ti tirayah⁹ pral a
 10 rsh āmrāyūl āh¹⁰ śśha sāmānti para
 11 māmāhṣvarō mītī putr¹¹ pād ān[ru]

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 dhātō mahārīja śrī Jayavarmadōva[h*] l nā
 13 lī Ndadāsringa¹² vi[śim*]yē vatha kāl ādhya i
 14 nō vā(vi)śahārmah i karānāt(n) vrā(brī)līm¹³ na
 15 purōg idī rāj maka rājaputtra pra[dhā]
 16 nu(na)puruśim rīrakuta¹⁴ dādanāyaka bhō
 17 ga bhōgmā¹⁵ māsī j mīpād[īus*] jchīta bhāt i v i
 18 lā(la)bhā [jītīyā]

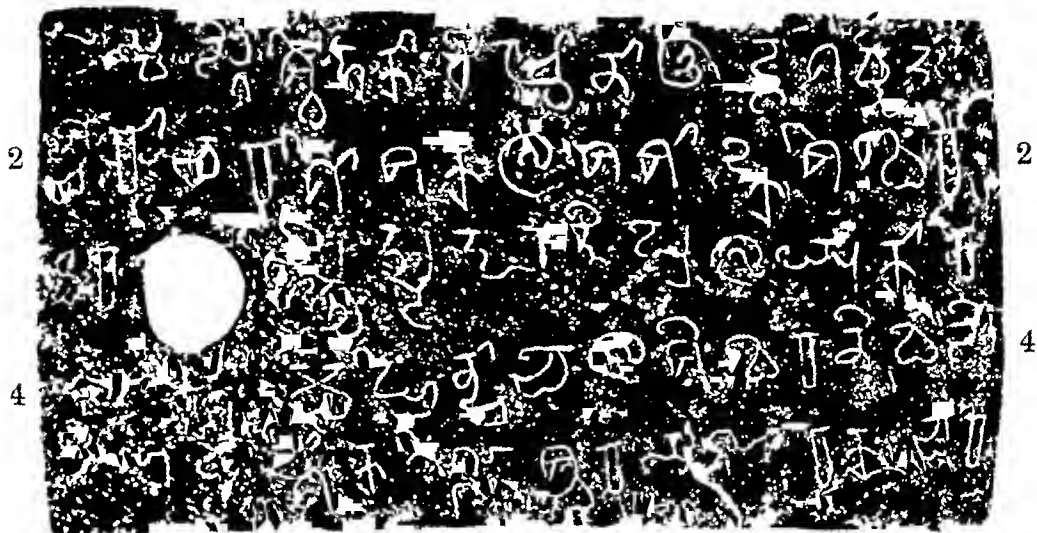
Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ns=chm(nus=cha) vath ārham pu(pū)javaty-ījāpavaty cha [*]
 20 Vīditam=śm bhavatyīm ūt id vishaya samya
 21 ndha¹⁶ Bhūsundā grīmō-v mū chatur-ṣm(īm) ōpaṭ
 22 kshatah bhātī(tī)rika Gūṇṣvara Pratiśthā¹⁷
 23 vām vishaya vīśaya vā vrā(brī)līm¹⁸ na Ravān[r*]mma[nō*] Kū
 24 śyapa gōttrīya Vāj vām(nē)va charana va
 25 Kūṇvahi¹⁹ śīkhmī śhila dhīrā purāṣar²⁰

¹ From the original plate and impressions² Expressed by a symbol³ The sign for *l* is superfluous read 'i d l=bt i⁴ The *usarga* is superfluousRead *gurōh*⁶ Read *bhaffarakasya*⁷ Read *kul ambar-*⁸ [The reading may be *lēdalgata* rūṅga —I'd]⁹ Read *rūchtrākūṭa*¹⁰ Read *bhōgi bhōga mīan*¹¹ Read *sambaddha*¹² Read *Pratiśthāna vishaya* [It is more probable that the grant was made on the occasion of the consecration of the image of Gūṇṣvara (Śiva) and that the name of the *vishaya* or district to which the donee belonged has been omitted by the scribe through oversight —I'd]

FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS
A.—PLATES OF MAHARAJA JAYAVARMADEVA.

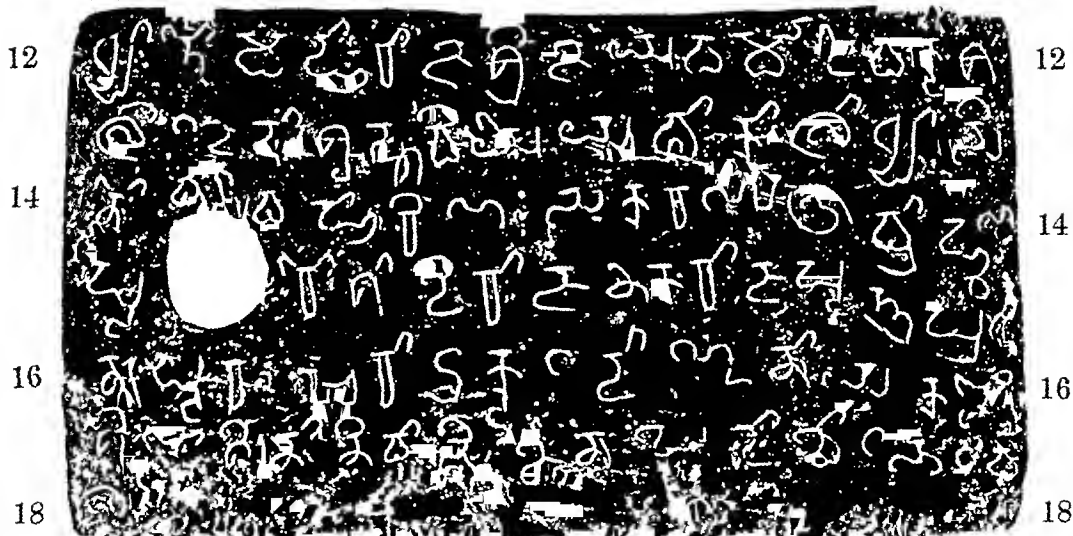
va.



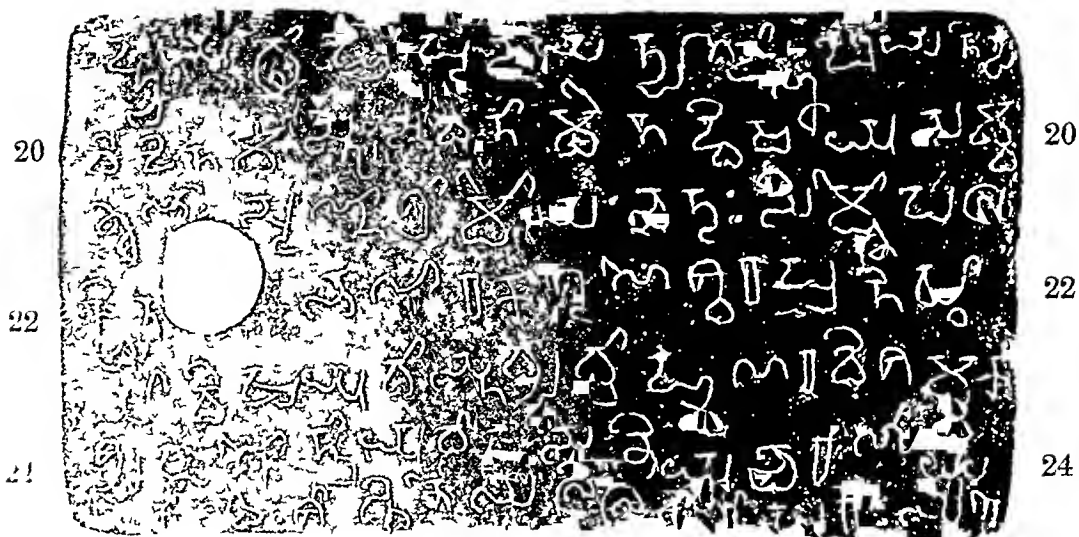
ib



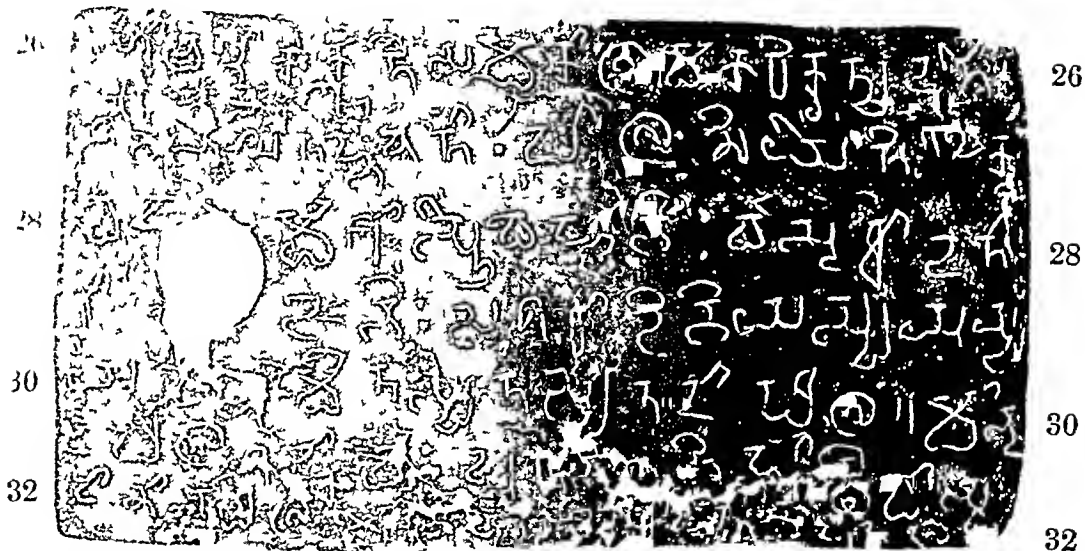
va



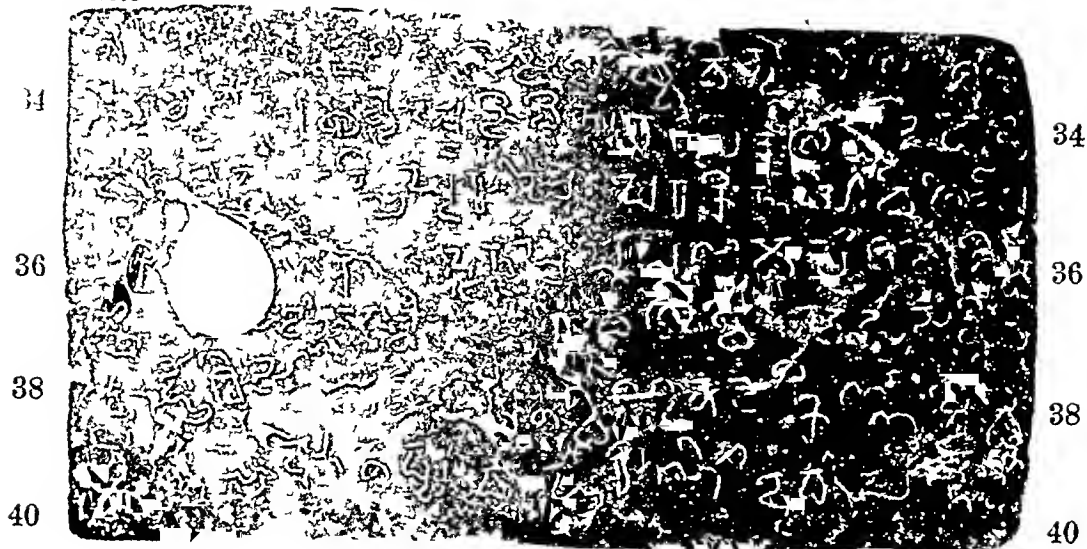
vb



vb



vb



Third Plate, First Side

- 26 n=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhīti sama-kālam=akari(rī)kritya datō(ttō)=
 27 smābhū[h [*] Ētad=bhavatāh pālaniyēti¹ || Uktam
 28 cha dharma śāstrē [i*] Vē(Ba)hubhūh²r=vasudhā datā(ttā)
 29 rājabhūh Sagar ādibhū(bhūh) [*] yasya yasya
 30 yadā bhu(bhū)mita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) ||³ Mā bhu(bhū)
 31 d=aphala-śankā vah para da[tt=ē]ti pārthivā[h⁴] sva-
 32 dānāt=phalam=ā[nantyam] para-datt=ānupāla

Third Plate, Second Side

- 33 nam(nam) ||⁵ Iti kamala dal ā=dal*-āmvu(bu) vi(bi)ndu lōlām śrīya-
 34 m=anuchintya manushya ji(jī)vitam cha | sakalam=idam=udā-
 35 hritāñ=cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para ki(kī)rttayō vilōpya(pyāh) [h⁶]
 36 Iti [dūta*]kō=dh[i*]krīta prāpta pañcha-mahā śavda(bda) śrī-ma-
 37 hāsāmanta [Pūrnna]dēva[h [*] Likhitam mahāsandhivi
 38 [gra]hī Śrīsāmanta-[sū]nuna(nā) Khandēna [i*] Utki(tkī)rnnam śrī Vi
 39 chittahastēna [i*] Vyā(vya)vahārīnō dēva [pra]bhā-
 40 [rinah [*]

B —Plates of Dānārnnavadēva

The inscription is incised on three copper-plates, each measuring about 5½" long by 3¼" broad. The plates are strung on a copper ring about 3" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered below a circular seal, which measures about 1¼" in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears in relief on countersunk surface the figures of a crescent at the top, a seated bull in the centre and an indistinct emblem at the bottom. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 118 *tolas*. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty four lines of writing. Though the plates have no raised rims, the writing on them is well preserved. The engraving has been carelessly done. Wrong spelling and omission of syllables are common mistakes.

The record is not dated but on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five of the customary stanzas in lines 23-31, the record is written in prose. In respect of orthography we may note the following points. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The consonant after *r* is, as a rule, doubled, e.g., *chandr-ārka-* (l. 18), *svaṅga-* (l. 27), but *m* has not been doubled in *-hētōr=Mahēndī āchala* (l. 2). *Anusvāra* has been used instead of the dental *n* in *vimdu* (ll. 29-30). The dental *s* represents the palatal *ś* in some cases, e.g., *sasānka* (ll. 1-2), *śikhara-* (ll. 2-3). The sign for *avagraha* has been used in *-grāmō= 'yam* (l. 15) and *prativādīkā= 'smābhūh* (l. 21). The final *t* has been used in *anyat* (l. 14).

The inscription is of Prithivīvarman's son, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the Paramēśvara Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gangas, the Rānaka Dānārnnavadēva, who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus feet of the holy lord Gōkarnnēśvara, dwelling on the summit of Mount Mahēndra and who

¹ Read *ētad=bhavadbhūh pālaniyam=ati*

² The *visarga* is superfluous

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ The two syllables *dalā* have been wrongly repeated

⁵ Metre *Pushpitagra*

by the excellence of his threefold power had endeared himself to all his vassals, and had required by the strength of his own arms the overlordship of the entire Kalunga country. From his residence at *Śvēta*, evidently the same as *Śvētaka*, the king informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun he gave the village *Kāsiddā*, situated in the *Jayadā vishaya* to *bhatta* Bōdhana's son *bhatta* *Durggakhandika*, (a Brāhmana) of the *Vatsa gōtra*, who was a student of the *Chhāndōga charana*, and had the fivefold *pravara* and *anupravara*. The inscription was written by the *Samdhivigrahin* Dhanadatta and engraved by *Dāmōdara*.

Dānārṇava, by whom this charter was issued, cannot at present be identified. He is evidently distinct from and later than another *Dānārṇava*, who was the father of *Indravarman* of the *Purle*¹ and *Tekkai*² plates, which are written in much earlier characters and are dated in the *Ganga* years 137³ and 154 respectively, roughly corresponding to A.D. 631 and 648.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] *Śvēt* ādhishthānād=bhagavataś=char āchara gurōśa(ś=śa)kala sa(śa)sā(śā)-
- 2 nka śekhara dha[rasya*] sthity utpatti⁶ pralaya kārana-bhōtor=Mahēndr-āchala si(śi)-
- 3 khara mvāsinaḥ śrīmad Gōkarṇnēśvara-bhattārakasya chara-
- 4 na kamal-ārādhana āvāpti(pta) punyamichaya[li*] śakti traya prakarsh ā
- 5 nurañjī(ñj) t āśēsha ssā(sā)manta chakra[li*] sva-bhūja va(ba)la parā-
- 6 kram ākrānta sakala Kala(li)ng ādhirājyē(jyah) [?paramamā
- 7 hēśvarō mātī pitrī pād āmudhyātah paramēśvara paramabha
- 8 ttā[ra*]kō mahārāj [dhi*]rāja Gang āmala-kula-tilaka-Rīnaka sri Dā
- 9 nārṇnavadēvah Prithvivarmma sutah kuśali [? Jayadā-vishayā

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 yathā kāl ādhyāsi(sī) śrīsāmanta mahāsāmanta rājanaka-rāja-
- 11 putra-kumārāmāty ōpari[ka*] dāndanīyaka-vishayapati grīma-
- 12 pati-dandapāsi(śi)[ka*] chāttrī(ta) bhata vallabha-jātīyīna(n) bhōgī(gī)[ka*]-jana-
- 13 padān⁸ [?yath-ārham mānayatī [? vō(bō)dhayatī [? samājñāpayatī cha
- 14 sarvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anyat [? vīditam=astu bhava-
- 15 tām [? ētad-vishayam(y) shatvaddha⁹-Kāsi[ddā] grāmō=yam sa-ja-
- 16 la sthala sa-padr-iranya¹⁰ sātavi¹¹ vitapa-samanvita(taś=)chatus si-
- 17 m ōpalakshitah [? ih=aiva sūrya grahanē mātā pitrōr=ātmanah¹²
- 18 puny ābhivṛddhayē sa-sahdhārāspurasakṛitā¹³ chandra-ārka kalam=a-

¹ Above Vol. XIV, pp. 360 ff

² *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff

³ *Ibid*, p. 308. Originally this date was read as 149

⁴ From impressions and the original plates

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ The conjunct *tpa* appears as *pē*. The left limb of *ta* is elongated downwards, so much so that it looks like the *ē* *matrā*

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Note that the *halanta* mark is expressed by the omission of the top line. The right hand short downward stroke with a bend at about the middle is a constituent of the dental *na*

⁹ Read *prativaddha*

¹⁰ Read *āranyah*

¹¹ Read *s atavikah*

¹² Read *ātmanas=cha*

¹³ Read *salila dhārā puraskṛitam=ā-*

२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 karikṇtya bhātta-Vōdhūna¹ -sutāya Chchhīndōga charanīya Vachchha²-gōtrā
 20 ya pañchīrīshaya³-pravarāya pañch-inupravaiāya bhātta **Durggākha-**
 21 **ndikāya** tāmvrā(mra) śīsanēna pratipādikā(tō)=smābhīh [||*] śāsa-
 22 na darśanād=dharmma gauravāch=cha na kēn=āpī panī⁴ paripanthīnā
 23 bhavitavya(vyam) | Tathā cha pathyatē dharmma-śāstrē [||*] Va(Ba)hubhīr=vva-
 24 sudhā datā(ttā) rājabhīh Sagar ādībhīr(bhīh) [||*] yasya yasya ya
 25 dī bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [||*] Sva dānāt=phalam=ānantya
 26 m=para datt ānupālānē⁵ [||*] Bhūmim yah pratigrihnā(lhnā)ti yās=cha bhūmi-
 27 m=prayachchhatī [||*] ubhau tau punya karmmanau na(ni)yatau svargga ga(gā)mi

Third Plate

- 28 nau [||*] Sva datām(ttām) paia dattām=vā yō harēd=vasundharām⁶ | sa viśthāyām kri-
 29 mīr=bhūtva(tvā) pitribhis=saha pachyatē | [||*] Iti kamala dal āmvu(mbu) vim-
 30 du(bindu) lōlīm śrīyam=anuchintya manushya jīvi[ta*]jñ=cha | sakalam=idam=u-
 31 dāhritāi=cha vudhīā(buddhvā) na hī purushaiḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyāḥ [||*]⁷ iti [||*]
 32 Likhī[ta*]jñ=cha sakala-karana-viditēna samti(dh)vigrahī(hi)-
 33 srī-Dhanadata(ttēna) | mahādēvi | yuehha(yuva)rīja | mahāā[ma*]nta|
 34 dharmma(rmmī)dhika[ra*]na | mahā(ha)ta(tta)ra | pratihāra | Utkīrṇna(rnnam) Dāmō-
 darēna [||*]

C—Plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva

The inscription is on **three copper plates**, each measuring about 5" in breadth and 2½" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by an oval seal, which contains the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 54 *tolas*. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty six lines of writing, each side having nine lines. The plates have slightly raised rims in order to protect the writing, which is well preserved.

The **characters** are of what Dr. Burnell named the South Indian Nāgarī type, and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 26-34, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: *b* and *v* are not distinguished, *s* is used for *ś*, as in -śāsāka- (l. 2), and for *sh*, as in *manusya-* (l. 32), *sh* is used for *s*, in *vasundharām* (l. 29), the *visarga* has been wrongly dropped in many instances, e.g., *gurō* (l. 2), *nivāsina* (l. 4), -*nichaya* (l. 5), and the *anusvāra* has been used instead of the class nasal, as in *Kalīnga* (l. 7), *pancha* (l. 19), -*sāmanta-* (ll. 6, 12).

The inscription is of the time of the *Mahāāyādhuāja Paramēśvara Paramabhattāraka, srī-Bhūpēndravarmadēva*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the ornament of the spotless family of the Gangas, who had accumulated a store of merit by worshipping the lotus.

¹ Read *bhatta Bōdhana*. Note the close topped *dh*. But the open topped form of the letter is the commonest.

² Read *Vatśa*.

³ Read *pañch aśhī* or *pañch urshēya*.

⁴ This *panī* is intended to be *parī* and is superfluous.

⁵ The first half of this verse has been omitted, which is *Mā bhūd=aphala śāhīkā vah para datt=eti pāritihāḥ*.

⁶ Read *harita vasundharām*.

⁷ Metre *Pushpitāgra*.

feet of the god, Gökarnēśvara (Śiva), situated on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain, and who had acquired the overlordship of the entire Kalinga country. The grant was issued from the capital city of Śvōtika (Śvōtaka), and seems to record the donation of a plot of land, the boundaries of which are given in lines 15-19, in the Vādōdō village of the Khalugakhandā vishaya, to bhattaputra Mānikadōva, (a Brāhmana) of the Vatsa gōtra, who had the fivefold pravara, by the Rānaka Ganga Kavihāsa (Ganga Kailāsa ?).¹ According to ll. 10-11 the charter seems to have been issued by his son whose name is not given. The inscription was written by the Samudhivigrahaṇ Aśōkadanta, engraved by the brazier Unalachandra and registered by the chief queen.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Om¹ svasti[|*] Śvōtik ādhiṣṭhānād-bhagavatas-char āchara
- 2 gurō[h*] śakala śusāku(śānka) śikhara dharmaya chitva n
- 3 tpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr Mahēndrāścha(r ācha)la śi(śi)kha
- 4 ra mī śi(śi)na[h*] śrīmad Gōkarnē(rnē)va(śva)ra bhattārakasya charana la-
- 5 mal ārādhan āvāpta punyā(ny i) nichaya[h*] śhatkī(śakti) traya pra
- 6 karṣi ānurāṇijī(rāṇijī) āśv(śv)ēha śīmanita(manta)chakra[h*] śva bhūja va(bh)la pa
- 7 rīkram ākrānta śū(sa)kala Kaling(hug) ādhirājī(jvaḥ) parama mū
- 8 hīśva(śva)rō mātā pitr pīd āmudhyātō Gang āmalu
- 9 [ku]lu tika mahārājādhirāja paramē[ś]vara

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 paramabhūta(tā)rika śrī Bhu(Bhū)pēndravarmadōva[h*] l uśh(śr)h [|*] Ganga
- (Ganga)
- 11 kavilīśa śu(śu)tal Khalugakhandā vishav yathā kīl ā
- 12 dhyaśmō mā(ma)hāsīmanita(manta) śrīśīmanita(manta) grāmapati vrā(brā)hma
- 13 na pu[rō*]hita rāshthakutta kutumbina² chātra bhāttā(bhāttā) vala(la)bhā jati(jitī)
- 14 yī[n*] yuth īrhi(rham) mānavati samādīś(śa)ti [chī*] viditama
- 15 stu bhava[tim] ūta-vishava³ samvamdha(buddhi) Vādōdō grāmasya madhī(dhī)ś
- 16 khanda kshētra(tram) pu(pū)va dīś(śī) varē vāta maira ahi śū(śi)mā śī(śi)
- 17 ndhi[h*] [a]g[n*]cīś⁴ dīś(śī) varē mī āmūgīdā parichhi(śchh)īdā[h*] parichhi(śchh) ma dī
- 18 śī(śū)-varē maira ahi [a*] ūta(tti)ra dīś(śī) varē tathā-ava cha[h*] f

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ta[ch*]=chātuh śi(śi)m ōpalakshita cha l Vachha(Vatsa) gōtrīya paramhū
- 20 vishaya⁵ pravārīya bhattaputra mātātra⁶ Mānikadōvā
- 21 ya va⁷ Gangakavilī[sa*] rānakūna datam(ttam) mātā pitrō

¹ As the expression Ganga Kailāsa sūta comes after *In alī* it does not seem to have any connection with Bhū-pēndravarmadōva

² From impressions and the original plate

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read *rashtrā ūta kutumbinaś*

⁵ Read *ōtām=etad vishaya*

⁶ Read *Āgneya*—I believe that the word intended is *dā śhīya*, for the already incomplete *a* in *amūgī* seems to have been altered into *dā*

⁷ Read *pañch arshī* or *pañch arshēya*

⁸ Read *mahallara*

⁹ The intended reading seems to be *ōdrīy=ana*

- 22 r=ñtmī(tma)naś=cha punyāpūrvādhāt¹ śa(śa)hī dhūrī pura[h*]śaīcna(na)
 23 chandrārka kshatī śama kālam=akari(rī)kṛtya pratipā
 24 dātō=smābhīr=yatam(tāh) [i*] sāsana darśha(īśa)nā[d*]=dharma gauravād=a
 25 smā(sma)d gauravā[eh*]=eha na kīnachit=paripamtu(panthi)nā bhavītavyam [i*] Ta-
 26 thā eha pāthātē dharma śīstrē [i*] Va(Ba)hubhīr-vashu(su)dhī datā(ttī) rājāna(jabhū)
 27 Śa(Sa)gar ādībhī[h*] jasya jasya yādū bhūmī² tasya ta

Third Plate

- 28 sya tadā phalam [i*] Mā bhū(bhū)(dha)(d=a)phala śakā(śaukā) va[h*] para da[tt=ē*]tā
 pūrthi
 29 vī[h*]³ Śvī datām(ttīm) para datām(ttīm) vā yō harētī(ta) vashumdha(sundha)rā[m
 [i*] śa vīshthā
 30 vīm krumir=bhū(bhū)tvī putribhī[h*] sāha pāhyatē [i*] Sashthim(Shashthim) varsha sa
 31 hāsrīnu sagam(svargē) mōdati bhū(bhū)mīdah [i*] Iti kamala dālā
 32 mva(mhu)-vīmda(bīndu) lōlā(līm) śrī(śrī)vam-ānuchimtyā(ehīntya) manusya(shya)-
 jī(jī)vatam
 33 eha [i*] śakalīm-īdam-udārha(hīr)tam [eha*] vū(bu)dhā(dhī) na hī purusa(śaīh)
 parī kī(kī)rtavō
 34 vīlōpyī[h*]⁴ Lākshī(lhī)tvam=īdam śāndhīgrahī Asō(śō)kadamitcā [i*]
 35 Utkīrnam⁵ eha kāmśrī-kulaputrakī Vimalachandrīcna(na) | Lanchhīta⁶
 36 eha śrī Mī(Mī)hīdēvī [i*] Unyī(ūnī)ksharam=adhik īksharam vū tat=sarva(rvam)
 prāmānam-iti [i*]

D —Platos of Rānaka Jayavarmadōva

The inscription is on three copper-platos, each measuring about 6½" in breadth and 3" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about ½" in diameter. To this ring is affixed a circular seal, about 1" in diameter. The seal which is broken on one side, bears the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three platos, with ring and seal weigh 10½ tolas. The first plate is inscribed on one side only and the second and third plates on both the sides. There are altogether 37 lines of writing, which are distributed as follows: the first plate has 8 lines, the second, 7 lines on each side, and the third, 8 lines on the first side and 7 lines on the second side. The platos have rims slightly raised for the protection of writing, which is in a good state of preservation almost throughout.

The characters are of the South Indian Nāgarī type and probably are not much later than the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. Words like *darashana* (l. 23) and *varisha-* (l. 28), which are found in the text are evidently due to Prākṛit influence. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25-33, the record is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points call for notice: *l* and *l* are not distinguished, *s* is often used for *ś*

¹ Read *punyābhīrvādhāy*

² Read *pratipaditam-asma*

³ Read *bhūmī=tasya*

⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *śa dātā=phalam=anantyaṁ para dātā=ānupalanā*

⁵ The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *akṣipta ch=anumanta cha tanu=ēva narakē vaśē*

⁶ Metre *Pushpāgāra*

Read *utkīrnam*

⁷ Read *lanchhītam*

FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS
D — PLATES OF RANAKA JAYAVARMADEVA

2

2
4
6
8

8

22a

10
12
14

14

22b

16
18
20
22

22

24	...
26	...
28	...
30	...

32

34

36

32

31

36

Second Plate, Second Side

16 pariḥkṛitam purva-kōṇēna gādari dhruvan tasya thītō dakhī-
 17 n ābhimukhēna gātam dakhinēna tu vakrā vvakrēna gāta | pachhi
 18 mī mukham gātam grāmatah Tēmtura g[r*]amā vāndhi thītō utar ābhimukhē cha
 19 utarēna patha paryānta ēta chatu sim ōpalikhitañ=cha Vachha-gō-
 20 trāyah pañch ārīshaya-pravarāyah Kanva sākhiya | bhata(tta)putra Padma mī
 21 hatrayah iha va Viśuva-sakrāntyā datam || mītī pītōr=ātmanī
 22 ś=cha puny-āpividhhaē sahila dhā[rī*]-purahsarēna chandr ārka thiti-sama

Third Plate, First Side

23 kāla akirikṛitya pratipīditō=smībhū=yatam sāsana darashana
 24 dharma gauravād=asmād-gauravā cha na kēnachit=paripathinī bhavi
 25 tavya tathī cha pathyatē dharma sīstra [I*] Valubhū=vasudhā datī rājīna [Sa*]ga-
 26 r ādibhūh [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya tadī phalam || Svī datā para da-
 27 tām=vā yō harētī vashumdhara [*] sha viśthīyā krimi bhutvā pītibhi
 28 saha pachyatēh [I*] Shasthum varisha sahrānī svarga mōdatī bhūmuda [I*] achhi-
 29 ptā ch=ānumatyā dvā ēva naraka vrajyēta || Sa dānāt=phalam kuryī parī da
 30 t ānupālanam [I*] ubhan tō punya karmānan niyatau sarga gāminau || [I*]

Third Plate, Second Side

31 Iti kamala-dal āmvu vīndu lōlā srim=anuchintya manu[shya]
 32 jivitañ=cha sakalam=dam=udāhṛitam vu[dhvā] na hi purishai pa[ra]-
 33 kṛtayō vilōpyā || Utkirnañ=cha Vima[la*]chāndrē[na*] hi Sāmī[ntē]
 34 na lañchhṛitam cha śrī Trī-Kalī(ī)nga-mā(na)hādēvyā prī
 35 vardhdhamāna vijaya rājyē samvachharē sa[tē] amkēn=āpī varsha 100 [I*]
 36 Uny-āksharam=adhik ākshara yā tat sarvvaṃ pramānam=ī-
 37 tī ||

No 43 —SIX SILAHARA INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

By H D SANKALIA, M A , LL B , PH D (LOND), AND S C UPADHYAYA, M A , LL B

The following **six inscriptions** of the **Silāhāra dynasty** lying in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are collectively published here from the stones themselves as well as with the help of the ink impressions and photographs. Though their contents have been briefly referred to at some places,¹ their regular publication now enables us to correct many conjectural readings of dates and names. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing us to edit these inscriptions and also to Mr Acharya, Curator of the Archæological Section, for giving considerable help at every stage of the work.

All the inscriptions have been found, as noted in detail under each inscription, in the vicinity of Bombay and they refer to lands donated therein. Hence the epithet ' the Silāhāras of Northern Konkan ' as applied to the kings of these inscriptions² seems to be correct, though it

¹ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, pp 19 21, Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426, Vol XIV, Appendix A, pp 385, 386, also Altekar, *Indian Culture*, Vol II, pp 430 31

² *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, pp 19 21 and 538, also Altekar, *op cit*, p 401

must be noted that the inscriptions give no pedigree, even the dynastic title 'Śilāhāra' is not found except in inscriptions B and C. The relationship of the Kings mentioned in the inscriptions, which are arranged below in chronological order, therefore, remains undetermined. The records extend over a period of about 125 years from the time of Aparāditya (I), Śaka 1060 to that of Sōmāśvara, Śaka 1182.

The find spots of these inscriptions and the places mentioned therein indicate that the sway of the Northern Śilāhāra extended at least over the modern Panvel, Bascin, Bhuwandi, Thina and perhaps Kalyān Tālukā of the Bombay Presidency.

One peculiarity of these inscriptions may be noted. Below every inscription there is a sculpture of a mass covering a woman, and this is a representation of the curse in old Marāṭhī which can be partly read only in C.¹

The curse and the sculpture are also found in an inscription, (now in the P. W. M.) of the Yīdava Rīmāchandra of Śaka 1222 which is published below. We are unable to trace back at present, the existence and use of the curse and its representation, but it seems to have become popular after the 10th century.²

The script is Devanāgarī with a few traces of the earlier Nāgarī letters seen, for example, in *ja*, and in the use of *mātrās*.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit and the text is usually in prose except for ll. 12 and 17-18 in I, containing a prayer to Gaṇapati and the usual imprecatory verse about the violation of the grant.

As regards orthography may be noted the use of (i) the dental *ze* for the palatal *ca*, (ii) the anusvara for the nasal *ca*, *mandala* for *mandala*, (iii) *je* for *ja*, *surja* for *śūra* and (iv) *clha* for *stha*.

Piākṛit formations are found usually in the names of ministers and other officers in those of villages and in the grant portion. In the 1st may be noted the words *lik* *deq̄re* (I, l. 11), *bhatārom* (I, l. 10) *thātūrāḷī* (I, l. 11). *Dq̄re* seems to be the old Marāṭhī form of *ayāre*, *bhatārom*, if the reading is correct, is perhaps a local dialectical formation and the genuine formation with *chī* in *thātūrāḷī* is even now common in modern Marāṭhī.³

A word may be said about the method of punctuation in these inscriptions. In inscriptions A, B and F either one or two dot (which at first may be mistaken for a *visarga*) are placed as stops instead of *dandas*. Inscription L has no stop at all, whereas in inscriptions C and D the usual *dandas* are found.

A -- Chāñje Inscription of Aparādityadōva (I) Śaka 1060

This inscription was found from the village Chāñje near Uran in 1831. The stone on which it is inscribed is 2' 9½" × 1' 2½" and the inscribed portion which contains 17 lines of writing is 1' 1½" × 1' 2½". The average size of letters is ¾". At the top of the stone are

¹ Also in an Inscription of Aparāditya (II), I. B. R. I. 4 S. Vol. XII, p. 731.

² Its echoes are still heard in the language of the masses.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji notes (I. B. R. I. 4 S. Vol. XII, p. 373) that inscriptions with such sculptures were seen by him in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and at some places on the Coromandel coast. [Such representations are also found outside the Bombay Presidency, e.g. at Gooty fort in the Madras Presidency there is an inscription with similar depiction. See also copper plate from Rājapura in Bastar State, I. S. A. (Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 179) —Ed.]

⁴ I am obliged to Profs. Bhagavat and Shembaynekar, of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, for this information. —H. D. S.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 2.

figured in low relief, on the left, the Sun, and on the right, the Moon. Below the inscribed portion is cut out a square 9" × 9" and this contains a representation of the curse mentioned above.

It is dated in Śaka 1060, Māgha Śuddha 1, both in words and in numerals. This is equivalent to Thursday, 13th January, A D 1138, when the Southern cyclic year (which is not mentioned in the inscription) was Pūṅgala.¹

This inscription records the grant of a mango (?) field in Nāguma village to one Śrīdhara for the welfare of the king's mother Līlādēvī and also the grant of some land² in Chadiya village by the King Aparādityadēva himself. The latter grant, it appears, was made separately on a solar eclipse.

The King styles himself as a *Mahāmandalēśvarādhipati* and the administration was carried on by the *Mahāmātya* śrī Sōdha (?) Nāyaku,³ the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika* śrī-Amuka, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī Lakshmanāyaprabhu in charge of the *śīkarana* and *bhāṇḍāgāra*, in the first instance, and in the second, Sēna Amuka, etc.

King Aparādityadēva⁴ is to be identified with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Vadavali plates⁵, (also called Aparājita), as the son of Anantapāla of the Silāra family. According to these plates he was the ruler of the whole of Kōnkan, though the title he claims there is that of a *Mahāmandalēśvara* only. Aparāditya of our inscription is further identified with Aparāditya, King of Kunkana who sent an ambassador called Tējakantha⁶ to Kashmir.

However, Aparāditya of this inscription is different from the one mentioned in D, whose minister Lakshmananāyaka gave some land to god Sōmanātha of Surāshtra. That king, as it has been pointed out below, is Aparāditya II.⁸

This is the first stone inscription of Aparāditya I⁹ published so far, if we include the Vadavali plates, it would be his second inscription.

The villages Nāguma and Chadiya may be identified, as already suggested,¹⁰ respectively with the modern Nagaon, which is about 2 miles¹⁰ S W and Chānje, which is about 2 miles W of Uran in the Panvel Tālukā of the Bombay Presidency.

¹ Cf S K Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol III, p 278.

² According to *Bomb Gaz*, *op cit*, p 19, n 2, "of a garden."

³ There are stops indicated in the original by a dot placed on the right hand top corner of the letter. That this interpretation is correct is shown by referring to the copper plate of Anantadēva of Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol IX, p 33), where the divisions are clearly indicated by vertical bars. See also *J B B R A S*, Vol XII, p 333.

⁴ Altekar calls him Aparāra (I), *op cit*, p 411, and attributes the Vadavali plates to him. These plates, however, mention this ruler as Aparāditya (also Aparājita) and not as Aparārka.

⁵ *J B B R A S*, Vol XXI, p 508, l 30.

⁶ According to Mankha's *Śrīkanthacharita*, *sarga* 25, *śloka* 108—111, first cited in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 2.

⁷ Sōmēśvaradēva had a minister called Tanjaprabhu. See E below.

⁸ Altekar, *op cit*, p 411, who identifies him with Aparāditya I, is wrong. For he bases his argument on an inscription of Aparāditya (in *A B O R I*, Vol V, p 169) of (V S) 1176. The reading of the date, as has been pointed out below, is wrong for in V S 1176 the cyclic year was not Viśvāvasu as mentioned in the inscription. [See below p 277 n 2—Ed.]

⁹ Another inscription of Śaka 1051 is cited from *Festgabe der Hermann Jacobi* by Kane, *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol I, p 333 and by Altekar, *The Silaharas of Western India* (*Ind. Cul*, Vol II, p 411, and n 5). [This stone inscription is now preserved at Cintra, near Lisbon, in Penha Verde (Green Rock) which had been the country seat of Dom João de Castro, the Portuguese Viceroy in India. The date of the record as given by Hultzsch, the editor, is Śaka samvatu [1]059 Pūṅgala samvatsarē Chaitra śuddha 12 and not Śaka 1051 as stated by Kane—Ed.]

¹⁰ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt I, p 19, n 2 and Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426 give 4 miles but referring to the modern Tālukā map (1924) the distance seems to be 2 miles only.

TEXT

- 1 'स्मृति जयस्वा(सा)भ्युदयस्य शक्रनृपकान्तानोत्तमस्य
- 2 [र*]म(श)तपु दगम् पट्टि(ट्टा)ल्यधिकम् यथांक्तोपि शक्रमयत १०६०
- 3 साद्य सध १ पाप)येमसस्तरात्रायनीविराजितसत्तामउनेम(ग)रा-
- 4 धिपतिश्रीमदपरादिलदेवकषाणयिजयराजे तथतत्तमाटा-
- 5 'त्' ममस्तमत्तचित्ताभा[र] मसु[?]ति । सङ्गामात्ययामोददाना*]-
- 6 यकु^६ सत्तासाविषयकोक्तिश्री श्रीमक^७ श्रीक्षरने भाउगा[र*]-
- 7 प्रथमन्ते(स्ते) पाटो सत्ताप्रधानचोलभागेयशो दितायत्ते(मे)
- 8 [पा]ता सेन श्रीपम्क इत्यादि श्रीक्षरने मत्वेनगि यामे प्रथ-
- 9 [त*]माने चामदपरादिलदेवेन मकोयपरिपटे [यामयेयोर्ग]
- 10 नागुमसध्ये(व्य)पति श्रावलेण सत्तागमात्[?] चोलीवादेया[*] श्री-
- 11 [यो*]य श्रीक्षरकमपिदारासत्तामगि ना]दायादस्य च शाराम[क*]-
- 12 मभ्यतरीकल मत्तमाताकुल[*] मत्तमातादीदकायितः* म[मा*]-
- 13 स(सा)पर्थत । पृथत [पट] दधितत^८ श्रवडा पतिम पगारा । उत्तरने^९
- 14 [मा*]र्ग ।^{१०} उदकानिमर्गेण पटन । तथा श्रीमदपरादिलदेवेने(न) सु-
- 15 र्थपर्वणि । [सुकानेने ० पाद — — दिविर्धेभ्य चट्टिण्यामात्
- 16 ^{११}—मक उदकानिमर्गेण धम(म)स्य प्रत्ता(त्ता) पटन(न) इल्लस्य यो]-
- 17 न्यथा करोति तस्य पु(प)वपुस्य एक श्रितति — — 'क रोय सु'

* The circle here is half a circle and not a full one.

^६ Read *adit*.

The small circle is not a stop.

^७ A broken letter can be seen on the stone at the end of the line.

^८ Whether this word should be *gāyā* (गया) or *gāyā* (गया) is not clear. In the *Paramara* of *Ma V S 1194*, no. in the *Ma V S 1194* is *gāyā* (गया) and in the *Ma V S 1194* is *gāyā* (गया) in the same context as above—H. D. S.

^९ Read *pāṭya*.

^{१०} Read *śaman*.

^{११} Read *pāṭya*.

^{१२} Apparently a place name.

^{१३} Read *dal chonatah*.

^{१४} Read *ullaratah*.

^{१५} The *śarṇa* should precede the stop.

^{१६} Two letters illegible. [Reading seems to be *śarṇa* (शर्णा) and *śarṇa* (शर्णा) —Ed.]

^{१७} This letter is broken.

^{१८} The initial *s* can be clearly seen on the stone. The rest of the line is illegible.

^{१९} Letters illegible. [Reading is *śarṇa* (शर्णा) —Ed.]

^{२०} The following letter and the next line have partly peeled off.

B — Agāshi Stone Inscription of Haripāladēva Śaka 1072

This inscription was found near Agāshi in 1881¹. It is inscribed on a stone which is 2' 8½" by 1' 4½". The inscribed portion measures 14" × 16½" and contains 16 lines. The last line is not complete and it appears that the inscription contained 1 line or two more which are now peeled off. The average size of letters is ¾". Below the inscribed portion is a sculpture similar to that in A, ent in a rectangle 12" × 3½". At the top are the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right and between them a *śalasa*.

It is dated Śaka 1072, Pramōda Samvatsara, Mārgasīrsha suddha 1, which corresponds to Wednesday, 22nd November, A.D. 1150².

The inscription records that in the reign of Śilīhīna Haripāladēva, Āhavamalladēva, who was in the enjoyment of the Vattāra village in Sūrppāraka, granted something (?)³ for the (worship of) Śiva of Ānēvadi in charge of Patakila Rājānaka to Upādhyāyas Brahmadēva-bhatta, Divākara-bhatta and Gōvardha[na]bhatta⁴, on the Uttarāyana samkrānti day. The witnesses to the grant were the headmen of the Vattāra village, to wit, Rasi Mahattara and also Nāguji Mahattara, Anamtanāyaka and Chāmgadēva Mahattara. The king styles himself as a *Mahāmandalesvarādhipati* and the administration was carried on by śrī Vēsupadavala, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī-Lakṣmanaprabhu, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī Padmasva Rānla, and the *Pradhāna* Vāsugi Nāyaka.

This is the first inscription of King Haripāladēva so far published. On the strength of his other dated unpublished inscriptions,⁵ he may be regarded as the successor of Aparāditya I and the predecessor of Malhikāruna (A.D. 1155—1170). But it must be noted that he is not mentioned in the subsequent inscriptions of the dynasty. Perhaps his relation with his predecessor is shown by the name of his minister the *Mahāpradhāna* Lakṣmanaprabhu, the same name figures among the ministers of Aparāditya I.

Sūrppāraka is the modern Nala Sopara and Vattāra is to be identified with Vatar, a village about 6 miles N.W. of Nala Sopara, and 4 miles S.W. of Agāshi. All the villages are in the Bassen Taluk of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT

- 1 श्री^०। स्वस्ति जयश्रीभ्युदय^१ स(श)कट्टपकालातीतसंवत्सर[र]शतेषु दस(श)सु
 2 द्विसप्तसत्यधिकेषु यत्राकतोपि सवतु(त्) १०७२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरा-
 3 न्तर्गतमार्गसि(शि)र सुध^० १ पूर्वक अद्येक समधिगता(ता)शेषपच[म^{*}]हाश-
 वद(द्ध)-

¹ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 3 also noticed by Altelaar, *Ind Cul*, II, p 431, No 14

² Cf Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol III, p 303

³ According to Bhagwanlal Indraji, "the permanent income of Shrinēvadi in charge of a Pattakil (Pātil) named Rājā" *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 3 [In my opinion the sense of the passage is that the *Mahāpradhāna* Āhavamalla granted to Brahmadēva *upadhaya* the fixed income (*siddhāya*) of (the village) Ānēvadi which was probably in charge of the *Pattakila* Rājānaka. According to this interpretation Rājānaka would be a proper name and not a title. See also p 274, n 5 below —Ed.]

⁴ Bhagwanlal takes Brahmadēvabhatta as the son and grandson of the two latter respectively, he also reads Gōvardhana for Gōvaddha [See p 274, n 3, below —Ed.]

⁵ Of Śaka 1071 and 1075 referred to in *Bomb Gaz*, *op cit*, p 19, n 3

⁶ Denoted by a symbol

⁷ Should be *°yas=cha*

⁸ This letter *gam* is superfluous,

⁹ Read *suddha*

- 4 श्रीसीलाहारनरेन्द्रजीभूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसमस्तराजाव-
 5 लीसमलक्षतमहामण्डलेस(ख)राधिपतिश्रीभद(द)हरिपालदेव-
 6 कल्याणविजयराज्ये ।¹ तत्प्रसादावाप्तसमस्तमण्डलचिन्ताभा-
 7 (र) समुद्रहति श्रीवैसुपडवल ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीलक्ष्म(क्ष्म)ण-
 8 प्रभो ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीपद्मसि(शि)व राउल ।¹ तथा प्रधान वासु-
 9 गिनायक ।¹ सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने ।¹ श्रीसू(शू)र्षारक-²
 10 तवद्वाराग्रामप्रभू(भु)ज्यमान्(न)महा[प्र]धा[न]श्रीआह्वमस्तदेवेन ।¹
 11 श्रीगोवर्द्धभटउपाध्याय च दिवाकरभट उपाध्यासुत ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेव-
 12 भट उपाध्ये ।¹ महापर्वणि उत्तराण⁴ सन्नातिसमये धर्मेण उदकपू-
 13 र्वक(क)।¹ पटकील राजानक आनेवडिसि(शि)वाय⁵ प्रदत्त[*]।¹ आचंद्रार्क-
 14 तारक जावतु⁶ तिष्ठति मेदिनी केनापि — —⁷ वा(वा)धा न करणीया ।¹
 15 अत्रार्थे साक्षि वक्षारग्रामप्रमुख⁸ रिसिन्हतारा ।⁹ तथा साक्षि¹⁰ नागुजिन्ह-
 16 तारा ।⁹ तथा साक्षि¹⁰ अनंतनायक ।⁹ साक्षि¹⁰ चागदेव म्हत(ता)र — — — 11

C—Bassein Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna Śaka 1083.

This inscription is reported to have been brought from Bassein, and it is briefly noticed in the *Bombay Gazetteer* ¹² The stone measures 3' 5½" by 1' 6½" and the inscribed portion 14" by 14" It contained 18 lines, but, now, the last line is almost illegible Below the inscribed portion, in a rectangle there is a representation of the ass curse similar to that noticed before, though it is much worn out At the top, between the inscribed portion and the figures of the Sun and the Moon, in a rectangle there are two figures and between them are two—one big and the other

¹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign

² The last syllable of this line and the first of the next are not clear [Reading may be *Śū(Śū)rpāraka(l ā) ntarggata*—Ed]

³ May stand for *Gōvardhana* as suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 3) [To me the reading appears to be *Gōvanna bhāṣa upadhyā[ya] suta Dvāṭāra*, etc In this case the donee would be only Brahmadēva—Ed]

⁴ Read *Uttarāyana*

⁵ [Reading seems to be *Ānēvadī śidh(ddh) āya* See p 273, n 3, above—Ed]

⁶ Read *turakam yāvat*

⁷ These two letters are not clear

⁸ The last syllable is not clear, it looks like *ksha*

⁹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign

¹⁰ Read *śaṣhī*

¹¹ This portion of the line is not clear

¹² *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426, n 4, Vol XIV, p 386 and Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1, see also above, Vol VII, Appendix, p 56, n 4 Altekar, (*op cit*, Vol II, p 415) calls this the Chiplūn stone inscription But this inscription is dated, according to Kielhorn, in Śaka 1078 (?), *Dhātī Samāntara*, *Vaiśākha Suddha 3, Tuesday* See above, Vol VII, Appendix, p 56, No 311, and *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, and Vol XIV, p 386 So the inscription that Altekar seems to have "traced" in the P W M is the Bassein stone inscription and not the one from Chiplūn

small—Śiva *linga* The figure on the right, probably a woman with peculiar head dress is seated facing the full front and its left hand is held over the big *linga* The figure on the left is seated similarly, with its right hand supported by the left resting on the small *linga* The big *linga* is placed on a very high *yōmipatta*

It is dated Śaka 1083,¹ Vriṣha² Samvatsara, Pushya (Pausha) Vadi 15, Sōma-dinē which would correspond to January 17, A D 1162, when there was a solar eclipse This seems to be the intended date in our inscription though the week day would be Wednesday

It records that in the reign of Śilāhāra king Mallikārjunadēva, lord of Tagarapura, something was repaired and a garden called Lōna³ in Padhālasaka in Katashadī⁴ Viśhaya was granted to a teacher (*raṣha* = Skt *upādhyāya*) The name of the donor cannot be read with certainty⁵ The ministers mentioned are the *Mahāsūmdhivigraha* Prabhākara Nāyaka, and the *Mahāpradhāna* sri Anata (Ananta) paipribhu⁶

There is no evidence at present to connect Mallikārjuna with other kings of the dynasty of the Northern Śilāhāras But he seems to be identical with Mallikārjuna mentioned in the *Kumārāpālacharita*⁷ and hence a contemporary of the Gujarāt Chaulukya king Kumārpāla (c 1145-1171 A D) The other known date of Mallikārjuna is Śaka 1078⁸

Mallikārjuna is called 'Tagarapura-paramēśvara, the Lord of the city of Tagara'⁹ As the title is also assumed by the kings of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras, it only implies, as has been suggested,¹⁰ that the original home of the Śilāhāras was Tagara

Among the place-names, Lōna may be identified with Lonad, a village 6 miles E of Bhivndī¹¹ in Bhivndī Tālukī Padhālasaka, though it cannot be identified now, must be a

¹ It is neither 1082 (as read in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 and Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426) nor 107(9) but is 1083 as once read in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386, for the last digit is definitely 3 on the stone, though on the impression the lower half of 3 seems to form a circle The numeral before it is 8 For an identical form of it see the date portions, lines 5 and 9 in the two inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva below, where no doubt exists as to the numerical value of that sign Moreover, on going through the *Lephemeris* it will be found that it is only in Śaka 1083 that Vriṣha Samvatsara occurs and in no other [It appears to me that the last digit was first written as 9 and then corrected into 3 The penultimate digit is different from the symbol for 8 in E and F below and looks more like 7 But as 1073 would be too early for Mallikārjuna and neither this date nor 1079 would admit of verification, it may be that the intended date is 1083 and the engraver wrote the figure of 7 instead of that of 8 by mistake—Ed.]

² The reading in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 and Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426, n 4, is "Viśhva", where as in Vol XIV, p 386, it is "Vriṣha"

³ Perhaps identical with the modern Lonad See *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 212

⁴ *Bomb Gaz* Vol XIV, p 386 reads 'Shilārāvaka' and "Katakhaḍī" instead of "°shadī"

⁵ It is definitely not the king Perhaps the grantors are Rājaguru Vēdaśiva and the Bhōpaka (temple priest?) Vyōmaśiva as suggested in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386

⁶ Ministers with the same names are mentioned in the Parel Inscription of Aparīdityadēva Śaka 1109, *J B B R A S*, Vol XII, p 333

⁷ See canto VI, verses 65 to 70 The relation was first pointed out in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 For details regarding the relation see *ibid* As *Dvyāśraya Lavya*, another work by Hēmaachandra, does not mention it, it appears that the war with Mallikārjuna took place after the events described in that work

⁸ According to a stone from Chiplūn, see *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, n 19

⁹ Exact identity of this city is not yet established Fleet identified it with Ter, 95 miles S E of Parthan (*J R A S*, 1901, pp 537—52) For other suggestions and references see *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 3, n 6, p 16, n 4, etc

¹⁰ *Bomb Gaz*, *op cit*, p 536, subsequently Altekar, *Ind Cul*, Vol II, p 396, following Jain, who cites relevant extracts from *Karakanda O(ch)ariu A B O R I*, Vol XVI, pp 1-11

¹¹ This is as it is spelt in the modern Tālukī map It should be Bhivndī

bigger village comprising Lōna Katashadī Vishaya cannot be located with any certainty at present

TEXT

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति सकुसवत् १०८३ [ह]पस[स्व]स(त्स)गतर्गत-
- 2 मुष्यं मासि वदि १५ सोमदिने ॥ सूर्ज(र्य)पर्वणि ।
- 3 अद्येह स[मधि]गताशेषपचम[हा]स(श)व्यमहासामता-
- 4 धिपतितगरपुरपरमेश्वर । श्रीसिलाहार नरेन्द्र
- 5 इत्यादि ममत्त(स्त)रा[जा]वलीविराजितश्रीमल्लिकार्जुनदेव-
- 6 राज्ये । सहासाधिविश्वहिकप्रभाकरनायको(का) श्रीक-
- 7 रणे प्रथमस्वपाटि महाप्रधानश्रीश्रणत(नन्त)पैप्रभो द्विती-
- 8 य[स्व]पाटि अभुक् । सत्ये[तस्मिन्] काले प्रवर्तमाने सति ।
- 9 राजगुरु श्रीवेदमि²(शि)व । भोपदे[व³] व्यमसि(श)व विवेक — —⁴
- 10 गुणपल⁵[निधि] ॥ सपतिसाप¹⁰ । सत्कीर्ति पुण्य से(शे)य, फले
- 11 ज(या)चकक[ल्प]वृक्ष । श्रीभोपकव्यससिवो विभाति ॥
- 12 — — — स जीर्णधारो¹¹ कारित(त) । महदुगिवशासुत । लाप-
- 13 ण वद्वहक¹²तहत — — — — प्रसादेन । ताम्यं गुरुकुले
- 14 — — — — कटपडौविषयातपाती । पढालसकस । लो
- 15 न वाटके¹³॥ लापण उवाङ्गाय दतः(त्त) । [तथा] — — — — पः सो —
- 16 म प्रदत्त(त्त) । जयच — ष अष्टानृपाख्यमेन वापः तपि सधणल
- 17 — — — — न केना । प्रतिः विजातीय य[स्व] परिप(प)थो — — —
- 18 तस्य माता गदमेन

¹ Indicated by a symbol

Pend Sala

² The reading in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 and in Vol XXIII, Pt II, p 426, n 4, is *Vishva* but in Vol XIV, p 386 it is *Vishva*. As pointed out above the correct reading is *Vishva*

³ Pend Pa'sha

⁴ *Danda* unnecessary

⁵ Apparently the two letters *ta* and *da* look similar, so *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386 reads as *Dāta*

⁶ *Bomb Gaz*, op cit, reads as *Dharmasita*

⁷ Not clear [This is a verse in *Ujjayini* metre and the correct reading seems to be *Viveka mūle(lō)guna pala-* (ll): *ur'ah saripat' (ll) sapal' (sal'hal) sa'cha' l'riti pushpah [I] sre(sre)yah phak(lō) ga(yu)chaka lalpa vrikshah* *trī Bh'ipak' t'gr(I) rasi (i)ō ubhata[*] —Ed]*

⁸ Might be *upala*

⁹ Should be *up'pr'at'prapah*

¹⁰ Pend *garnēdd'ārah*

¹¹ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386, reads *Lalhanak atajha*. Probably we have to read *vajhalēna kṛitah*. As the language of the rest of the inscription is very corrupt the text is left uncorrected

¹² *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386 seems to have read *Lalal'had*

[Reading seems to be *ur'ah t'gr(I) rasi (i)ō ubhata[*] —Ed]*

D—Inscription of Aparādityadēva [Śaka] 1107

This inscription was formerly in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*¹. However it seems to be different from another inscription of this king which is dated in (Vikrama) Samvat, 1176, Sunday the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra². The stone measures 1' 11" by 1' 5", and the inscribed portion 1' 4" by 12½". At the top, the stone is in the shape of a triangle within which is carved a *kalasha*, resting on a *linga*.

The inscription is dated [Śaka] 1107³ Viśvāvasu Samvatsara, Chaitra Śuddha 15, Sunday. This is equivalent to Sunday, 17th March A.D. 1185.

The inscription records that in the reign of Aparādityadēva⁴ the *Mahāpradbhāna* Lakshmana Nāyaka, son of Bhāskara Nāyaka, after having bathed in a *tīrtha* (probably Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwār) near the sea gave away something in a *vātikā* in Sthāna (modern Thāna) and a sum of money for the worship, etc. of the god Sōmanātha in Saurāshtra. The grant closes with the words 'hail to the illustrious Chāhadadēva'⁵.

This inscription resembles in some respects⁶ an inscription of Aparādityadēva of Śaka 1049⁷ and to A above belonging to Śaka 1060. Our attention is drawn to the names of the king and the minister Lakṣmanaiya Prabhu, but it is otherwise different from the latter inscriptions. The present record is dated about sixty years later and we have dated records of two other rulers, viz., Haripāladēva and Mallikārjuna in between.

The inscription therefore belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II and not Aparāditya I as mentioned by Altekar⁸.

The inscription shows that even in the last quarter of the 12th century,⁹ the temple of Sōmanātha in Saurāshtra, though once destroyed by the Muhammadans, was still a popular shrine and that among its property could be counted some land in Kōnkan.

¹ Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 2. The date here mentioned is Sunday the sixth of the bright half of Chaitra while the grant under question is dated on Sunday the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. As there cannot be two Sundays within 9 days and as 15 can clearly be read in the inscription, the reading of the *Gazetteer* seems to be incorrect. [The date is wrongly given in *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, p 40, n 62. The correct date has been noticed by Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p 56, No 312.—Ed.]

² *A B O R I*, Vol V, p 170. 'Even if they were identical, as they are in their contents, the reading of the year and date seems to be wrong, for in Vikrama 1176 the Northern cycle year was Śubhārit, and the Southern Vikṛin. The Viśvāvasu samvatsara occurs in Vikrama 1179, see Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol III, pp 240 and 247. [An examination of the text will show that this inscription is identical with the record under consideration. Mr. Diskalkar is apparently wrong in the reading of the date and referring it to the Vikrama era.—Ed.]

³ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 2, reads 1109 and mentions the *tithi* as the sixth. This is wrong because the Southern cycle year in 1109 was Plavānga and not Viśvāvasu, also the *tithi* Chaitra śuddha 6 would fall on Saturday, whereas the day mentioned in the inscription is Sunday.

⁴ Neither any title of the ruler, nor the name of the dynasty is mentioned, though in his other inscription of Śaka 1109 he is called *Mahārājadhīraja* and *Kōṇkanachakravartin*. *J B B R A S*, XII, p 333. [This inscription is dated Śaka 1108 and not Śaka 1109 as given in the Journal and read by Kielhorn (*List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No 313). The Southern cycle year in Śaka 1109 was Plavānga, not Paribhava.—Ed.]

⁵ Rather an unusual ending in a Śilāhara inscription.

⁶ Cf. specially II 47 and II 57-59 of the inscription of Śaka 1049.

⁷ *J B B R A S*, Vol XXI, p 505.

⁸ *Op cit*, p 411, though the *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20 had already credited it to Aparāditya II.

⁹ At this time Kāthiāwār still formed part of Gujaraṭ, and the king of the latter was Chaulukya Bhīma II.

TEXT

- 1 श्रीम्¹ संवत् ११०७ विस्वा(श्वा)वसुसव(त्स)रे चैत्रशुद्ध १५ रवो(वौ) दिने
 2 अद्येह श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवरान्ये । सौराष्ट्रोयश्रोसो-
 3 मनाथदेवाय पूजासत्कारार्थ² महामात्यश्रीलक्ष्मण-
 4 नायकेन प्रमो³दधौ सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडा-
 5 मणये कमलिनीकासुकाय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविध-
 6 सुसुमन्नायमर्थ्य दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) सकलसुरासुरगुरुत्रैलोक्यस्वा-
 7 भिन भगवत्सुभाषितसम्यच्यैः ॥⁴ सास्करनायकपुत्रेण श्री-
 8 लक्ष्मणनायकेन त्वात्मक्षेया(श्रेयो)र्ध² श्रीदेवाधिदेवस्य श्री-
 9 स्थानकौयपा[ट्ट]नवाटिकामध्ये [दानवि]धौ दातव्यभा[ग]
 10 दस ४ द[स्वावधीउप(त्प)तिसमयस्य] — — — — दाम २४
 11 देयावे । शुभगे पूजापचपर्वणि — — — — शि-
 12 वरात्रिदक्षिणायण(न)उत्तरायण स्वस्ति श्रीचाहडदे[वा]य [॥*]

E — Inscription of Sōmēsvaradēva Śaka 1181

This inscription was found in Ranvad near Uran⁵ The stone measures 3' by 1' 6" The inscribed portion is 1' by 1' 5" and contains 11 lines of writing, the average size of letters being 3/4" Below this is an ass sculpture differing slightly in position of the woman from those noticed before, carved in low relief in a rectangle (18" × 11") At the top, above the inscription, are the Sun and the Moon and between them a double *kalasa* ⁶

The inscription is dated Śaka 1181 Siddhārtha Samvatsara Chaitra Vadi 15 (?) Monday, and reference is made in l 9 to a *sūnyaparvan* but it is not clear whether it implies a solar eclipse, and whether the grant was made on that occasion

The reading of the date however remains uncertain, for though according to Pillai⁷ in Śaka 1181 the Southern cycle year was Siddhārtham, Chaitra *vadi* 15 fell on a Thursday and *vadi* 13 on Tuesday, while Monday, the day mentioned in the inscription, was a *lshaya tithi* and no solar eclipse occurred in that year Under the circumstances we may read the *tithi* as 13, the date corresponding to 21st April, A D 1259, Monday

It records that Sōmēsvaradēva, the paramount Lord of Kōnkana, granted some land (?)⁸ in the village of Padivasa in Urana to Dāmōdarabhatta on the occasion of *sūrya parvan* (solar eclipse ?) for (the worship, etc.) of Śambhu

The ministers of Sōmēsvara were the *Mahāmātya* Jhampadaprabhu, the *Mahāsāmdhivigra-hīṇa* [Tai]japrabhu and Chandraprabhu in charge of the *śīkarana*

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² This *anusvara* is placed on the left of the letter

³ Should be *param* *ōdadhau*

⁴ Both the *visarga* and the *dandas* are unnecessary

⁵ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 21, n 1, also noticed by Altekar, *Ind Gul*, Vol II, p 431, No 27

⁶ For a similar sculpture from Borivli see p 279 below

⁷ *Indian Epigraphic*, Vol IV, p 120

⁸ Details are not clear to us

The inscriptions do not give any important information about Sōmēśvara. He is merely called *Kōṇkanachakravartin* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, titles which are mentioned in connection with Aparādityadēva II also. Neither is there any hint as to his relationship with his predecessor Kēśarāja whose two unpublished inscriptions are referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer* ¹. Probably he was a son of the latter as suggested by Altekar ².

According to our present knowledge of the history of this family, Sōmēśvara seems to be the last king of the Northern Śilāhara dynasty. He was defeated and perhaps killed and the country conquered by Mahādēva³ of the (Dēvagiri) Yādava dynasty. Cousens thinks that the scene of the battle between Sōmēśvara and Mahādēva is sculptured on some stones lying about Borivli ⁴. In this connection it may be noted that the *kalasa* like sculpture which appears on the middle stone, figured by Cousens, very much resembles in ornamentation the *kalasa* like figure on the stone F described below.

Among the place-names *Uraṇa* is the modern Uran, and *Paḍivasa* may be identified either with Phunda about 2 miles north east of Uran or with Panja, another village about 3 miles to the north of Uran, in the Panvel Talukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT

- 1 श्रीं । स्वस्ति श्रीः [॥*] अयेह समस्तराजावलीसमलक्षितमहाराजाधि-
- 2 राज कोक[ण*]चक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद(त्)सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये
- 3 तथैतप्र(अ)सादा(आ)(वा)समस्तमडलचिन्ता(ता)भार समुद्रहति महामात्यश्री-
- 4 क्षण्डप्रभु महासाधिविग्रही[तै]जप्रभु श्रीकरणी चद(द्र)प्रभु इत्यादि श्री-
- 5 करणभांडागारे सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने[ने] सति शकसवतु(त्) ११८१ सि-
- 6 ध(डा)र्यसवक्(क्त)रे चैववदि १[३] सामाद्र(सोमि) ओदामोदरभट्ट तथा भ्रातर वासु-
- 7 दे[व-]भट्ट लेज्ज २ नाथिले पावे निमित्ते श्रीशुभ्य दामोदरभट्ट विधा
- 8 उरणे पडिवसे[ग्राम]प्रतिबद्धा खडपलास्थानि चा भाग १ देउलेखड
- 9 समग्रहिमाहती ३ — — — — — निमित्ते सूर्यपर्वे हस्तोदकपू-
- 10 र्वाक दामोदर भटावे — — — — — — — करतिदोह
- 11 ली—मंगलमहाश्रीः ॥

F—Inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva Śaka 1182

This inscription was found from Chanje near Uran ⁵. The stone measures 3' 5" by 1' 7" and the inscribed portion is 1' 6" by 1' 5" and contains 18 lines, the average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Below this, in a rectangle (16" × 11") was an ass sculpture as in B, but now it is completely worn out. Above the inscription, between the Sun and the Moon, on a pedestal is a *pūrṇa kalasa*, on its

¹ Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 3

² *Op cit*, p 417

³ This is according to Hēmadra's *Chaturvargachintamani*, first cited in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 246, then Altekar, *op cit*, p 417, Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, p 21, *Chālukyan Architecture* p 143, pls CLIII—IV

⁴ Cousens, *op cit*, p 21 pl XV

⁵ Denoted by a symbol

⁶ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 21

bulging part is a band and leaves on either side. The *Jalasa* is crowned with what looks like a smaller *kalasa* and may be a coconut.

It is dated in Śaka 1182, Raudra Samvatsara Chaitra vadi 15, Monday on a solar eclipse. The date thus corresponds to Monday, April 12, A.D. 1260, when there was a solar eclipse.¹

It records that Sōmēśvaradēva, lord of Kōnkana, granted land² (whose limits are mentioned) in Kōmthala vātikā in the village of Chāmdijē in Urana³ and 162 Pūruttha⁴ (?) *drammas*⁵ to god Uttarēśvara of Śrī-sthāna on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

The king is the same as in E but the names of the ministers are different, except that of the *Mahāmātya* who is, as before, Jhūmpadaprabhu. Other ministers are the *Mahāsāmdhivapahā* Māmāku, Bībalaprabhu, Pōmadīpandita, and Gōvānīku.

The places mentioned in the inscription, Urana and Chāmdijē⁶ are the modern Uran and Chanjā respectively, while Kōnthā(dha)sthāna may be the same as Kuludhonda, a place a little north of Uran.

TEXT

- 1 ओ नमो विनायकाय ।⁸ लंवी(वो)दर नमस्तुभ्य मततं सोदकपृथ ।⁹
- 2 अविन्न कुए मे देव सर्वकार्येषु सर्वदा [।*]। अद्येह समस्तरा-
- 3 जावलीसमलंकृतमा(स)हाराजाधिराज¹⁰ कीक¹¹चक्रव-
- 4 र्त्तिश्रीसोमेश्व(स्व)रदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये तयैतत्प्रमादि-
- 5 व्या(वा)समस्तमंडलचिंताभार समुदहति सहासात्यत्रीक्षापडप्रभु
- 6 मा(स)हासाधिविग्रही साइनाकु¹² वेवलप्रभु¹³ पौमदेपंडित¹⁴ श्रीकरणभा-
- 7 डागारे प्रथमच्छे¹¹ पाटी गोवैनाकु¹⁵ इत्येतन्मिन्वाले प्रवर्तमाने भति श-
- 8 कनृपकानातीतसवच्छ(त्त)रैसव्वे¹²कादशसु¹³ दामोत्यधीकेपु¹⁴ अत्रांकतोपि
- 9 सकुसवतु¹ ११८२ रौद्रसंवच्छरैसु(त्तरे) चैत्रवदि १५ सोमदिने¹⁵ सुय्यपिरागे¹⁶उ-
- 10 त(र)ण[ग्रामस्यभूव]¹⁶ चाडिजे ग्रामा(स)प्रतिव[इ]¹⁷ कीयले स्थानवाटिकाभू¹⁸ ग्रस्य चा-

¹ Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol IV, p. 122

² In the inscription the word for this is *bhū*

³ [The inscription seems to record the gift of some building site at Urana and some garden land at Kōmthala in the Chāmdijē village.—Ed.]

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol I, Pt II, p. 21, n. 1, suggests that this might stand for Parthuan *drammas*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 21, n. 1, takes the *drammas* "as a fixed income of a garden in" which does not seem to be correct, for if no land were granted it would not be necessary to mention its boundaries. [Apparently the money was granted in addition to the land.—Ed.]

⁶ This name occurs also in inscription A, see p. 272, Text, I 15, above.

⁷ Denoted by a symbol

⁸ The stop is indicated by two dots

⁹ Read *prīya*

¹⁰ This stop is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *sthā*

¹² Read *atēshv ē*.

¹³ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary

¹⁴ Read *dāsāṣṭy adhātēshu*

¹⁵ Read *Śaka samvat*

¹⁶ [Reading seems to be *Urana āgarā(gāra) bhū* —Ed.]

- 11 घाटनानि⁰¹ पूर्व⁰¹ सानुठाकुराची वृत्ति(त्ति)⁰ दक्षिणे विष्णुहाचो वृत्ति(त्ति)⁰ पश्चिमे
 12 राजसामु⁰² उत्तरे⁰ विरा⁰¹ एवं चै(च)तुराघाटनानि⁰¹ सु(स्व)सीमापर्यंतं सतृणकाष्ठो-
 13 दकोपेत रुणदायाद्यदि³ संबधविवर्जितं⁰¹ सर्वात्पति(त्ति)सहित सिधा पोरुत्यद्र-
 14 माणा दशविसो च द्विषष्ठो द्रमात्यधीकमेकशतानि⁰⁴ अकतोपि द्र १६२ ॥
 15 श्रीस्थानकीय श्रीउत्तरेस्व(स्व)रदेवाय⁰¹ शासनप्रतिबधं(ध्व) कृत्वा⁰¹ महाराजश्री-
 16 सोमेस्व(स्व)रदेवेन⁰¹ उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्त ॥ वर्तमानस्यास्य धर्मस्य परिपं-
 17 यना न से(के)नापि कार्या⁰¹ खदता(त्ता) परदता(त्ता) वा यो हरेत्(त),
 वसुधरा(रा) । षष्टि(ष्टि)वर्षसह-
 18 क्षाणि विष्टाया जायते क्कमि(भिः) ॥ मगलं मा(म)हाश्री[:] सु[शु]भ भवतु ॥

No 44 —A STONE INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA RAMACHANDRA, SAKA 1222

By H. D. SANKALIA, M A, LL B, Ph D (LOND) AND S C UPADHYAYA, M A, LL B

This inscription is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is not known whence it came. The trustees of the Museum and the Curator, Mr G. V. Acharya, have been good enough to allow us to edit it.

The stone on which it is inscribed measures 2' 8" by 1' 3", and the inscribed portion, which contains 17 lines of writing, is 1' 4" in length. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Above the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle 13' by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". In this are carved in low relief, on the left the Sun and on the right the Moon. Above this on the apex is a *kalasa*. Below the inscribed portion also there is a rectangle, now half broken off, which contains the figure of an ass facing right as found in many other Śīlāhāra and Dēvagiri Yādava inscriptions.⁵

The record is dated in Śaka 1222 Śārvarī Samvatsara, Śrāvana Vadi 7, Monday and regularly corresponds to Monday 8th August, A D 1300.

The inscription is of Jāidēva, a governor appointed by Rāmadēva, to rule over Kōnkan. Rāmadēva himself was a commander in chief, and lord of the Western coast under Rāmachandra-dēva, who bore the *brūda Praudhapatāpachakravartin*.

From the date and the *brūda* it is evident that the inscription belongs to the reign of Rāmadēva or Rāmachandradēva the last king of the Dēvagiri Yādavas. Though many copper plates and stone inscriptions of his or his reign are noted and a few published,⁶ this would be the first stone inscription from Kōnkan⁽²⁾ published so far.⁷ However, so far as the date is concerned,

¹ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

² Read *-mārgah*.

³ Read *rin-ādāy adī*.

⁴ Read *dvī shasīti dramm adhikam salam = ēkam*.

⁵ Cf. above pp. 270ff. and Vol. V, Appendix, pp. 66 and 68, Nos. 372 and 381.

⁶ See Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, and Graham, *Kolhapoor*, extracts from these are noted above, Vol. VII, Appendix, pp. 66-68 (Nos. 368-382).

⁷ Even the copper plate is only one, see *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

No 45 —FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI

BY A S RAMANATHA AYYAR, B A , MADRAS

The subjoined Pāndya records¹ come from Ukkirankōttai, a village in the Tinnevely taluk of the Tinnevely District. Three of them are in the Tamil language and are engraved in Vatteluttu characters assignable to the 10th century A.D., while the fourth in Sanskrit is in Grantha characters of the same period. There are no new points worth mentioning about the graphic peculiarities of these Vatteluttu and Grantha scripts, as they are of the usual variety employed in other contemporaneous records of the locality.

Record A is dated in the 13th year opposite to the 2nd year of reign of the Pāndya king Śadaiya-Māran and registers a gift of sheep by a lady named Tudarūrī, wife of Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan *ahas* Mārañ²-Śūran for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of god Āditya Bhatāra³ at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nādu. Record B is a Sanskrit version of the same endowment made by Tudarūrī, here called the wife of Śrīkantha-Śūra to the temple of god Vikarttana at Karavandapura, but the king's name is not mentioned in it. Record C was originally engraved on a broad slab of stone, which has been cut longitudinally into two and planted in the temple compound to serve as gate posts, and in the process, its first line containing the king's name has suffered mutilation. But the regnal year quoted for the king, viz., 2+9, as well as the fact that the same Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan *ahas* Kandan (Śrīkantha)-Śūran is herein mentioned as being in charge of Kalakkudi (*Kalakkudi mahānāyakaṃ śeṣyaperra*) help us to attribute this inscription also to the Śadaiya Māran of record A. Further, as it is stated that this Pallavadiaraiyan erected an *ambalam* (wayside choultry) called 'Nagarattān' in the name of the trading guild (*Nagarattān*) of the colony called Rājasinga-ppērangādi, newly founded by him, apparently in the name of his sovereign, the Śadaiya-Māran of these records can be identified with Rājasimha III, who is already well-known from the Śīnnamanūr plates⁴ issued in the 2+14th year of his reign, and to whose period the characters employed in all these epigraphs can very appropriately belong. Record D, though it does not mention any king's name, can, palaeographically, be attributed to the same king's reign.

The village now known by the name of Ukkirankōttai has been called Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nādu in A, while in D it is simply called Kalakkudi. Karavandapuram *ahas* Kalakkudi⁵ (and Kalandai) has been mentioned as the birth-place of Māran-Kāri, the excavator of the rock-cut shrine of Narasimha at Ānamalai in the Madura District, and of his brother Māran Eyinan, both of whom successively held the office of *Uttaramantri* under the Pāndya ruler Mārañ Sadaiyan, and also that of Śāttan Ganavadi, the king's *Mahāsāmanta*⁶, and it was

¹ Nos 194, 195 196 and 199 of 1935 36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

² The first part of the name 'Māran' is based on the name of the reigning Pāndya king

³ The temple in which this record is found is now called the Chokkalinga temple and a *linga* is installed in its central shrine. It was probably a temple dedicated exclusively to Sūrya in earlier days. But as the people in the locality say that the present temple was built from stones brought from the adjoining fields, it is also possible that the temple of Āditya Bhatāra may have existed as a separate shrine in the vicinity, and that when it fell into ruins, its stones were built into the present shrine. In this connection it has to be remembered that inside a fort, a Śiva temple should be constructed in the north east, and that of Sūrya in the east (Gopinath Rao, *El of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, p 22)

⁴ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III, p 444

⁵ Above, Vol VIII, p 319 and Vol XVII, p 303. The name Kalandai mentioned as the native place of Mūrti Eyinan, appears to be only a poetic form of the word Kalakkudi (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXII, p 71 and above, Vol XVII, p 296)

⁶ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXII, p 67, wherein is quoted No 37 of 1908

considered that this Kalakkudi might be Kalakkīdī in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevely District. But from the present inscriptions this identification has to be given up and **Karavandapuram** alias Kalakkudi to be identified with Ukkirankōttai in the Tinnevely taluk.

Karavandapuram must have been a place of sufficient strategic importance in early Pāṇḍya days as to necessitate the building of a fort here by the Pāṇḍya king Neduñjadayan, who in the Madras Museum Plates dated in the 17th year of his reign, claims to have built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture (*caused by*) the sky coming in contact (*with it*), and the clouds resting (*on it*), so that (*the town of*) Karavandapuram might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets (*where even*) warriors are afraid of the arrow (*-like*) pointed and long eyes of women with lotus faces.¹ This Neduñjadayan has been identified with the king figuring in the Āṇṇimalai inscriptions (c. A.D. 770) and the Vēlvikudi copper plates.² Though in the latter record several *brūḍas* are applied to him, he is not known to have had the surname of 'Ukkirai' or 'Ugra' and it is therefore not clear why and when Karavandapuram came to acquire its present name of Ukkirankōttai or 'Ukkirai's fort'. Its origin cannot be connected with the name of the early king Ugiapperuvahudi, for he is believed to have flourished long anterior to Neduñjadayan's time.³ In the Sanskrit portion of the larger Śīrmanmūr plates⁴, it is stated that Parīntaka Vīrinīrayana Śaḍayan (c. A.D. 900) fought a battle at Khaṇḍagiri and captured a certain Ugrī who, it has been surmised, was probably a seion of the Pāṇḍya family. In that case, it may perhaps be hazarded that Karavandapuram which was fortified by Neduñjadayan (Jatila Parīntaka) before about A.D. 785, was temporarily in the possession of this Ugrī Pāṇḍya a century later and thus got the name which has survived to the present day though it has also to be pointed out that the place was known only as Karavandapuram in the time of Śōlanrālākonda Vīra Pāṇḍya (c. A.D. 970), as evidenced by a record copied from the Chokkanīyākā shrine in the same village.⁵

Vestiges of a fort and its moat are even now pointed out at some spots in the village as evidence of its former greatness, but the villagers have no information of value to offer regarding its ancient history. That the fortification may have been of fairly extensive dimensions even, however, be surmised from the fact that the temple of Āḍitya Bhatīa which is described in record A as being situated in the *īlāivāyil* or eastern gate apparently of the fortified village is nearly half a mile distant from the Chokkanīyākā shrine which is implied by the name of the goddess 'Vadavīyil-nangai' must have been located at the northern gateway. It is interesting to note in this connection that the shrines of Āḍitya and Chokkanīyākā were located in the appropriate directions of the east and the north in conformity with the rule mentioned in Kāntilya⁶ and the Āgamas⁷ that the shrines of guardian deities should be erected in the appropriate cardinal points inside a fort. From other inscriptions copied at the place, it is learnt that there were two Śiva temples called Arikō-sarīśvaram and Rājasingīśvaram in the vicinity of the village, though possibly not inside the fort itself and named as such after the Pāṇḍya kings Arikōsari and Rājasingha.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 298.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 74.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 295.

⁴ Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 30.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 457.

⁶ No. 197 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This fragmentary record reads as follows: *Śōlanrālākonda-ri Vīrapandyaśvayāku yundu paḍin-aṅgu nūāṇḍu karthiyai-tungal mudal pālīam āram-pālīam mudalāga Pandimattanda valanaṅṅu Karavandapurattu Iḍavāyil nangai*.

⁷ Shamasastri's Translation, p. 62.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 22. Cholanāyālaī was probably one of the *Sapta mātrī* group, several archaic statues of which are found strewn about in the temple compound.

In the Larger Śinnamanūi plates, an earlier Pāndya king Śrīvallabha¹ is stated to have fought a battle at Kunnūr and his conquests are said to have extended from Kunnūr to Śingalam. If this Kunnūr is identical with the native place of the donatrix Tudarūri mentioned in record A, the geographical detail that it was situated in Karunilakkudi-nādu is of some interest. The same village Kunnūr is stated to be located in Nilakkudi nādu (probably a shortened form of Karunilakkudi-nādu) in an epigraph from Pallamadam² in the Ariuppukkōttai taluk of the Ramnad District.

The colony which Tonnaiyan Pallavan adharaiyan founded in front of the *koravāyil* or palace at Karavandapuram was, as stated already, called Rājasinga-ppēraugādi in honour of the reigning king. It must have been a fairly influential community, for in record D Inban Dūvanaśetti, a member of the Ayyapolil-500 guild, who was probably the agent in charge at this place, is stated to have built a circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchurrālai*) called 'Nagarattān' round the temple of Vadavāyil naugai, in the name and on behalf of the *Nagarattān*. Ayyapolil which is the Tamilised form of the word Ayyavole (*i e*, Aihole in the Hungund tālukā of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency) is famous as the headquarters of a very influential and prosperous trading corporation which boasted of branches even in distant parts³. Several trading centres were called Ayyavoles of the South, apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of the Ayyavole guild proper. The elaborate *prasasti* of the Ayyavole guild found in an inscription⁴ in Mysore describes the guild as having been composed of 500 *svāmis*, and this conventional numerical strength of the guild is also indicated by the title 'Aññūruvan' borne by the local agent mentioned above.

One other point of interest in these records is that the endowments were not only left under the protection of the merchant guild of the place, but that the *madil chēvagar* or the soldiers on guard at the ramparts⁵ were also enjoined to supervise the proper conduct of the charities. As already noted in the *Annual Report on S I Epigraphy* for 1932-33, page 68, endowments made in the time of the Pāndya king Sundara-Pāndya (A D 1225) to the temple at Perungulam, a medieval military cantonment in the Tinnevely District, were left in charge of a governing body composed of representatives from the several battalions stationed at the place. In an inscription from Tiruvālisvaram⁶ in the same district, it is stated that the temple of Tiruvālisvaram-Udayār, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Chōla garrison called 'Mūnrukai-Mahāsēnai' stationed at that place. Similarly in a record⁶ copied at Sangrāmanallūr in the Coimbatore District, which was evidently fortified and garrisoned in olden days, the soldiers were required to protect the *gōpura*, the temple and its premises. It is therefore evident that in places which were under the control of the military, a body composed of some military officers and men functioned in respect of religious and other institutions under their charge, in a manner similar to that of village assemblies in purely civil stations.

TEXT

A

1 Śrī [*] [Kō]-chChadaiya-Mārarku yāndu irandu idan=edir padinnmūnru ivv=[āndu]
Kalakkudi-nāttu-kKaravandapurattu kilaivāil śrīkōi-

¹ S I I, Vol III, p 461

² No 430 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VII, sk 118

⁴ The term *madilchēvagar* (*madil*=rampart+*chēvagar*=soldiers) means 'the soldiers guarding the rampart' in the fort at the place. Compare *ulvittuchchēvagar* and *Malayān orraichchēvagar* in the sense of 'soldiers' (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol I, p 159 and f n 8)

⁵ No 120 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁶ No 167 of 1909 of the same collection

- 2 hl 1¹Ādityabatirarku Tennavaṇ Pallavadiāraayan=āiṇa Mā[ra]ñ-Sūraṇ manavā[tti]ṇ
Karunilakkudi-nāttu-kKunnūr Tudarūri itta tī
3 runundāvilakku onrinukku adutta ādu añbadu [1'] ivv=ādu [ai]ñbadum ivv-ūr
[śi]nga lāi irattu vettikkudi Pūdi-Pōrān mśadippa-
4 dī ulakku ney Śōhyattāl attuvadāga koṇḍa śāvū mūvā ppārā[du] aimbadu [1'] avicheharu
kal² irandum ittun nagarattīr rakshai [1'] madit chehēvagar kāval [||*]

B

- 1 3Śrīkanthah(Śrīkantha)-Sūra- dayitā Tudarūri-nāmnī Vaikarttanāya Kara[va]nta-
pur-ālayāya [1'] prādā[d-dhi]
2 dīpam-amalīkriyamāna lōkam yan=tishthatāt=sa bhuvī yāvad=aśśha-lōkam [||*]

C

- 1
2 rku yīndu irandu i[din=edir o]
3 nbadu ivv=ī[ndu] Kalakkudi mahā
4 4nāśakañ=cyāperra Tennava-
5 n Pallavadi[a]raayan ivv-ūr
6 kkorraiyiḥ munbu kudi
7 crruvitta [Irī]jāśmgappē-
8 rangīdūl u[ga]rattār pērāl
9 Tennavan Pallavadiaraiya-
10 n=ina Kandañ=Sūraṇ eduppi-
11 tta ambalam Nāgarattānukku
12 itta tudarvilakk=onrinukku
13 vilakku neyppuramāga ivv=ū-
14 r=ppadaittalaivan Nakkan-Mun-
15 nūrruvan uyadippadi uri
16 y ney attu[va]dāga adutta śā-
17 vā mūvī-ppērādu mūnru niyāyat-
18 [tā]n nūru [*] ivv=ittukkum(n)-ne
19 y attuvippadanukkum
20 irappunai ivv=ūr=ppadaitt-
21 talaivan Venravāypēsai [1'] i-
22 nney muttāmal nagarattārum
23 madit chehēvagarum kattu at-
24 tuvippadāga vattadu [||]
25 Ambala[m*] Nagara[t]tān melugu-
26 v=ālukku nagarat[tā]r kaivvali Te
27 nnavan pPallavadiaraiya
28 n=āna Kandañ=Sūraṇ kudutta
29 Ilakkāśu pattu [1'] i-kkalañ-

¹ 'Āditya' is engraved in Grantha letters

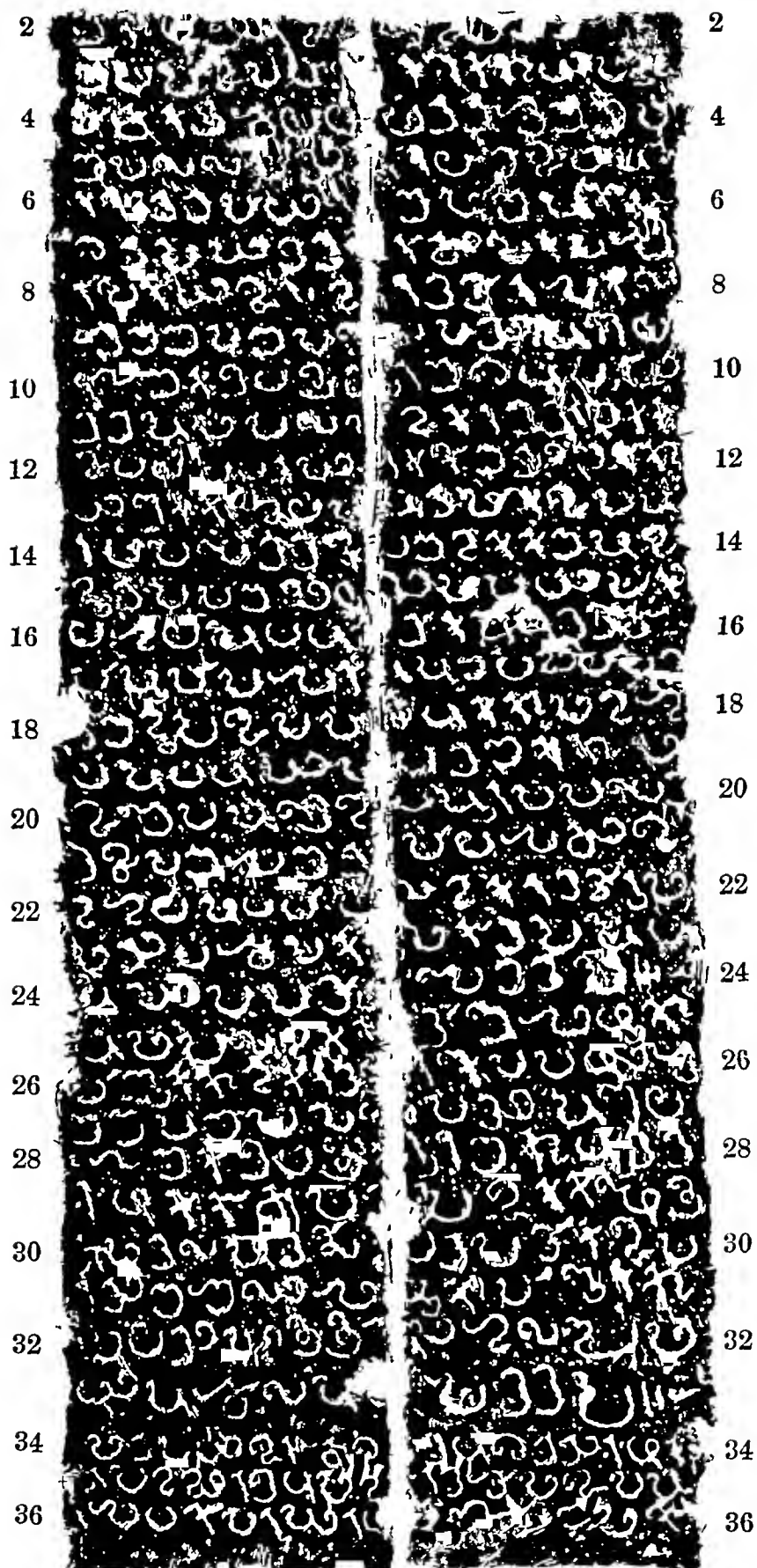
² This is not understood

³ The metre is *Vasantatilakā*

⁴ *Mahānāsakam* is properly *Mahanūyalam*

FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI

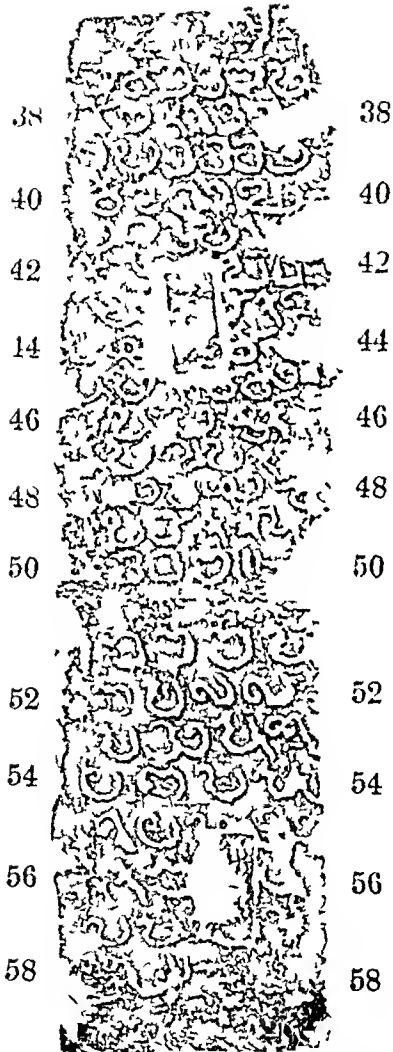
C-1



B
Left half



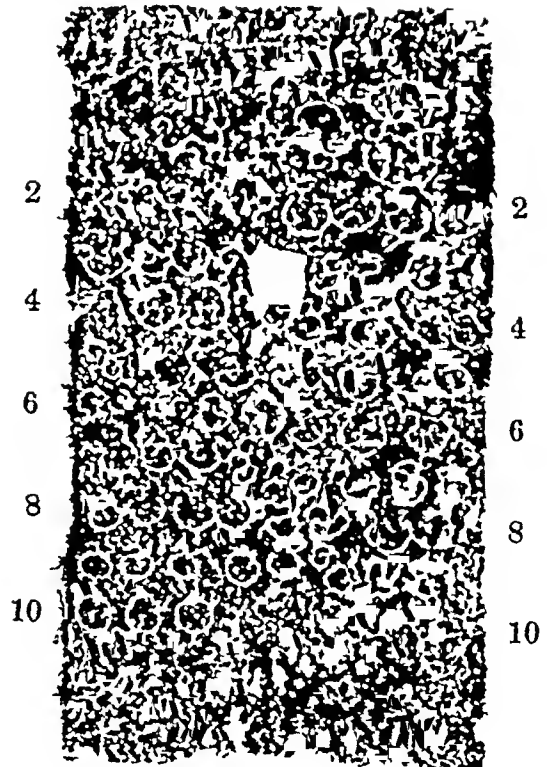
C-2



Right half



D



30 ju-mudal mudalai [n]irpadāga iva
 31 rin poli meluguv=ālukku
 32 niyadi aiññāḥi nellum=a
 33 hīvu śelavum vaittadu ||
 34 mērpadi i[k]kāśu iranḍu ēṇṇi Ilakkā-
 35 śu pannirandum na[ga]rattōm ivv=ū-
 36 r vṛtkōvar Vira nāyanum kō
 37 n Śāttanum
 38 kō[n*] Nagarattā-
 39 num Tattāñ-
 40 Śendilu-
 41 m oruvar-k-
 42 koru[var] tuda
 43 rvi āka i-
 44 [va]ḥi¹ chela-
 45 vum ka chi
 46 vu meluga
 47 vum ivagal
 48 vaḥi vaḥi śe
 49 yadāga ku-
 50 duttana ||
 51 Tennava-
 52 n Palla-
 53 vadiarai-
 54 yan=ēva A-
 55 raiyamāni-
 56 kkan [ku]du-
 57 ppitta
 58 du ||-

1/

1 Svasti Śrī [i*]
 2 Kalakkudi Va-
 3 dayāyil=amandā-
 4 l² tiruchchurā
 5 lai Ayyapoli-
 6 l Aññūruva-
 7 [n]-Inban-Dēvanach-
 8 chetti śeyvi-
 9 ch[cha] śurrālai Nagara-
 10 ttān [i*]

¹ At this place a rectangular hole has been cut into the slab (damaging some letters)

² The more correct form is *amarndaḥ*

TRANSLATION

A

Prosperity !

The thirteenth year opposite the second year of king Śadaiya-Māraṇ—in this year, Tudai ūri of Kunṇū in Kaṇṇilakkudi-nādu, wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiṛaiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ-Śūraṇ, gave fifty sheep for (maintaining) a perpetual lamp endowed by her to god Āditya-Bhatāra of the temple at the eastern entrance of Kaṇṇavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nādu. These fifty sheep which neither die nor grow old, Pūdi Pōrān a *valallu* of the Singa Isvaram (temple) of this village, took over, agreeing to supply daily one *valallu* of ghee by the (measure called) Sōliyam.

This shall be under the protection of the *Naḡarattār* and of the *Maḍi chūṭagar* (soldiers guarding the ramparts).

B

The wife of Śrīkantha-Śūra, named Tudarūri, gave to the temple of (god) Vikārttana at Kaṇṇavandapura, a lamp which has brightened the world, may it last as long as all the worlds (exist).

C

(Lines 1 to 18) The ninth year opposite the second year of —in this year, the (number of) sheep which the *Paḍaṭṭalayan* Naḍkaṇ-Muṇṇūṛṇṇavaṇ of this village received, agreeing to measure daily one *uri* of ghee for a chain lamp which had been presented to the *ambalam* (called) *Naḡarattān* erected in the name of the *Naḡarattār* by Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiṛaiyaṇ *alias* Kandaṇ-Śūraṇ who was the *Mahānāyala* of Kalakkudi in Rājasingappāraṅgādi, (a settlement) which had been formed by him in front of the *torraṇṇil* of this village, is one hundred.

(Ll 18-21) For the sheep and for the (proper) supply of ghee, the surety is the *Paḍaṭṭalayan* Venravāypōṣa of this village.

(Ll 22-24) This was left under the care of the *Naḡarattār* and the soldiers of the rampart so that they may arrange for the unfailing supply of this ghee.

(Ll 25-33) The amount which Tennavaṇ Pallavadiṛaiyaṇ *alias* Kandaṇ Śūraṇ deposited with the *Naḡarattār* for the maintenance of the sweeper of the *ambalam* called *Naḡarattān* is ten *ṇallāsu*. This *ṇallāsu* amount is to remain as capital, and from the interest thereon five *nāḷi* of paddy shall be given to the sweeper daily.

(Ll 34-50) Two *ṇāsu* together with this, (i.e.) twelve *ṇallāsu* (in all), the *Naḡarattār* gave to the Vētkōvar Viraṇṇāyan, Kōṇ Śittan, Kōṇ Naḡarattān, Tattaṇ-Sendil, so that the work of — and of sweeping may be performed by them and their descendants.

(Ll 51-58) By order of Tennavaṇ Pallavadiṛaiyaṇ, Arivamūnikkan gave this (edict).

D

Hail ! Prosperity !

Naḡarattān, the cirenmambulatory verandah (*tiṇṇechuṇṇāḷaṇ*) of (the shrine of) the goddess Vadaṇṇi-āmaṇḍil at Kalakkudi was erected by Inban Dēvaṇachchettī, a (member of the) Ayyapoli Aṇṇūṇṇavaṇ (-guild).

¹ The service expected of the *meluguṇṇāḷ* was smearing the floor with cow dung and sweeping.

² The inscription is damaged at this place, and the details of service which had to be rendered in addition to sweeping, cannot be made out.



No 46 —UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI

By B Ch CHHABRA M A , M O L , Ph D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

This inscribed stone lamp comes from **Utmānzai**, Tahsil Charsadda, District Peshawar. Mr Gobind Ram Joneja a druggist of that village, in whose possession the object is and who has kindly lent it to me for studying the inscription on it, informs me that he acquired it from a Pathān boy of a place near Dargai in the Malakand Agency. Its exact find spot is not known, but from what Mr Joneja wrote to me it appears that in the neighbourhood of Dargai there are ruins of an ancient *stūpa*¹. Possibly the same site is the provenance of our piece.

The lamp is made of sandstone of dark grey colour. It weighs 32½ *tolas*, stands 1 6" high and measures 4" at its broadest. One line of inscription, which is in Kharōshthī **characters**, appears on its outer side, running the whole length. The size of letters varies between ¼" and 1½". With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *mu* in *danamukhe* where the *u*-stroke is not clear. Similar raised *mu* is found in Yākubi Image Inscription². Other forms are quite regular. The **language** is the same northern Prākṛit as is found in most of the Kharōshthī inscriptions from the N W Frontier Province.

It may be observed that the words *thuvamī danamukhe* in the beginning are redundant³, as the purport of the inscription is fully expressed by the remaining portion which states that the lamp was a gift of **Samgharakshita**⁴ to the Grāma-*stūpa*. The name of the donor shows that he was probably a monk (*bhīṣhu*).

Stone lamps figure among the utensils that are often the objects of donations⁵. One such inscribed lamp was discovered at Taxila⁶. A fragment of a stone lamp, also inscribed, was unearthed at Jamālgaīhī⁷.

I read the inscription from the original

TEXT

Thuvamī danamukhe Grama thuvamī Sagarak⁸shidasa danamukhe

TRANSLATION

Gift in the *Stūpa* Gift of Saingharakshita, in the Grāma⁹ *stūpa*

¹ It may be pointed out that the region north of Peshawar abounds in Buddhistic relics. Remains of *stūpas* and *samghārāmas* are met with at short intervals. See *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra* by A. Foucher, translated into English by H. Hargreaves.

² *C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, *Kharōshthī Inscriptions*, p 133, pl XXIV, 4.

³ The donor may have wished to have the whole of the available space inscribed, hence the repetition of the words in question.

⁴ In the Bedadi Copper Ladle Inscription (*C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, p 89), the donor of the ladle is an individual of the same name, but, I think, he is not identical with Samgharakshita of the present record.

⁵ *C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, p cxvi.

⁶ *Ibid*, p 89, pl XVII, 5, 1.

⁷ *Ibid*, p 116, pl XXII, 7.

⁸ In transliterating this letter as *sh* I have followed Sten Konow (above, Vol XIX, p 2, n 2). The same sign has generally been taken for *chh*.

⁹ It is not certain whether this is the proper name of the *Stūpa* or whether this simply means 'village *stūpa*'.

No. 17.—NALANDA PLATE OF DHARMAPĀLADĒVA

By P. N. BHATTACHARYYA, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

This copper plate was unearthed in course of excavations in 1927-28 by Mr. T. A. Page of the Archaeological Survey of India at Nālandā, Patna District.¹ It was lying among burnt debris in the north verandah of Monastery No. 1 at the same level where the grant of Dēvaṇḍīyā was found. The plate has already been noticed by Dr. Hirannaṇḍa Śāstri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* 1927-28, p. 138.

This is a **single plate** of copper, measuring about 7½" broad and 10½" high having the usual highly wrought seal soldered on the top. The seal bears the legend *Śrīmān Dharmapālādēva* in raised letters in one line below the emblem of the *dharma-lakṣa*. The emblem consists of a wheel flanked on each side by a deer indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Śrāvastī.

The plate is inscribed on both sides. The obverse contains 24 lines of writing. On the reverse which is very much defaced, some 12 lines can be clearly recognized. Of the rest of the writing it is not possible to offer even a tentative reading. The destruction of the monastery by fire was no doubt the cause of the defacement of the copper plate.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets resembling those of the Kāśmīr plate.² The following peculiarities may however be noted. The left limb of the letter *na* is not so elongated as in the Kāśmīr, Munger and Nālandā plates. The forms of the letters *kṛ* (l. 12) and *ṭu* (ll. 5, 10, 11) are almost identical. Separate signs have been used for final *t* (e.g. *śāṇḍācārāt*, l. 2) and *n* (e.g. *akṛtān*, l. 15). The medial *re* expressed in *re* cases by full strokes and in others by half strokes (cf. *māp*, l. 13; *śāṇḍ*, l. 8, etc.). It is worthy of notice, however, that not a single instance of half stroke is found in the Kāśmīr, Nālandā and Munger plates. Similarly the medial *ḍ* is expressed both by full and half strokes. The latter form appears in *śāṇḍap*, l. 10; *śāṇḍ*, l. 14; *śāṇḍ* and *śāṇḍ*, l. 15; and *śāṇḍ*, l. 17. The medial *ḥ* has been expressed by a short curved continuation of the *ḥ* on the left side. The medial *ō* has been expressed in two different ways, sometimes by the half stroke of *ō* together with the vertical stroke for medial *ō* on the right side (cf. *śāṇḍ*, l. 10; *śāṇḍ*, l. 22) and sometimes with a curved line above the consonant to other with the right vertical stroke (cf. *pāṇḍ*, *pāṇḍ*, *śāṇḍ*, l. 15; *śāṇḍ*, l. 17) as in the Kāśmīr and Nālandā plates.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being wholly in prose. As regards orthography the only point to be noted is that *h* is throughout expressed by the sign for *ḥ*. After the opening words, *Om śāste*, the inscription proceeds to record the subject-matter of the plate, namely a grant by the *Parama-vara Parama-lakṣaṇa Mahārājā* *śāṇḍ* the son of *Dharmapālādēva*, the son and successor of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha) the *Mahārājādhirāja Gōpālādēva*. It was issued from the royal camp of victory at *Kapilā* (3). The object of the document is to record the gift of the village of *Uttarīma* near the village of *Nigūha* in the *Gayā* *viśaya* of the *Nagara* *śāṇḍ* (ll. 7-7) and belonging to *Jambūnadi* *vīthi*.⁴ The purpose of this grant cannot be made out on account of the damaged condition of the

¹ I. S. I., *Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 138.

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327.

³ [See below p. 292 n. 1—1 d.]

⁴ J. I. S. B., Vol. LXIII, pl. III.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, l. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320, l. 9.

⁷ *Vīthi* is found here to denote a small sub-division of the *viśaya*. This term occurs also in the Nālandā plate of Dēvaṇḍīyā in connection with the village granted in the *Gayā* *viśaya*. From the Nālandā grant (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 73) of Vallabha it is found that *vīthi* formed a part of a *reva* *śāṇḍ*. See also above p. 159.

last line on the obverse and the top lines on the reverse, which portion must have contained this information

An account of the exploits of the king which are so elaborately described in the Khahmpur plate is absent in the present record. The designations of the officials and the order in which they have been mentioned in it tally more with those of the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla than with those of the Khahmpur plate of Dharmapāla. No new designations, however, occur here. Like the Mungir plate this charter mentions *Gauda-Mālava-Khaśa-Kuhka-Hūna*, but not *Kaināta* and *Lāta*. *Mahāsēnāpati* mentioned in line 5 (reverse) was probably the *dūtaka* of this grant. Line 7 on the same side gives the name of the writer as Kuladatta, son of Dharmadatta. The words *kaśalārasya* in line 11 and *(u)llirna* in line 12 show that the grant contained the name of the engraver which is now lost. From what remains on the reverse it can be safely asserted that no imprecatory verses, which are usually found at the end of land grants, have been added in the present record.

Of the **place-names** mentioned in this record **Nagara-bhukti** has been identified with modern Patna, which as a division includes the district of Gayā even now. Nagara bhukti is also found on the seals¹ discovered at Nālandā, and in the inscription of Jivitagupta II found at Deo Baranark in the Shāhābād District. From the Nālandā inscription of Dēvapāla we learn that Nagara bhukti included the *vishayas* of Rājagūha (Rājgir) and Gayā. The Krimila district which is mentioned as included in this *bhukti* in the Mungir plate has not been identified. From epigraphic documents we can assume that the Nagara-bhukti included the districts of Patna, Gayā and Shāhābād. The other places mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT

First Side

- 1 Ōm² svasti | mahā-nau hasty asva-ratha pattī-sampat(tt)y up'itta-jaya śavdā(bdā)
- 2 [t Kapilā ?]-vāsakāt śrīmaj jaya-skandhāvārāt |³ parama-
- 3 saugatō mahārājādhirāja śrī-Gōpālādēva-pādānudhyā
- 4 tahi⁴ paramēśvarah paramabhattachārakō mahārājādhirājah śrī-
- 5 mām Dharmmapālādēvah kuśali | Nagara-bhuktau⁴ Gayā-vish-
- 6 y āntahpātī- Jambū (mbū)-nadī-vithi-pratīva(ba)ddha- Nigūha-grām-āsanna U-
- 7 ttarāma grāmakē⁴ samupagatān sarvvān=ēva rāja-rājana-
- 8 ka-rājaputra rājāmātya-mahākārttākṛitika-mahādandanāya-
- 9 ka mahāpratihāra mahāsāmanta-mahārāja dauhsādhasādhanika-
- 10 pramātri sarabhangā-kumārāmātya-rājasthānīy ōparika vishaya-
- 11 patī dāsāparādhika-chaurōddharanika dāndika-dāndapāsika-ksha(khē)-
- 12 [trapa prā]ntapāla-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hasty āśv ōshtra-va(ba)la-vyā-
- 13 [pritaka] kīśōra-vadavā gō mahishy-adhikṛita dūta-prē(pra)shānika gamā-
- 14 [gamī]k ābhutvaramānaka Gauda-Mālava-Khaśa-Kuhka Hūna-bhata-
- 15 [chāta] sēvak-ādīn=anyān(m)ś=ch=ākīrttitān=[sva]-pāda padm-ōpajīvinah pra-
- 16 [tivāsinaś=cha] vrā(brā)hman-ōttarān=mahattara-kutumvi(mbī) purōga mēd-āndhra-chandā-
- 17 [la]-[paryantān=sa*]mājñāpayaty=astu [vah] samvi[dī*]tam yath=ōparīkṛita Uttā-

¹ P R A S, E C, 1916 17, p 43

² Expressed by a symbol

³ For analogous passages see Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (above, Vol XII, p 73) and Deo Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II (Fleet, C I I, Vol III, p 213)

⁴ Danda unnecessary

No 48 —A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA RANAVALOKA

BY PROF A S ALTEKAR, M A, D Litt, BENARES

The question of the genuineness and the date of issue of the Manne plates of Stambha Ranavalōka¹ has been recently raised in the pages of this journal (see above pp 215 217) by Prof V V Mirashi, while editing the 'Two Copper plate Inscriptions from Berar' Prof Mirashi concludes that the plates are genuine, that they were really issued in the Śaka year 724, and that all the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem therefore to have been made before the date of this charter, i e during the first seven or eight years of his reign

I propose to show in this note that though the Manne plates are genuine, they were not really issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in the Śaka year 724, when they purport to have been issued They were issued a few years later, probably in Śaka 730 or 731, when the permission of Gōvinda III was received for making the contemplated grant in favour of the Jain *basadi* at Manne

Prof Mirashi has rightly drawn our attention to the fact that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits, which has been used in as many as ten grants made during his reign, has been used for the first time in the Manne plates It cannot be however conceded that it was prepared at the order of Stambha, who has issued the Manne plates, or that he was the first to use it We must in this connection note that Stambha had rebelled against Gōvinda in the beginning of his reign, forming a formidable confederacy of 12 kings for this purpose Gōvinda was successful in crushing this rebellion The two brothers were however reconciled afterwards, and Gōvinda showed the magnanimity of reappointing his brother to the governorship of Ganga vādī Human nature, however, being what it is, it is not likely that a court poet of Stambha would prepare a draft of Gōvinda's exploits, which would specifically refer to the defeat of his patron's rebellion The Manne plates however mention its defeat in v 13 It is therefore clear that the draft of the Manne plates was prepared by a court poet of Gōvinda III, and was primarily intended for his charters As a matter of fact it cannot suit a charter issued by any ruler, other than Gōvinda himself For, after describing Gōvinda's exploits, the charter says —

तेनदमनिलवियुच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारम् ।

क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य प्रवर्तित देवभोगाय ॥

Obviously this verse is out of place in a charter intended to be issued by Gōvinda's brother Stambha

The Manne plates state later on that Stambha had asked for the permission of Gōvinda for granting the village concerned to the Jain *basadi* at Manne² It would appear that when the imperial government granted the necessary permission, it forwarded a draft approved by the emperor with orders that it should be incorporated in the charter Stambha carried out the order rather too literally, he did not omit even the verse beginning with *tēn=ēdam=*, which was quite out of place in his own charter

The draft that was sent to Stambha seems to have been prepared under the special instructions of Gōvinda by one of his favourite court poets The emperor had liked it so much that he is seen to be using it throughout his reign after this period in as many as eight other charters

¹ *Ep Carn*, Vol IX, pp 51 3

² तेन श्रीचक्रमदेवेन रयावलीकापराभावा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप्रभुत्वप्राप्तुमाप्तुमतेन निगमवनाय . . . ग्राम(सी)
दत्त' — *Ep Carn*, Vol IX, Nelamangala 61

It is unlikely that a draft, which had so strongly appealed to the emperor, should have been first allowed to be used in a grant issued by his elder brother, who was erstwhile a rebel. We may therefore presume that it was first used by Gōvinda himself. This he does for the first time in the Nēśari plates¹ issued in the Śaka year 727. As far as our present knowledge goes, the draft seems to have been prepared just about this time.

How then is it used in the Manne plates issued in the Śaka year 724? It would appear that Staṁbhā had no doubt promised to grant a village to the Jain establishment at Manne in that year, but he could not immediately issue a charter. He had to wait till the permission of the imperial government was received. This seems to have required a fairly long time, because Gōvinda himself was engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *pratikṛti* was not yet ready. By the time this permission came, the exact date and month of the first promise was forgotten. The plates purport to be issued in the Śaka year 724 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Pushya *valśakra*, i.e. in the month of Pausa. But there was no lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in that year, as would appear from a reference to *The Indian Ephemeris* of Divan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. The same work shows that a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa occurred in the Śaka years 730 and 731. It would appear that Staṁbhā got the necessary permission at the end of one of these two years. At the time when the supplementary portion of the charter of Staṁbhā, containing the date, was being drafted, the lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa was fresh in the mind of the donor, the donee and the drafter. They further had a dim idea that the original promise was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the winter. They therefore transferred the lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa from the Śaka year 730 or 731 to the Śaka year 724, when the original promise was made. This has given rise to the irregularity of the date of the Manne plates. We need not therefore suppose that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits was really ready in the Śaka year 724 when the Manne plates purport to have been issued. The earliest undoubted year in which it is known to be definitely used is the Śaka year 727, when the Nēśari plates were issued. Gōvinda's exploits mentioned in this stereotyped draft have therefore to be placed not before the Śaka year 724 but before the Śaka year 727. The various exploits mentioned in this draft were therefore achieved not within the first seven or eight years of his reign but may have required as many as 11 or 12 years. Seven or eight years is too short a period for them, when we remember the conditions of the roads and the means of transport of the period.

A reconsideration of the whole problem has now led me to the conclusion that the sensational victories of Gōvinda III in his north Indian campaign, during which he humbled down Chakrāvartī and Dharmapāla and his armies penetrated right up to the vicinity of the Himalayas,—as maintained in the Sūrya plates of his son Amoghavarsha I—are not mentioned or described in this stereotyped draft. The verse mentioning the defeat of the Gurjara king merely refers to a raid of Nāgaḥata being repulsed. The poet, who drafted this charter, as well as acquainted with the complications of the northern Indian politics as is clear from his specific reference to the exploits of Gōvinda's father Dhruva in snatching away the white umbrella from Vatsarāja, which he had carried as a trophy from the king of the Gaṇḍas. A poet, who mentions the submission of a third rate Vindhyan chief like Mīrīśvara, would certainly have grown eloquent over the discomfiture of such celebrated rulers as Dharmapāla and Chakrāvartī. Nor would Gōvinda have approved a draft, which did not refer to the feat of his forces in approaching the Himalayas after penetrating into the Doab. This famous northern expedition of Gōvinda has therefore to be placed at a date later than the issue of this stereotyped charter. We cannot however discuss the complicated question of its approximate date in the present note.

¹ Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 13.

No 49 —A FURTHER NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to state my views on the points raised in Dr Altekār's note on the date of the Manne plates of Stambha Ranīvalōka. This date¹ is admittedly imperfect, as the name of the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is not mentioned in it. The mere mention of a *nakshatra* in connection with a lunar eclipse is not sufficient to specify the exact month in which it occurred, as the *purnimā* of a month is not invariably associated with the *nakshatra* after which the month is named. In my article² on the Lōhārā grant I have suggested that some words like *Mārgasīrsha purnamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the date of the Manne plates, as the only lunar eclipse³ which could have been intended is that in the month of Mārgasīrsha. Even then the date does not become quite regular, for the asterism on the full moon day of Mārgasīrsha in Śaka 724 was Rōhinī, not Pushya. But we can easily explain this irregularity by supposing that though the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 13th November A D 802, the plates were actually issued four days later, on the 17th November, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Those who are familiar with the dates of our ancient records know that copper-plates were sometimes issued a few days after the particular grants recorded in them were made and that such irregularities in their dates are by no means rare. In my article I have cited the date of the second set of Manne plates, which belongs to the same period, as another instance of the same irregularity. These latter plates purport to have been issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Monday, the full-moon day of Pausha, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya, in the Śaka year 732. A reference to Diwan Bahadur S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* will show that the lunar eclipse did, indeed, occur on the full moon day of Pausha in A D 810 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 732), but the week-day was Saturday and the asterism at the time of the eclipse was Punarvasu, not Pushya. It seems plain therefore that though the grant was made on Saturday, the 14th December A D 810, the plates were actually issued two days later on Monday, the 16th December, when the moon was in conjunction with Pushya. The irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) is exactly of the same type as that in the date of this grant.

Dr Altekār prefers to account for the irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) in a different manner. He concedes that the grant was made in Śaka 724, but he supposes that the plates were actually issued six or seven years later in Śaka 730 or 731, when there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha. The reason for this unusual delay in the issue of the plates, according to Dr Altekār, is that Stambha did not receive the permission of the imperial government earlier, as Gōvinda was himself engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *prasasti* was not yet ready. Dr Altekār further supposes that the drafter, the donor and the donee had no accurate information about the occasion of the original grant, but only remembered that it had been made at a lunar eclipse in winter in Śaka 724. They therefore mentioned, as the occasion of the grant, the lunar eclipse which had occurred recently in the month of Pausha in Śaka 730 or 731. Hence the date is found to be irregular.

¹ The wording of the date is *chatur-vimsaty uttarēshu śapta satēshu Śaka varāhēshu samātīēshu Sōma grahanē Pushya nakshatrē* Ep. Carn., Vol IX, Nelamangala 61

² Above, p 217

³ There was another lunar eclipse in this year, but it occurred much earlier, on Jyēshtha *purnimā*, the 21st May A D 802.

This explanation of the irregularity of the date is, I submit, too far-fetched. It is incredible that it took Śaṃbhū six or seven years to obtain the imperial sanction to his grant. Even granting that Gōvinda could not give the required sanction in Śaka 724 because he was then constantly engaged in fighting, one fails to understand why the sanction was not forthcoming in Śaka 727 at least, by which time Gōvinda had finished all his important campaigns both in the north and in the south and the draft of the *prashasti* was also ready for use, as we find it actually used in the Nāśarī plates¹ of that year. The *prashasti* was of course composed by a court poet of Gōvinda III, not by that of Śaṃbhū. Gōvinda must have ordered it in his own grants made before Śaka 727, though they have not been discovered so far.

Let us next examine the reasons which have led Dr. Altekar to offer the foregoing far-fetched explanation. He thinks that the various exploits mentioned in the stereotyped *prashasti* could not have been achieved during even one or eight years (A.D. 791-802). But are there not instances in our ancient history of equally remarkable victories being achieved by great military commanders in the same or even smaller periods of time? I will mention here only one or two cases of this type. The Rājāhūtiśālinī ruler III invaded North India and pressed as far as Kanauj, the imperial capital, which he conquered and destroyed. As Dr. Altekar himself has shown, Indra came to the throne in A.D. 915 and died in A.D. 917. So this brilliant achievement of his could not have taken more than two years. Is it then impossible that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in Northern and Central India within a period of four or five years (Śaka 717-21) as suggested in my article? Another instance is that of the Kalyāṇa Karna. We know from his Benares plates that he succeeded his father as the Kalyāṇa Karna 792 (A.D. 1049). The Rewari stone inscription, which I have recently cited in this Journal describes his victories over a line probably of the Chaurandharis, in the East, the Pallavas, Chōlas and Chēlās in the South and the Gargars in the West. As this inscription is dated in the Kalyāṇa Karna 800 (A.D. 1048-49) it is plain that the exploits of Karna must have been attained within a period of only seven years. The military power of Karna was said to be as powerful as that of Gōvinda III and the means of transport had not probably improved much during the period of about two centuries and a half that separated the two rulers.

Dr. Altekar thinks that Gōvinda's series of victories in North India during which he humbled Chakrīvudha and Dharmapala, were attained after the stereotyped draft was prepared as they are not mentioned in it. This is at best an *ex post facto* argument and should be treated with caution, for we know of several cases in which conclusions based on such absence of mention have been disproved by fresh discoveries. Besides we do not know for certain the exact length of the stereotyped draft when it was first prepared. Though it has been said in many places as eleven charters,² it is well known that it is not of uniform length in all these cases. The longest form of it known so far is that noticed in the Nāśarī plates in which the eulogistic portion consists of 24 verses.³ In other charters the draft is shorter by from 5 to 10 verses.⁴ We

¹ G. H. Khere, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Mumbai) Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

² See his *Rasttrakūṭas and Their Territories*, pp. 109 and 107.

³ Above, p. 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.

⁵ Below, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

⁶ See e.g. above Vol. XIX, p. 63.

⁷ Ten of these have been mentioned above, p. 216. Since then I have noticed one more charter of the same type, see *J. B. B. H. A. S.* (New Series) Vol. III, pp. 187-89.

⁸ These do not include the opening *maṅgala* *śloka* and the concluding verse *ten-śāmanarila* etc.

⁹ The Rājānagar plates, for instance, have 19, the Iohāṛā grant 16 and the Bahulārād plates only 14 verses.

cannot therefore conclude that the original form of it did not contain any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's sensational victories over Dharmapāla, Chakrāyudha and others,—much less that these victories had not been attained when it was prepared

Besides, the Sanjān plates¹ show that these sensational victories of Gōvinda III in Northern and Central India were achieved before his encampment at the capital of *Mahārāja Śaiva*. Verse 23 of this grant describes the march of Gōvinda's army to the Himālayas, during the course of which Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha submitted to him. The next verse (24) tells us that returning from there (*tatah pratimurṛtya*) he came down to the bank of the Narmadā and conquered the Mūlaka, Kōsala, Kalinga, Vēngī, Dāhala and Ōdraka countries which he placed in charge of his feudatories. He then returned (*pratyāvṛttah*) again to the Narmadā and encamped at the capital of *Mahārāja Śarva* at the foot of the Vindhya, where his son Amōghavarsha was born (vv 25-6). The wording of the verses 23-26 makes it plain that these events occurred in the chronological order stated therein. The existing versions of the stereotyped draft do not, of course, refer to Gōvinda's victorious campaigns in Northern and Central India (except that in which he defeated a Gurjara king) and the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, but they almost invariably mention his encampment during the rainy season at Śrībhavana, the capital of Mārāśarva. Scholars² are now agreed that this Mārāśarva is none other than the *Mahārāja Śarva* mentioned in the Sanjān plates. It is plain, therefore, that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha must have submitted to Gōvinda long before the stereotyped draft of the latter's grants was prepared, for the draft describes also Gōvinda's expeditions against the southern kings of Chōla, Pāndya, Kērala, Vēngī, etc., which followed his campaigns in Northern and Central India.

If the Manne plates of Stambha were, therefore, issued, as I have tried to show, in Śaka 724, all the important victories of Gōvinda III—including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha—must have been attained before Śaka 724 or A.D. 802 *i.e.*, during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

² Dr. Altekar also has accepted the identification, see his *Rāshṭrakūṭas* etc., p. 68, n. 35 (iv).

INDEX.

By B CH CHHABRA, M A , M O L , P H D

[The figures refer to pages , *n* after a figure to footnotes and *add* to additions The following other abbreviations are also used —*ca* =capital , *ch* =chief , *ci* =city , *co* =country , *com* =composer , *di* =district or division , *do* =ditto , *dy* =dynasty , *E* =Eastern , *engr* =engraver , *ep* =epithet , *f* =female , *k* =king , *l* =locality , *l m* =land measure , *m* =male , *mo* =mountain , *myth* =mythic or mythological , *n* =name , *N* =Northern , *off* =office , *q* =queen , *ri* =river , *S* =Southern , *s a* =same as , *sur* =surname , *t d* =territorial division , *te* =temple , *tit* =title , *vi* =village , *W* =Western]

A		PAGE
<i>a</i> , initial,		88, 162
<i>ā</i> , <i>do</i> ,	9, 88, 123, 162	
<i>ā</i> , medial,	9, 45, 53, 81, 123, 290	
<i>abhāṅga</i> ,		193
<i>a bhata chchhātra prāvēśya</i> , privilege,		86
<i>Abhidhamma</i> , Buddhist work,		242
<i>Abhidhamma bhāṇiya</i> , <i>do</i> ,		241
<i>Abhidhamma piṭaka</i> , <i>do</i> ,		241
<i>Abhidhānachintāmaṇi</i> , work,		12 <i>n</i>
<i>Abhinava Śrisaṇa</i> , <i>s a vi</i> Sonnalge,		194
<i>Ābhira</i> , tribe,	48, 173	
<i>Abhitvaramāṇaka</i> , <i>off</i> ,		291
<i>abhyantara siddhi</i> ,	16, 211, 221	
<i>Ābū</i> , <i>mo</i> ,		272 <i>n</i>
<i>Achala</i> , <i>m</i> ,		106, 110
<i>Achalapura</i> , <i>di</i> ,		11, 13, 16
<i>Achalapura</i> , <i>vi</i> ,		13 & <i>n</i>
<i>Achantapura</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	59, 60, 61	
<i>a char-asana charm āṅgūra</i> , privilege,		87
<i>āchārya</i> ,		292
<i>a chata bhata pravēsa</i> , privilege,		292
<i>a chāta bhata pravēśya</i> , <i>do</i> ,		152
<i>a chāta bhāṣa prāvēśya</i> , <i>do</i> ,	21, 143 <i>n</i> , 211, 221	
<i>a chāta bhāṣa pravēsa</i> , <i>s a a chāṣa bhāṣa prāvēśya</i> ,		143
<i>āchāya</i> , Buddhist term,		242
<i>Āchhada</i> , <i>donse</i> , <i>s a</i> , <i>Uchhada</i> ,		152 <i>n</i>
<i>achchu</i> , <i>tax</i> ,		26, 27
<i>Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman II</i> ,	62, 78, 94 & <i>n</i>	
<i>Āḍakamalla</i> , <i>Gahadavāla k</i> ,	186, 188, 189	
<i>Ādāsā</i> , <i>vi</i> ,		117 <i>n</i>
<i>Adbhutasāgara</i> , work,		227
<i>adhikarana</i> , 'court',	54, 201, 202, 203	
<i>adhikaranajyāna</i> ,		156 <i>n</i>
<i>Ādhikārīka</i> , <i>off</i> ,	15, 106, 151, 210, 220	
<i>Adhikṛita</i> ,		86
<i>Adhirāja Indra</i> , <i>s a Ganga k</i> Indravarman I,		92
<i>adhishthānādhikarana</i> , 'city court',		159
<i>Ādishā</i> , <i>ci</i> ,		117 <i>n</i>
<i>Ādiśūra</i> , <i>k</i> ,		224 <i>n</i>
<i>Āditya</i> , <i>deity</i> ,		284, 286 <i>n</i>
<i>Āditya</i> , <i>s a god</i> Sūrya,	249, 252, 253, 255	
<i>Āditya I</i> , <i>Chōla k</i> ,		146
<i>Āditya Bhaṭāra</i> , <i>deity</i> ,	283 & <i>n</i> , 284, 286, 288	
<i>Āditya Bhōgika</i> , <i>com</i> ,		64
<i>Āditya Bhōgika or Āditya Mañichin</i> , <i>engr</i> ,		59
<i>Āditya mañichin</i> , <i>com</i> ,		64
<i>Ādityanāga</i> , <i>m</i> ,	148, 152, 155	
<i>Ādityas</i> , <i>gods</i> ,		46
<i>Ādi Varāha</i> , incarnation of <i>Vishnu</i> ,		150, 236
<i>Ādyāra</i> , <i>vi</i> ,		199, 202
<i>Āgamas</i> ,		284
<i>agambadimudali</i> ,		177 <i>n</i>
<i>Agishi</i> , <i>vi</i> ,		273
<i>Agāshi Inscription of Haripāla</i> ,		273
<i>Agastya</i> , <i>sage</i> ,		7, 188
<i>Aghakuṭi Dikshita</i> , <i>donee</i> ,		213, 221
<i>Agri</i> , <i>s a god</i> Agni,		142 & <i>n</i>
<i>Āgidevā</i> , <i>f</i> ,		142 <i>n</i>
<i>Agri or Āgidevī</i> , <i>goddess</i> ,	142 & <i>n</i> , 143	
<i>Agni</i> , <i>god</i> ,		142 <i>n</i>
<i>Agnihōtra</i> , <i>mahāyājña</i> ,	16, 55 <i>n</i> , 148, 152, 155, 157 <i>n</i> , 211, 221	
<i>Agni Purāna</i> , work,		164
<i>agrahāra</i> ,	53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 67, 86 <i>n</i> , 89, 98, 99, 107, 157, 159, 160, 243	
<i>Āgrahārīka</i> , <i>off</i> ,		157, 159
<i>agraharin</i> , 'holder of <i>agrahara</i> ',		157, 159
<i>agrahārīna</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>agraharin</i> ,		159
<i>agraja</i> , 'first born son',		29 <i>n</i>
<i>agraja</i> , 'elder brother',		29
<i>agraprachamśa</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>agrapratyamśa</i> ,		41, 42
<i>agraprachāya</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>agrapratyāya</i> ,		41
<i>agrapratyāma</i> ,		41
<i>agrapratyāya</i> ,		41
<i>agrē</i> ,		41

	PAGE
Amōghavarsha III, <i>s a</i> Baddiga-Amōgha varsha III,	257 & n
Āmrāgartakā, vi,	157, 158, 160
Āmratakshaka, I,	199, 202
Amuka, m,	271, 272, 276
ānat (Skt. āyā), 'sign', 'insignia',	175
Ānamalai, I,	283
Ānaimalai Inscriptions,	284
Anamarlapūndi <i>agrahāram</i> , vi,	166
anāṅguli <i>prakṣhēpanīya</i> , privilege,	32
anāṅguli <i>prēkshaniya</i> , do,	195
Anantadēva, <i>Śilāhāra ch</i> ,	226
Anantadēva's Copper Plate of Śaka 1016,	271 n
Anantāditya, donee,	105, 109
Anantanāyaka, m,	273, 274
Anatapaprabhu, <i>s a</i> Anatapaprabhu,	275, 276
Anantapāla, <i>s a</i> <i>Śilāhāra ch</i> Anantadēva,	226
Anantapāla, <i>Śilāhāra l</i> ,	271
Anantavarman, <i>Gaṅga l</i> ,	57, 58, 60, 61 & n,
	63, 64, 261
Anantavarman, <i>l of Kalīṅga</i> ,	89, 90
Anantavarman, <i>s a</i> <i>Gaṅga l</i> Vajrahasta III,	68, 72
Anantavarman Chōdaganga, <i>Gaṅga l</i> ,	101 n
Anargha <i>mandala</i> , di,	2, 6, 8
Anarghavallu, <i>see</i> Anargha <i>mandala</i> ,	3
Anatapaprabhu, <i>minister</i> ,	275, 276
anatha <i>samraṭshaya</i> , purpose of donation,	195
Andari, vi,	146
Andhra, <i>a low caste</i> ,	291
Andhra or Āndhra, co,	47, 92, 116, 119, 162, 163,
	164, 165
Āndhra, <i>people</i> ,	192
Ānegondi, vi,	182, 184
Ānāvadi, vi,	273 & n, 274 & n
anga <i>ranga bhōga</i> , purpose of donation,	195
Anhilavāda, ca,	191, 192
Amiyamkabbhima, <i>Gaṅga l</i> ,	71
Añjanavati or Añjati, vi,	8, 13, 16 n
Añjanavati Plates of Gōvinda III,	12 n., 83, 206,
	214, 215 & n
ankuśa, emblem on seal,	141
ankuśa, 'goad', auspicious sign,	168
Annamabhaṭṭa, <i>s a</i> Annasā vibhaṭṭa,	213, 214 n,
	221
Annasā vibhaṭṭa, m.,	205, 210, 214 n
Ānōha, vi,	103, 106, 110
Āntakpurika, off,	229
Antaranga, off,	129, 131, 193, 200, 202
antarāya, 'tax',	24, 26, 27
An to lo, <i>s a</i> Andhra,	119
anulōma, Buddhist term,	242
anusvara,	1, 10, 33 n, 68, 143 n
anusvara, changed to n,	10
anusvara, in Kharōṣṭhī,	36, 40
anusvara, omitted,	115, 124

	PAGE
anusvāra, superfluous,	19, 189
anusvāra, used for class nasal,	30 n, 57, 68, 74, 263,
	265, 270
anusvara, used for final m,	62, 124, 249
anusvāra, used for final n,	62, 74
anusvāra, used for length of vowel,	10
anusvāra, wrongly changed to m,	115
Aparāditya I, <i>Śilāhāra l.</i> ,	270, 271 & n, 272,
	273, 277
Aparāditya II, do,	270 n, 271, 275 n, 277 & n, 278
	279
Aparājita, m.,	146
Aparājita, <i>Pallava l</i> ,	144, 145 & n, 146
Aparājita, <i>s a</i> <i>Śilāhāra l</i> , Aparāditya I,	271 & n
<i>a parampara gō bahvarda</i> , privilege,	87
Aparārka I, <i>s a</i> Aparāditya I,	271 n
<i>a pushpa kṣhīra sandōha</i> , privilege,	87
Arab invaders,	151 n.
Aragandanallūr Inscription,	175
Ārahannā, vi,	131 n
Aramānikkan, m,	287, 288
arāma, 'pleasure garden',	250 n
Aranabhita, <i>Śailōdbhava l</i> ,	124, 125, 127, 128 & n,
	130
Arang, vi,	18, 20
Ārang, vi,	117, 119
Ārang Inscription,	116 n
Ārang Stone Inscription in Brāhmī,	119
Arasanārāyaṇan, til,	179 n
archanābhōga,	23
Arḍhakaraka, vi,	157, 159
Arḍhodaya, an astronomical combination,	190, 195,
	196
Arikēsari, <i>Pandya l.</i> ,	284
Arikēsariśvaram, <i>te</i> ,	284
Arjuna, <i>epic hero</i> ,	167
Arjuna or Arjunavarman, <i>Malava l</i> ,	191
Arjunavāda Inscription of Krishna,	192, 194
Arjunavarman's Inscription,	192
Arakirti, <i>Jain ascetic</i> ,	11
Arthasāstra,	253
Arthasāstra, work,	255 n
Arthūnā Inscription of Paramāra Mandana	
dēva,	8 n
Arumbika Plates of Bādapa,	69 n
Arunadatta, com,	199, 203
Arunāditya, com,	205, 212, 213, 214, 216 n,
	222
Ārungaṃitrasvāmin or Ārungaśvāmin, donee,	199,
	200, 202, 203
Āryabhaṭa, astronomer,	49
Ārya Tārā, <i>deity (?)</i> ,	202
Āśāditya, donee,	106, 110
asanapaṭṭa, 'slab as seat',	246, 248
aśēsha <i>pañcha mahāśabda</i> ,	273, 276
aṣṭa bhōga tēja sāmya,	31, 32

	PAGE
Aśtegadī Seal Inscription of Sarvasarmanu,	242
Aśitavaktra, <i>s a</i> Kūlamulīn,	165
Āśīṣha, <i>nakṣatra</i> ,	101, 107
Aśoka, <i>Maurya</i> I,	17, 200
Aśokadanta, <i>com</i> ,	260, 267
Aśurīśa <i>maṇḍala</i> , <i>dī</i> ,	105, 109
Āsuvulaparru, <i>ti</i> ,	163, 166, 169
Āśvālīyana, <i>author</i> ,	17
Āśvapātī, <i>Madra</i> I,	17 n
Āśvatthīlī hīṣaka, <i>ti</i> ,	82, 84, 86
atapatra, 'umbrella', auspicious sign,	168
Athakavāḍa, <i>ti</i> ,	205, 206, 210, 211
Atiṭhī, <i>maḥayājña</i> ,	16, 55 n, 118, 152, 155, 157 n, 211, 221
Atīnī, <i>s a</i> 11 Athalavāda,	206
ātōḍya, 'music',	169
Atti Inscription,	181 n
Ātuka, <i>donce</i> ,	105, 110
Ātṛantamaḥīrara, <i>tī</i> ,	85
Ātṛantasiṃmahubhīśarababhī'a, <i>tī</i> ,	85 & n
au, <i>medini</i> ,	81, 162, 270
au, used for <i>au</i> ,	129 n
Auchityaśchārachārēṇa, <i>work</i> ,	81 & n
Audrangīśa, <i>off</i> ,	157, 159
atagāha,	1, 240, 263
Āvalādīva, <i>Kalachi</i> <i>ti</i> q,	102
Āvalīlīṭṭīśara <i>Buddhiś' dēvī</i> ,	190
Avanī Janūśara, <i>sur of Clulky</i> I <i>Pula</i>	97 n
līśīrīya	8 n
Avanījanūśara, <i>sur of Pulal</i> <i>śīn</i> ,	8 n
Avanīmulūdudāyār,	175
Avanīnarunana, <i>tī of Pallara</i> <i>ch</i> <i>Kopperuñ</i>	176, 180, 181
ingāḍa I,	176
Avanīyalappirandur, <i>tī of Pallara</i> <i>ch</i> <i>Kopper</i>	176
uñjagāḍa I,	176
Avanti <i>co</i> ,	92
Avanti <i>maṇḍala</i> ,	102, 112
Ātantiśundarikatha, <i>work</i> ,	91 & n
Āvaraṇa, <i>dī</i> ,	102, 108
Āvarōdhajana, <i>off</i> 'watchman' (*),	251, 254 & n
Āvasathīa, <i>off</i> ,	157, 159
avasathīn, 'ono who keeps the sacred fire	
āvasathya',	224 & n 229
āvasathya, 'ono of the five sacred fires',	224 n
āvasathika,	106, 109, 110
Avīā, <i>vi</i> ,	101, 105, 109
Avār, <i>vi</i> ,	102
Ayaka, <i>vi</i> , <i>cf</i> Yaka,	103, 105, 109
Ayaśōbhita I, <i>Sailōdbhava</i> I,	61, 126, 127
Ayaśōbhita II, <i>do</i> ,	124, 125, 126, 127, 128 & n, 130
Ayaśōbhita III, <i>sur of Sailōdbhava</i> I <i>Madhya</i>	
marīya,	125
Ayugalōchana, <i>s a</i> <i>god</i> Śiva,	169
Āyuktala, <i>off</i> ,	15, 54, 55 n, 106, 210, 220

	PAGE
Āyṇa śiṃha, <i>ep of Gaṇḍarāditya</i> ,	28, 31, 33 n
Āyṇapōṭī, <i>s a</i> Āyṇavōḷe,	285
Āyṇapōṭī 500, <i>guild</i> ,	285, 287, 288
Āyṇavōḷe <i>s a</i> Āṭivōḷe,	295
Āyṇavōḷe of the South, <i>trading centres</i> ,	285

B

b,	53 & n, 57, 62, 61, 156
b, used for t,	189
Badhakumell, <i>estate</i> ,	73, 78
Bādami, <i>ca</i> ,	90
Bādānaguppe Plates of Khambhadeva,	11 n, 12 n
	216
Bādapa,	162
Bādāpṭha, <i>ti</i> ,	225
Bādāun Inscription of Lakṣṇanapāṭi,	187 n
Bādāṇa Amoghavarsha III I, <i>uhīra</i> <i>śīn</i> I,	257, 258
Bādī hūrī, <i>ti</i> ,	197
Bādī, <i>ti</i> ,	42, 11, 45, 17, 48, 51
Bādīś Yōpa Inscriptions,	16, 51
Bāgalkot, <i>ti</i> ,	190 n
Bāgīlīśa family,	231, 237, 240
Bāgīrati, <i>s a</i> <i>ti</i> Bhāgīrathī,	160, 181
Bāhāl Inscription,	191
Bāhālāra nūyōśhīya's <i>off</i>	182, 185
Bālī, <i>ti</i> ,	252
Bālīrīśa <i>ti</i> ,	190, 202
Bālīrīśa Plates,	211, 216, 295 n
Bālīrī Plates,	114, 115
Bālīrīśa <i>sur of Gurjara</i> I <i>Didda</i> II or	
III,	115, 140, 150, 153
Bālīśa Dandanīśa I,	153
Bālīśaśāṇḍe, <i>m</i> ,	182, 183, 185
Bāgīrīma, <i>ti</i> ,	103
Bāgīrīma Copper plate Inscription,	53, 54, 55 n, 159
Bālīrī I,	232
Bālīrī, <i>ti</i> ,	158
Bālī, <i>m</i> ,	47 n
Bālī, <i>Maulhārī</i> <i>ch</i> ,	46, 47, 48, 51, 52 & n
Bālīśīrīśa, <i>off</i> ,	17, 152, 165
Bālīrīma, I,	165
Bālīrīśa Plates of Pṛithivīśhēna II,	172, 173
Bālīrīma, <i>s a</i> <i>Sōmarasē</i> I <i>Mahā</i> Śiva	
gupta,	115, 116 & n, 118, 119
Bālīśhīna, <i>Maulhārī</i> <i>ch</i> ,	45, 46, 47, 52
Bālīrīśa <i>s a</i> Bādī (1),	51
Bālīrīśhāna, <i>Maulhārī</i> <i>ch</i> ,	46, 47, 52
Bālīrī Plates of Chaulukya Mūlārāja,	257 n
Bālī,	163, 169
Bālī, <i>maḥayājña</i> ,	16, 55 n, 66, 67, 148, 152, 155, 157 n, 211, 221
Bālī, <i>myth</i> I,	2, 5, 7
Bālī charu nūvēḍya,	252

	PAGE
Ballīḷa, <i>Śilāhāra</i> l ,	29
Ballīḷa III, <i>Hoysala</i> l ,	184
Balōdā, <i>ci</i> ,	116
Balōdā Plates of Mahāśiva Tīravarāja, 10, 114, 116, 118 n , 119	
Bilpur, <i>ci</i> ,	3
Bīṭa, <i>author</i> ,	12 n , 119 n , 150 n , 217
Bīna, <i>dy</i> ,	145 & n , 146
Bīṇa Vidyādhara, <i>Bana</i> l ,	145, 146
Bandhudāsa, <i>m</i> ,	54, 55
Bandhuvārman, <i>Gupta</i> governor,	49, 51
Bangalore Plates of Dēvēndravarmān,	75, 76
Bānswārī, <i>state</i> ,	232
Bappa, <i>ch</i> of Meccār,	231, 234, 235, 238
bappa, 'father' (*),	200
bappa bhāṭṭuraka,	200
Barah, <i>s a</i> 11 Valūkū,	243
Barah Copper Plate of Bhōjadēva,	243 & n
Baroda Plates of Karka,	258 & n
Bārsūr Inscription of Jagadīśabhūṣana's Time,	244
Baruū, <i>ci</i> ,	201
Barwa, <i>ci</i> ,	201
Basem Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna, 271 & n	
Bastar, <i>state</i> ,	241
Bāsūra, <i>di</i> ,	190, 194, 195
Basva,	190
battle axe, emblem on seal,	141
Baudhāyana, <i>author</i> ,	43
Bēhāpabhhu, <i>minister</i> ,	280
Bedadi Copper Ladle Inscription,	289 n
Belāghātū, <i>ci</i> ,	52
Benvehamatti Inscription,	100
Benares Plates of Karna,	258, 260, 296
Benkū, <i>ci</i> ,	102
Betul Plates of Śaṁkshobha,	172, 174
Bezādā, <i>s a</i> Vijayavāṭī,	103
bh,	9, 62
Bhadramagha, <i>s a</i> l Bhadrāmāgha,	248 n
Bhadramāgha, <i>l</i> of Kauṣambi,	245, 247, 248
Bhadreśvar Inscription of Chaulukya Jāya- sīnha's Time,	50
bhāga, 'allotment' ,	243
bhāga, <i>t d</i> ,	82, 86
bhāga bhōg ādīḷa,	229
bhāga-bhōga kara hiraṇy ādika,	111
Bhagavata Purana, work,	82 n
Bhagavati, <i>s a</i> goddess Pūrvati, 281, 231, 238	
Bhagavati Āryā Dēvī, <i>city</i> 'Holy Noble Dēvī' ,	246, 248
Bhāgrathi, <i>ci</i> ,	158
Bhāgrathi, <i>s a</i> 11 Gangī,	85, 150 & n , 153
Bhāila, <i>dance</i> ,	106, 110
Bhāṁgāra parvata, <i>see</i> Bhṛṅgāra parvata,	119
Bhamragarh, <i>mo</i> ,	119 n

	PAGE
bhāṇḍagāra, 'store house' ,	271, 272, 279, 280
Bhandagarika, <i>off</i> ,	229
Bhandak, <i>ci</i> ,	116, 117 & n , 118, 119
Bhandawal, <i>tc</i> ,	18
Bhānuobandra, <i>m</i> ,	63 n , 66, 67
Bhānudatta, <i>ch</i> ,	199, 200, 203
Bharahadōva, <i>ch</i> ,	186, 188, 189
Bharanasvāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	199, 201
Bhāraśiva, <i>dy</i> ,	85
Bharatacharita, work,	84
Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala Plates, 12, 210 n , 214 & n , 210	
Bharatī kathā, <i>s a</i> Mahabharata,	237
Bharatam valla, <i>tit</i> of Pallava <i>ch</i> Kōpperuū jagadēva II,	177
Bhārati, <i>s a</i> goddess Sarasvatī,	231, 234
Bhāravi, <i>author</i> ,	90, 93
Bharukachchha, <i>di</i> ,	148, 152, 154
Bhāskara, <i>donee</i> ,	32, 34
Bhāskara Nāyaka, <i>m</i> ,	277, 278
Bhāskaravarmān, <i>Maulharī</i> prince, 115, 121, 122	
Bhaṭa, <i>off</i> ,	77, 79, 86, 129, 131, 154, 202, 203, 262, 264, 266, 268, 291
Bhata, <i>s a</i> Bhaṭṭa,	274 & n
Bhataputra, <i>s a</i> Bhaṭṭaputra,	80
Bhaṭṭa, <i>tit</i> ,	32, 34, 74, 77, 80, 124, 129, 131, 148, 152 & n , 153, 157, 159, 213, 221, 249, 264, 265 & n , 273 & n
Bhaṭṭaputra, <i>tit</i> ,	16, 78, 266, 268, 269
Bhaṭṭuraka, <i>tit</i> of god,	79, 137, 138 n , 139, 249, 252, 261, 262, 264, 266, 268
Bhaṭṭarika, <i>tit</i> ,	292
Bhaṭṭopadhyaya, <i>tit</i> ,	32, 34
Bhauma, <i>dy</i> ,	201 n
Bhavādēva, <i>Sōmavamsī</i> I ,	116 & n , 117, 118
Bhavanāga, <i>Bharaśiva</i> I ,	85
Bhavānīpati, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	108, 135, 136
Bhavaśarmān, <i>donee</i> ,	89, 98, 99
bhikkhu,	38
bhikkhūśaṁgha,	38
bhikkhu, 'monk' ,	289
Bhil, <i>tribe</i> ,	231, 238
Bhilla, <i>s a</i> Bhil,	235
Bhillama, <i>Yadava</i> l ,	191 & n
Bhīma II, <i>Chaulukya</i> I ,	277 n
Bhīma II, <i>E Chaulukya</i> l ,	97, 168
Bhīma, <i>Kalachuri</i> l ,	134
Bhīmā, <i>ci</i> ,	193
Bhīmahugamu diḥba, <i>mound</i> ,	166
Bhīmananāyaka, <i>m</i> ,	69, 73
Bhīmasamudra, <i>tanl</i> ,	163, 166, 169
Bhīmasarmān, <i>Pallava</i> l ,	179
Bhīṭā Seal of Śivamāgha,	247
bhōga, 'enjoyment' ,	243
bhōga, <i>t d</i> ,	50, 61, 64 & n , 102, 115, 120, 122, 262

	PAGE
<i>ch</i> ,	186
Chachchurōñī, <i>di</i> ,	135
Chāchoni, <i>vi</i> ,	135
Chāchurnī, <i>vi</i> ,	135
Chadiche, <i>l</i> ,	192
Chadiya or Chadiyā, <i>vi</i> ,	271, 272 & <i>n</i>
Chāhadadēva, <i>m</i> ,	277, 278
Chāhamāna, <i>dy</i> ,	134, 191 & <i>n</i>
Chaharbagh, <i>l</i> ,	35
<i>chaitya</i> ,	166, 169 <i>n</i>
Chaityapura,	120 <i>n</i>
Chākīrāja or Chākkīrāja, <i>ch</i> ,	11, 12 & <i>n</i> , 17, 215 <i>n</i>
<i>chakra</i> , emblem on seal,	155
Chakradāsa, <i>com</i> ,	84
Chakrakōṭya or Chakrakōṭya <i>maṇḍala</i> , <i>pro</i> <i>vince</i> ,	244
Chakrīyudha, <i>ch</i> ,	294, 296, 297
Challal ere Inscription,	194
Chālukya, <i>dy</i> ,	99, 100, 173, 296
Chālukya, <i>E dy</i> ,	63 <i>n</i> , 69, 70, 88, 89, 90, 93, 74 & <i>n</i> , 95 & <i>n</i> , 101 <i>n</i> , 104, 119, 162, 163, 167, 169, 206, 216, 225, 227
Chālukya, <i>W co</i> ,	183
Chālukya, <i>W dy</i> ,	79, 82 <i>n</i> , 90, 134, 142 & <i>n</i> , 182, 183, 217, 218, 243
Chālukyabhūma, <i>E Chālukya l</i> ,	167
Chālukya Bhūma II, <i>Chālukya l</i> ,	27
<i>chāmara</i> , emblem on seal,	67
<i>chāmara</i> , 'fly-whisk', auspicious sign,	168
Chamba Dandanāyaka,	184
Chāmdiyā, <i>co</i> ,	280 & <i>n</i>
Chāmgadōva, <i>m</i> ,	273, 274
Chamidāsa, <i>com</i> ,	84
Chammah Plates of Pravarasēna II,	82 <i>n</i> , 831, 86 <i>n</i>
Chāndī, <i>vi</i> ,	118
Chandāla, <i>a low caste</i> ,	291
Chandalūr Plates of Kumāra Vishnu,	89 <i>n</i>
Chandavarman, <i>Ganga l</i> ,	56, 58, 89 <i>n</i> , 200
Chandālla, <i>dy</i> ,	70
Chandīlā, <i>s a goddess Pārvati</i> ,	224 <i>n</i> , 228
Chandiyamma, <i>m</i> ,	214, 222
Chandra, <i>dy</i> ,	296
Chandriditya, <i>ch</i> ,	244
Chandrāditya, <i>donee</i> ,	105, 109
Chandrāditya, <i>Silāhara l</i> ,	29 & <i>n</i> , 30, 33
Chandragupta, <i>Sōmatamsī prince</i> ,	92 <i>n</i>
Chandragupta II, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	83, 174 <i>n</i>
Chandragutti nādu, <i>di</i> ,	182, 185, 194
Chandraprabhu, <i>minister</i> ,	278, 279
Chandrarāja, <i>Silāhara l</i> ,	29, 30, 33
Chandravallī Inscription of Mayūrasārman,	48
Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhasīva,	172 <i>n</i> , 257
Chandwar, <i>l</i> ,	186 <i>n</i>
Changāpura, <i>s a vi Sangūr</i> ,	182, 185, 189

	PAGE
Changūra, <i>s a vi Sangūr</i> ,	189, 190, 194, 195
Chanje or Chānje, <i>s a vi Chadiya</i> ,	270, 279, 280
Chanje Inscription of Aparāditya I,	270
<i>charaṇas</i> —	
Chhandōga or Chhāndōga,	53, 54, 55, 78, 80, 94 <i>n</i> , 98, 99, 124, 129, 131, 264, 265
Katha,	74, 77
Taittirika or Taittirīya,	94 & <i>n</i>
Vājasanēya,	199, 202, 203, 261, 262
Charu, <i>mahāyājña</i> ,	16, 55 <i>n</i> , 66, 67, 148, 152, 155, 157 <i>n</i> , 211, 221
Chārudēvī,	88
<i>chashāla</i> , part of <i>yūpa</i> ,	44 & <i>n</i> , 45
Chāta, <i>off</i> ,	77, 79, 129, 131, 154, 202, 203, 262, 264, 266, 268, 291
<i>chatuh sīmā paryanta</i> , privilege,	251
<i>chatur aghaṇi visuddha</i> ,	229
Chaturānana, <i>s a god Brahman</i>	225, 228
Chaturānana <i>pandita</i> ,	145 <i>n</i>
<i>chaturdanta</i> ,	93 <i>n</i>
Chāturdīś <i>arya bhikṣu samgha</i> ,	121
Chaturvargachintāmani, work,	33 <i>n</i> , 279 <i>n</i>
Chaturīdīn,	32, 34
Chāturvīdyā,	86
Chaturvīdyā <i>sāmānya</i> ,	205, 210, 214 <i>n</i>
Chaturścharana Brāhmanas,	104, 107
<i>chatuṣk kaptaka visuddha</i> ,	113
Chaudarasa, <i>Heggade</i> ,	190, 195, 196
Chaudarasa, <i>m</i> ,	190 & <i>add</i> , 194, 195
Chauhān, <i>dy</i> ,	187, 226, 231
Chaulukya, <i>dy</i> ,	50, 191, 192, 275, 277 <i>n</i>
Chaundarasa, <i>author</i> ,	193 <i>n</i>
Chauramba, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 109
Chaurōddharamika, <i>off</i> ,	157, 159, 291
Chāvunda II, <i>Sinda l</i> ,	100 & <i>n</i>
Chāvundarasa, <i>m</i> ,	184
Chayita, <i>tanḥ</i> ,	163, 166, 169 & <i>n</i>
Chēdi, <i>co</i> ,	2, 4, 7, 258
Chēla or Chēlavāta, <i>ci</i> ,	231, 235, 238
Chenna Basava Purāna, Kannada work,	184 <i>n</i>
Chennabasava,	190
Chennīrpoḍivī, <i>tax</i> ,	23
Cherupūra, <i>vi</i> ,	94
<i>chh</i> , Kharōshthī —,	259 <i>n</i>
<i>chh</i> , used for <i>sth</i> ,	270
Chhadasilā, <i>ci</i> ,	37
Chhadābhōgin, <i>engr</i> ,	124, 129, 131,
Chhaṭṭukumara, <i>donee</i> ,	9, 11, 16, 18
Chhātra, <i>off</i> ,	86
Chhatramaha, <i>m</i> ,	53, 54, 55, 56
Chicacole Plates of Dēvēndravarmān,	75, 76
Chicacole Plates of Indravarmān,	64
Chicacole Plates of Vajrahasta,	67 <i>n</i> , 68 <i>n</i>
Chidambaram, <i>ci</i> ,	175, 177, 180

	PAGE
Chikhali <i>grama</i> , 11,	112 n
Chikhali <i>sthiti</i> , vi,	112
Chikhali <i>vajaka</i> , 11,	112 n
Chilulla Plates of Vilāṃcūdravarman,	88, 90 n,
91 & n, 92 & n, 93 & n, 96	
Chiplūn, 1,	276 n
Chiplūn Stone Inscription,	271 n
Chipurupalle, 11,	91 & n
<i>chra khila sūnya</i> ,	203
Chitor, ca,	187 n, 226, 232, 233
Chitral ōṭa, 1,	211
Chitrōtpalī, s a rī Mahānadi,	19 n
Chitta, m,	30
Chōdaganga, ch,	2, 1, 7
Chokkalinga, te,	283 n
Cholānāvali, te,	281 & n
Chōla, co,	175, 177, 178, 180, 181
Chōla or Chōla, dy,	10, 11 & n, 25, 96, 97, 116 n,
145, 116, 167, 175, 176, 177 & n, 180,	
181 & n, 182, 217 n, 236, 296, 297	
Chōla Pāṇḍya viceroys,	116
Chuchuddaṣṭī, 11,	223, 230
<i>Chūdamuni Liṅgaṅṭu</i> , Tamil work,	182 r
Cintra Inscription,	271 n
Cintra Prasasti,	161
conch, emblem on seal,	56, 67
Conjeveram,	116, 179
consonants, strongly doubled,	28
crescent, emblem on seal,	73, 263, 265, 267
Crynamata, s a Kummata,	181
<i>Śūlāma</i> , work,	225 n
Cupid,	191
Cuttack, ci,	250 n
D	
d,	71
ḍ,	9
Dabhoi Inscription,	191
Dadda I, <i>Gurjara k</i> ,	118, 119, 163
Dadda II, do,	148, 119, 150, 173
Dadda III, do,	148
Dādra, 11,	107
Dāhala, ca,	258, 259, 297
Dakṣha,	225
<i>dakṣina</i> or <i>dakṣiṇya</i> ,	16, 52
Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, co,	116, 118, 119
Dakṣiṇāpatha Sādhāra, sur of Avāṇjanāraya	
Pulakṣin,	8 n
Dakṣiṇa Rādha, co,	103, 105, 109
Dakṣiṇa Tōsali, co,	200, 201
<i>Dakṣiṇayana</i> ,	278
<i>dāma</i> or <i>dama</i> , s a <i>dramma</i> ,	278
<i>Damanaka chaturdaśī</i>	186, 188 & n, 189
<i>Damanaka parvan s a Damanaḥa chaturdaśī</i> ,	131,
	135
Damaśarman, m,	93, 94

	PAGE
Dāmasvāmin, <i>donce</i> ,	20, 21
Dāme Nāyal a,	181
Dāmodar, ri,	155, 158
Dāmodara, <i>author</i> ,	91 & n
Dāmodara, <i>enqr</i> ,	261, 265
Dāmodara, <i>Parivrajaka k</i> ,	171
Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, <i>donce</i> ,	278, 279
Dāmodarasvāmin, <i>donce</i> ,	20, 21
Dāmodarpur Copper plate Inscription,	57, 57 n
Dāmodarpur Plates,	156, 159
<i>dana dharma</i> ,	66
Dāṇṇava, F <i>Chalukya k</i> ,	69, 162
Dāṇṇava, <i>Gahga ch</i> ,	263, 261
Dāṇṇava, <i>Gahga k</i> ,	78, 261
<i>dana</i> (gift) —	
Aḥirādāna	107
Bhaishalyadāna,	107
Kālpasīlādāna,	107
Prithivīdāna,	107
Tulapuriādāna,	107
Vidyādāna,	107
<i>Dāṇḍapāṇḍa</i> , off,	18, 79, 100, 129, 131, 183,
	181, 229, 261, 265
<i>Dāṇḍapāṇḍa</i> off,	262
<i>Dāṇḍapāṇḍa</i> , off,	77, 129 & n, 131, 261
<i>Dāṇḍapāṇḍa</i> off, 'an officer entrusted with	
the punishment of criminals	251, 254 & n, 291
<i>dāṇḍa</i> <i>śūlādi</i> <i>vaṇḍa</i> <i>aya</i> <i>varavāṇḍa</i> privilege,	107
<i>Dāṇḍapāṇḍa</i> off,	201, 20, 293
<i>Dāṇḍika</i> , off	291
Dāntidurga <i>Raṣṭrakūṭa k</i> ,	10, 14, 214
Dapura, ri,	103, 106, 110
Dardurā, ri,	103, 105, 110
Darṇa, ri,	289
dart, emblem on seal,	67
Darīkuma, <i>ricas arc</i> ,	51, 55, 56
Darīnapura, ri,	89 n
<i>daś āparudha</i> , cf <i>ri daś āparudha</i> , privilege,	107
<i>Dāśāparudhika</i> off,	291
Dāśapura, ri,	214 n
<i>dasi śibda</i> (<i>da a sabda</i>),	119
Dāśvatīra, te,	13
Dasur, s a ri Dāśapura (?),	214 n
<i>datti</i> , 'gift',	252, 292
<i>Daulasudhasudhanika</i> , off,	291
Dāvanagare ri,	184
<i>daya</i> , 'gift',	152
<i>dayuda</i> ,	92, 108
days, lunar —	
bright fortnight —	
1st,	213, 221, 271, 273
3rd,	72, 137, 138, 140, 274 n
4th,	30, 31, 34
5th,	46, 19, 52, 231, 234, 238, 241,
	249, 253, 255

	PAGE
days, lunar— <i>contd</i>	
bright fortnight— <i>contd</i>	
6th,	277 n
7th,	54 add, 56 add, 69, 73
10th,	3, 6, 8, 104, 111, 183, 185
12th,	66, 67, 271 n
13th,	49, 137, 138, 140
14th,	134, 135, 186, 188 & n, 189, 277
15th (full moon),	48, 89, 98, 99, 104, 108, 165, 205, 215, 217 & n, 223, 229, 230, 234, 236, 240, 277 & n, 278
dark fortnight —	
3rd,	224
7th,	82, 87, 281, 282
10th,	3
13th,	104, 113, 168, 216 n, 278
15th (new moon),	48, 115, 119, 121, 122, 148, 152, 155, 196, 213, 275, 276, 278, 280
days of the month —	
5th,	245, 247
13th,	199, 202
17th,	199, 203
24th,	199, 203
27th,	158, 161
29th,	19, 22
30th,	199, 201
days of the reign —	
988th,	27
days of the week —	
Sunday,	72, 101, 107, 183, 185, 190, 234, 238, 241, 277 & n, 278
Monday,	69, 73, 214 n, 217 n, 227, 229, 230, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281
Tuesday,	2, 6, 8, 101, 213, 214 n, 274 n, 278
Wednesday,	3 n, 224, 273, 275
Thursday,	3, 186, 188, 189, 271, 278
Friday,	104, 168
Saturday,	30, 31, 34, 217 n, 234, 277 n
Dēdika, <i>donee</i> ,	107, 110
deer, emblem on seal,	290
Devala, m,	148, 152, 155
Delhi,	187, 232, 234, 239
Dendalūru, ca,	90
Dēō Baranārī Inscription of Jīvatagupta II,	242, 243, 291 & n
Deoli Plates of Kṛishna III,	257 n
deśana, Buddhist term,	242
Dēśinamamala, work,	231 n
Deu, m,	225
dēvabhōra,	107, 163, 169, 293
dēva brāhmaṇa-bhūti varja, privilege,	136
devadana,	22, 24, 25, 26
Dēvadatta, donee,	10, 11, 16 & n, 18
dēvadaya,	152, 211, 221, 292
Dēvādhyā, Parivṛājaka k,	171
Dēvāditya, donee,	106, 110

	PAGE
Dēvāditya, m,	105, 110
dēvadīrōṇī, 'procession or ablution of images'?	167, 159
Dēvagurī, ca,	184, 279, 281
dēv agrahara,	64, 66
Dēvagupta, s a Chandragupta II,	82, 86
dēvalūla, 'temple',	164, 170, 249, 251, 252
Dēvalā Dēvī, Chālukya q,	100 & n
Dēvalā Dēvī, Śinda q,	100 & n
dēvūlaya, 'temple',	168, 170
Dēvamantīśa, m,	190, 194
Dēvapāla, Pala k,	290 & n, 291
Dēvapāla, Paramāra k,	191, 192
Dēvapura, ca,	58
Dēvarāja, I adava minister,	190, 193, 194, 195
Dēvarāshṭra, co,	57, 58, 59, 60, 61
Dēvarāja I, Vijayanagara I,	192, 183, 185
Dēvasvāmin, m,	105, 110
Dēvasvāmin Thakkura, m,	138, 139, 140
dēvataru, s a Lalpataru,	235
Dēvavarman, Vishnukundin prince,	88, 91, 92, 93, 95
dēvayātana, 'temple'	169
Dēvīndravarmān, Gaṅga k,	201 n, 261
Dēvīndravarmān III, do,	75 n
Dēvīndravarmān IV, do,	74, 75 & n, 77
Dēvī Madhva, te,	256
Dēvī throne, s a āsanapaṭṭa,	247
dh,	9, 189, 259 n, 265 n
dh,	189
Dhammanagrīma, v,	105, 107
Dhammapada, work,	40 n
Dhanadatta, com,	264, 265
Dhānādāha Copper plate Inscription,	63
Dhanantara Plates of Samantavarman,	261
Dhanapāla, author,	101 n
Dhanapati, s a god Kubēra,	251
Dhanasvāmin, m,	157, 159
Dhangaṭapūṭaka, v,	117 n
Dhanush, rūṣi,	168
Dhūrā, ca,	191, 192
Dhūradatta, m,	249
Dharaseo, s a v, Dhārāsiva,	206 n
Dhārāsiva, v,	30, 205, 206 & n, 210, 213, 221
Dhūravarsha, ch of Chakralōṭya,	244
Dhūravarsha, Paramāra k of Abū,	232
Dhūrivarsha, Rashtrakūṭa k,	15, 205, 210, 220
Dhūrivarsha, sur of Rashtrakūṭa k Dhruva,	144
Dharāsvara, donee,	223, 229, 230
Dharma,	136, 157, 159, 163, 169, 202, 203, 255, 267, 269
Dharma, donee (?),	292
dharmachalra, emblem on seal,	290
dharm ādara karaṇa,	87
Dharmadatta, m,	291, 292

	PAGE
<i>dharmadaya</i> ,	111, 113
Dharmadēva, <i>ch</i> ,	186 & n, 187, 188
<i>dharm adhikarana</i> ,	265
Dharmāditya, <i>l</i> ,	156, 158
Dharma Kandarpadēva, <i>s a</i> Mahā Bhava gupta II,	253 n
Dharmapāla, <i>ch</i> ,	294, 296, 297
Dharmapāla, <i>Pala l</i> ,	158, 290, 291
<i>dharmapradana</i> ,	98
Dharmapuri Plates of Vākpati,	102, 104
Dharmarājadēva, <i>Śailōdbhava l</i> ,	91, 94 n, 125, 126
<i>Dharmaśastra</i> ,	43, 80, 202, 203, 252, 255, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271 n
Dharmasiva, <i>misreading for Vyamasiva</i> ,	276 n
<i>dharmasthāna</i> , 'office of justice',	82 n, 86
<i>Dharmasūtras</i> ,	93
Dhārur, <i>s a vi</i> Dhārāsiva (?),	206
<i>dhatu</i> , Buddhist term,	241
Dhaul Rock Edicts of Asōka,	200
Dhunikī Inscription of Jāikadēva,	50 n
<i>dhr̥ita kartayuga</i> ,	86 & n
Dhr̥uva, <i>Rashtrakūta l</i> ,	10, 11, 15, 144, 214, 294
Dhr̥uvamitravāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	199, 200, 202, 203
Dhūmarājadēva, <i>l</i> ,	188 n
Dhūrjati, <i>s a god</i> Śiva,	114 n, 187
<i>Dighanikaya</i> , Buddhist work,	149 n, 241 n
Dikshita, <i>s a</i> Ruddappa Dikshita,	18
Dikshita Āyanika, <i>donee</i> ,	20, 21
Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī, <i>Sulṭān of Manḍu</i> ,	232
Dillī, <i>ca</i> ,	184, 185
<i>dīnāra</i> , coin,	53, 54, 55, 56, 157, 160
Divākara, <i>donee</i>	273, 274 & n
Divākara, <i>engr</i> ,	199, 203
Divākara, <i>m</i> ,	2, 5, 7, 8
Dōdhāma, <i>donee</i> ,	213, 221
Dom João de Castro, <i>Portuguese Viceroy in</i> <i>India</i>	271 n
Dōnāka, <i>donee</i> ,	103, 105, 109
Dōrasamudra, <i>ca</i> ,	193
Doravadi, <i>ca</i> ,	184
Doravadi nādu, <i>di</i> ,	184
<i>drama</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>dramma</i> ,	281
<i>dramma</i> , coin,	280 n, 281 n
<i>dr̥ishta</i> , used <i>dr̥ishtak</i> for <i>dr̥ishṭam</i> in the beginning of a charter,	82 & n, 85 & n
Drōnasimgha, <i>engr</i> ,	22
Druhina, <i>s a god</i> Brahman,	256, 260
drum, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	67
Dudā Plates of Pravaraśēna II,	83, 84
<i>duhllā</i> , Buddhist term,	242
Dūngarpur, <i>state</i> ,	232
Durgakhandi, <i>donee</i> ,	78, 80
Durgakhandika, <i>s a donee</i> Durgakhandi,	264, 265
Durgappa, <i>donee</i> ,	10, 16 & n

	PAGE
Durgasārman, <i>donee</i> ,	94 & n
Durgasārman, <i>m</i> ,	94 & n
Durjaya, <i>family</i> ,	96
Durjaya, <i>s a</i> Ranadurjaya,	96
<i>Durlabha</i> , <i>off</i> ,	60, 61 n
Durlabha III, <i>Chāhamana l</i> ,	134
Durvinita, <i>Ganga l</i> ,	93 n, 146
<i>dūla</i> or <i>dūtaka</i> ,	11, 17, 124, 125, 129, 131, 132, 148, 152 & n, 155, 158, 161, 205, 212, 213, 214, 215 n, 222, 229, 249, 261, 263, 291
Dvārasamudra, <i>s a ca</i> Dōrasamudra,	178
Dvāravatipura, <i>ca</i> ,	194, 195
Dvija, <i>s a</i> Brāhmana,	237, 239, 253, 255
<i>Dvyāśrayakāvya</i> , work,	275 n

E

<i>ē</i> , initial,	9
<i>ē</i> , medial,	45, 68, 81, 132, 204, 230, 256, 290
<i>echchōru</i> , tax,	23, 24
eclipses —	
lunar,	90, 104, 107, 108, 165, 205 & n, 211, 215 & n, 217 n, 293, 294, 295 & n
solar,	10, 12, 17, 80, 115, 119, 121, 122, 213, 217 n, 221, 264, 271, 272, 275, 276, 278, 280
Ēkalngaji, <i>te</i> , <i>deity</i> ,	234, 236, 239
Ēkalngamahatmya, work,	232
Ēkalngji Stone Inscription,	83 n
Ēkhuṅgi, <i>te</i> ,	230
Ēklingji Inscription of Naravāhana,	50 n
Ēklingji Inscription of V S 1545,	231, 232, 233
Ēlamañchi Kalngadēśa, <i>di</i> ,	57
Ēlavartu Grant of Ammarāja II,	162
elephant, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	75 n
elephant goad, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	141, 142
Elhehpur, <i>s a</i> Achalapura,	13
Ēnula rālu, <i>mo</i> ,	163, 169
equinox,	268
Eran Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Gōpa rāj,	20
eras —	
Chālukya Vikrama,	100
Chēdi,	3, 148, 172, 173
Ganga,	63, 75 & n, 92, 94, 264, 268 & n
Gupta, <i>s a</i> Gupta,	50, 51
Gupta,	54, 91, 171, 172, 173 & n, 174, 198, 199, 200, 245, 247
Harsha,	199
Kalachuri Chēdi, <i>s a</i> Chēdi,	3, 172, 173, 174 & n, 199, 200, 247, 257, 296
Kaliyuga,	49
Kanishka,	247
Kollam,	180 n
Krita, <i>s a</i> Vikrama (?),	48, 49, 50, 51, 52
Mālava,	115

Page

eras — *contd*

Śaka,	10, 16, 29, 30, 34, 58, 59, 69, 72, 73, 104, 106, 107, 146, 148, 162, 163, 165, 168, 183 & <i>n</i> , 185, 190 & <i>n</i> , 191, 162, 195, 196, 205, & <i>n</i> , 211, 213, 214, 215 & <i>n</i> , 216 <i>n</i> , 217 <i>n</i> , 221, 226, 258, 270, 271 & <i>n</i> , 272, 273 & <i>n</i> , 264 & <i>n</i> , 275 & <i>n</i> , 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282 & <i>n</i> , 293, 294, 295 & <i>n</i> , 296, 297
Saptarshī,	49
Valabhī,	50, 51
Vikrama,	46, 49, 50, 51, 104, 134, 189, 223, 224, 229, 231, 241, 256, 277 & <i>n</i>

F

Farridpur Plates of Dharmāditya's Time,	55 n , 156,
	158
Farridpur Plate of Gōpachandra's Time, 53 n , 156 & n ,	158
Farrukhābād,	186
Firūz <u>Kh</u> ān,	233, 239
Firūz Tughluq,	233
fly whisk, <i>emblem on seal</i>	67
Gurhut ool moolk, <i>governor of Gujarāt,</i>	233

G

<i>g</i> ,	62, 74, 256
<i>ga</i> , abbreviation for <i>Gangarāmsa</i> ,	78 <i>n</i>
<i>gadhra paisa</i> , coin,	138
<i>g idī</i> ,	143 & <i>n</i>
<i>Gahadavāla</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	186, 188, 189, 224, 225
<i>Gahvā</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	13, 16 <i>n</i>
<i>Gajalalshmi</i> , emblem on seal,	248
<i>Gamāgamika</i> , <i>off</i> ,	291
<i>Gambhārī</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	223, 229
<i>Ganapati</i> , <i>ch</i> ,	192, 193
<i>Ganapati</i> , <i>l</i> ,	96
<i>Ganapati</i> , <i>s a god</i> <i>Ganēśa</i> ,	270
<i>Gandarādītva</i> , <i>Śīlahāra l</i> ,	29, 31, 33, 34
<i>Ganēśapurana</i> , work,	117 <i>n</i>
<i>Ganga</i> or <i>Gīnga dy</i> ,	11, 12 <i>n</i> , 56, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65,
	68 & <i>n</i> , 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78 <i>n</i> , 79, 93 <i>n</i> ,
	94, 101 <i>n</i> , 162, 207, 209, 215, 217, 219,
	220, 226, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268
<i>Gangā</i> , goddess,	161 <i>n</i>
<i>Gangā</i> , <i>ri</i> ,	127, 130
<i>Gangā</i> , <i>s a ri</i> <i>Gōdāvarī</i> ,	193
<i>Ganga</i> , <i>W dy</i> ,	79, 145, 146
<i>Gangabhadra</i> , <i>m</i> ,	124, 129, 131
<i>Gangādhara</i> , <i>donee</i> ,	32, 34
<i>Ganga Kailāsa</i> (<i>Ganga Kailāsa</i> ?),	266 & <i>n</i>
<i>Ganga mandala</i> , <i>co</i> ,	11 & <i>n</i> , 12 <i>n</i>
<i>Ganga mandal udhīrāja</i> , <i>ep</i> of <i>Chākīrāja</i> ,	12 <i>n</i>
<i>Gangavāḍi</i>	293
<i>Gangdhār</i> , <i>l</i> ,	51
<i>Gangdhār Inscription</i> ,	49, 51

	PAGE
Ganges, <i>ri</i> ,	53, 69, 103, 159
Ganjām, <i>dī</i> ,	67
Ganjām Grant of Prithivivarman,	79
Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja,	91, 95, 126 & <i>n</i> , 127
Ganjām Plates of Śaśāṅka's Time,	50, 198
Ganj Inscription,	172, 173
Gantiyamma, <i>donee</i> ,	11, 16, 18
Gaonri, <i>vi</i> ,	101, 102
Gaonri Plate of Gōvinda IV,	106
Gaonri Plates of Vākpati V S 1038,	105, 106, 108
Gaonri Plates of Vākpati V S 1043,	111
Gāralagunta, <i>vi</i> ,	163, 169
Garavapādu Grant of Ganapati,	96
Gārgya, <i>one of Lakuli's four pupils</i> ,	164
Garuda,	30, 32
<i>Garuda</i> , emblem on banner,	33 & <i>n</i>
<i>Garuda</i> , emblem on seal,	8, 28, 119, 204, 212
Gauda, <i>co</i> ,	258, 259, 291
Gauda, <i>family</i> ,	2, 6, 294
Gauda, <i>off</i> ,	190, 195, 196
Gaudarāja,	207, 219
Gaudiya,	207, 219
Gaurāmbikā, <i>Mōkila's wife</i> ,	231, 237, 240
Gauri, <i>s a goddess Pārvatī</i> ,	235, 239
Gauriśa, <i>s a god Śiva</i> ,	235
Gauta, <i>m</i> ,	11, 17
Gautamiputra, <i>Vakataha prince</i> ,	85 & <i>n</i>
Gayā,	47
Gayā, <i>dī</i> ,	290 & <i>n</i> , 291
Gayā, <i>tirtha</i> ,	233, 235, 236, 239
Gayā <i>vishaya</i> , <i>dī</i> ,	159
<i>gh</i> ,	124, 256
Ghaṇṭākarnakshētra, <i>iii</i> ,	199, 201
Ghāravah, <i>vi</i> ,	282
Ghata, <i>family</i> ,	256, 257, 260
Gnaṣa, <i>lagna</i> , <i>s a Lumbha</i> ,	168
Ghāt-lādhī, <i>s a vi Lādāvalhā (?)</i> ,	214 <i>n</i>
Ghugrahati Plate of Samāchārādēva,	156 <i>n</i> , 158, 159
<i>ghumara</i> , 'waterfall',	244
Ghumara Falls,	244
Girijā, <i>s a goddess Pārvatī</i> ,	108, 112
<i>Girilandi chartya</i> , in Ceylon,	196, 197
<i>Gitabhāradipī</i> a, Marāṭhī work,	193
<i>gna</i> , used for <i>gṇa</i> ,	19
Goa, <i>Kadambas of —</i> ,	225, 226
Gōdāvarī, <i>ri</i> ,	69, 193 & <i>n</i>
Gōdāvarī Plates of Prithvimūla,	88, 92
Gōdhagrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	157, 158, 159, 160
Gōdwār, <i>l</i> ,	231
Gohagrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	153
Gōhasōdvā, <i>vi</i> ,	11, 13, 16
Gōika, <i>re</i> ,	157, 159
Gōkananāyaka, <i>donee</i> ,	69, 73

	PAGE
Göl arna, <i>ch</i> ,	2, 4, 7
<i>Gölarna lusa l uuma karatal ödala purna</i> ,	229
Gökarnasvāmin, <i>n of god Śiva</i> ,	65, 71, 76
Gökarnēśvara, <i>n of god Śiva</i> ,	79, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 268
Gōladāsa, <i>com</i> ,	84
Gōlasv imin, <i>donee</i> ,	20, 21
Gollapūdi, <i>vi</i> ,	166
Gollapūdi, <i>vi</i> ,	163, 166, 169
Gōmkalla <i>Śilāhāra I</i> ,	29 & <i>n</i> , 30, 33
Gōndala, <i>Paramara ch</i> ,	133
Gooty Fort,	270 <i>n</i>
Gōpachandra, <i>k</i> ,	156 & <i>n</i> 157, 158, 159
Gōpāladēva <i>Pala I</i> ,	290, 291
Gōpālibhōga, <i>l</i> ,	54, 55, 56
Gōparāia,	20
<i>gōpura</i> ,	177, 180, 285
Gōrakshita, <i>l</i> ,	53, 55, 56
Gōsarana, <i>m</i> ,	105, 109
Gōsv imin, <i>Ganga g</i> ,	79, 80
Gōtarkela, <i>s a vi Gōttal ēlī</i> ,	250
<i>Gōtraparāraṇibandha adamba</i> , <i>work</i> ,	16 <i>n</i>
<i>gōtra</i> —	
Agastyā,	105, 109
Ātrēya,	20, 21, 70
Atri,	32, 34
Bhāradvāja,	11, 18, 20, 21, 32, 34, 106, 110, 199, 201, 223, 229, 250
Bhārgava,	105, 106, 110
Dhanurjaya	32, 34
Gārgya,	105, 109
Gautama,	32, 34, 94, 105, 109
Hārīdra,	10, 11, 18
Jāmadgnyī Vatsa,	32, 34
Kāmalāyana,	89, 98, 99
Kāśvapa,	11, 18, 32, 34, 53, 54, 55, 89, 96, 97, 99 & <i>n</i> , 105, 106, 110, 205, 210, 213, 221, 261, 262
Kātvāyana,	20, 21
Kaundinya,	148, 151, 155, 157, 160
Kausika,	20, 21, 60, 61, 124, 129, 131, 224, 229
Kramaśitta (?)	10, 16 & <i>n</i>
Kutimasha (Kulmāśa ?),	10, 18
Māhula,	106, 110
Mātrēya,	105, 110
Mīnava,	116, 167
Maudgalya,	105, 109
Mauni,	106, 110
Mōggala, <i>cf</i> Maudgalya,	11, 18
Mudgala, <i>do</i> ,	199, 200, 201
Parāsara or Pārāsara,	2, 5, 7, 105, 106, 109, 110, 261
Rama Kāśyapa,	99 <i>n</i>
Samkṛitya,	105, 109, 113
Śāndilva,	105, 106, 109, 110

	PAGE
<i>gōtras —contd</i>	
Śiguli (Sāngali),	11, 18
Vachchha, <i>s a</i> Vatsa,	265, 266, 269
Vājasanēya (?)	11, 18
Vārīha,	106, 110
Vasishṭha or Vaśishṭha,	58 <i>n</i> , 105, 109, 190, 194, 195
Vatsa,	74, 77, 103, 105, 106, 109, 110, 199, 202, 203, 264, 265 <i>n</i> , 266, 268
Vātsya, <i>cf</i> Vatsa,	78, 80, 199, 202, 203
Vishnuvṛiddha,	85
Gōttakālā, <i>vi</i> ,	249, 250, 251, 254
Gōvaddha, <i>s a</i> <i>donee</i> Gōvardhana,	273 <i>n</i> , 274
Gōvanna, <i>s a</i> Gōvaddha,	274 <i>n</i>
Gōvardhana, <i>donee</i> ,	273 & <i>n</i> , 274 <i>n</i>
Gōvānaka, <i>minister</i> ,	280
Gōveya rājya, <i>dī</i> ,	182, 185
Gōvinda, <i>donee</i> ,	32, 34
Gōvinda, <i>engr</i> ,	292 <i>n</i>
Gōvinda I, <i>Rashtrakūta I</i> ,	10, 14
Gōvinda II, <i>do</i> ,	10, 11, 15
Gōvinda III, <i>do</i> ,	10, 11 & <i>n</i> , 12 & <i>n</i> , 13, 15, 92 <i>n</i> , 204, 205 & <i>n</i> , 206, 208, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 258, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297
Gōvinda IV, <i>do</i> ,	104, 106
Gōvindaśarman, <i>donee</i> ,	74, 77
Gōvindasvāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	105, 110
Gōvindasvarman, <i>Vishnukundin I</i> ,	21, 93, 95 & <i>n</i>
Gōvṛisha, <i>m</i>	137, 140
Gōvāil abhatta, <i>m</i> ,	10
Grāmaśūta, <i>off</i> ,	15, 106, 210, 220
Grāmamahattara, <i>off</i> ,	151
Grāmapati, <i>off</i> ,	79, 264, 266, 268
Grāma stūpa,	289 & <i>n</i>
Grihyasūtras,	43
Guddavādi, <i>dī</i> ,	93
<i>gudī</i> , ' temple ',	166 <i>n</i>
Gudmalam, <i>vi</i> ,	146
<i>gudla</i> ' of temples ',	166 & <i>n</i>
Gudla Kandērvādi, <i>s a</i> Gudla Kandērvādi	166
Gudla Kandērvādi, <i>dī</i> ,	163, 166, 169
Gudrahāra <i>s a</i> Kudrahāra,	89 <i>n</i>
Gūhala I <i>Śilāhāra k</i> ,	29 & <i>n</i>
	30, 33
Gūhala II, <i>do</i> ,	29, 30, 33
Gujarāt, <i>co</i> ,	48, 138, 172, 173, 191, 192, 214, 233, 234, 258, 270 <i>n</i> , 275, 277 <i>n</i>
<i>gulla</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>gudla</i> ,	166 <i>n</i>
Gunadara lchharam, <i>te</i> ,	178
Gunagānka Vijayāditya, <i>s a</i> <i>E Chalukya k</i>	
Vijayāditya III,	167
Gunaghar Plate of Varavagupta,	156, 158
Gunālara, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
Gunamahārāva, <i>Ganga I</i> ,	71
Gunāmbhōdhidēva I, <i>Kalachuri prince</i> ,	259
Gunavarman, <i>Ganga k</i> ,	57, 58 & <i>n</i> , 60, 61 & <i>n</i>

	PAGE
Gundama I, <i>Gaṅga</i> I ,	71
Gundama II, <i>do</i> ,	72
Guntśivara, <i>s a god Śiva</i> ,	261, 262 & n
Gupta, <i>dy</i> ,	45 n, 83, 84 & n, 89, 103, 156, 158, 159, 173, 174, 255
Gupta <i>vr̥pa</i> <i>raja</i> <i>bhukti</i> ,	171, 173
Gurjara or Gūrjara, <i>dy</i> ,	148, 191 & n, 192, 193, 194, 195, 209, 215, 220, 258, 259, 294, 296, 297
Gurjara Pratihāra, <i>dy</i> ,	12 n, 258, 259
Gutṭa, <i>di</i> ,	185
Gūvala, <i>s a Gūhala</i> I ,	29
Gūvala, <i>do</i> ,	29 n
Gv̥r̥ispur, <i>ti</i> ,	51
Gy̥tī, <i>Paramāra</i> <i>ch</i> ,	133
H	
<i>h</i> ,	9, 156, 245, 259 n
Hādā, <i>m</i> ,	234, 238, 241
Haiḥava, <i>s a Kalachuri</i> <i>dy</i> ,	2, 4, 6, 7
<i>hala</i> , <i>l m</i> ,	66, 67
Hallan̥yara, <i>di</i> ,	78, 79
Halla Plates of Ravivarman,	91 n
Hammīra, <i>Chauhān</i> <i>l</i> ,	187
Hammīra, <i>ch of Meur</i> ,	231, 232, 234, 235
	238
Hammīramadamardana, <i>work</i> ,	191 & n
Hampi, <i>l</i> ,	183
Hara, <i>s a god Śiva</i> ,	13, 151, 154, 168, 206, 218, 237, 239
Haradīra, <i>enr</i> ,	249, 254, 255
Harīhī Inscription,	47 n, 115, 116
Hiraja, <i>m</i> ,	140
Hari, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
Hari, <i>m</i> , <i>Akhāṇ</i> ,	157, 159
Hari, <i>m</i> , <i>Iahanayala</i> ,	157, 160
Hari Dikshita, <i>m</i> ,	107, 109
Harihara Mahīrīya, <i>Vijayanagara</i> <i>l</i> ,	182, 185
Hariharpura, <i>ti</i> ,	184
Haripālādēva, <i>Śilahara</i> <i>l</i> ,	273, 274, 277
Haripura, <i>ti</i> ,	205, 206, 210
Harīśchandra, <i>Gahadavala</i> I ,	186 & n
Harishcna, <i>Iakatala</i> I ,	92, 117
Hārīti, <i>l</i> ,	167
Harsha, <i>l</i> ,	10, 14
Harsha, <i>l of Kanauj</i> ,	119 n
Harshacharita, <i>work</i> ,	119 n, 150 n
Harshadēva, <i>l</i> ,	149, 153
Har hadēva or Harshagupta, <i>Sōmarāmsī</i> I	
of <i>Aśvata</i> ,	115 & n, 116, 119, 120, 122
Harshavardhana, <i>l of Kanauj</i> ,	158, 243
Harola Grant of Sivaka,	102
Harayana, <i>Arita</i> <i>s son</i> ,	50
Har-anābād, <i>ti</i> ,	245
has'a, 'cubit' ,	31, 32
hasta, <i>l m</i> ,	201
hasta <i>pral shēpa</i> , 'obstruction' ,	160

	PAGE
Hastin, <i>Parivṛāṇa</i> <i>l</i> ,	171, 172
Hastivarman, <i>Ganga</i> <i>l</i> ,	56, 57, 62, 63 & n, 64, 66, 69
Hastivarman, <i>Salankāyana</i> <i>l</i> ,	89 n
Hasty <i>asi</i> <i>śashtra</i> <i>bala</i> <i>vyapṛtaka</i> , <i>off</i> ,	291
Hāthai Plates of Dhārāvārsha,	188 n
Hāṭṭi, <i>vi</i> ,	193
Hāvōri Inscription,	193 n
Heggade, <i>off</i> ,	190, 195, 196
Hēmachandra, <i>author</i> ,	12 n, 13 n, 231 n, 275 n
Hēmādri, <i>author</i> ,	33 n, 134, 192, 193, 279 n
Hēmākūṭa, <i>l</i> ,	183
Hētāvuka, <i>caste</i> ,	148, 152, 155
Hētālōla, <i>donce</i> ,	75 n
Hidda, <i>l</i> ,	35
Hidda Inscription of the year 28,	35, 37, 42
Himadatta, <i>m</i> ,	157, 159
Himālaya, <i>mo</i> ,	30, 240, 294, 297
Himavat, <i>s a mo</i> , Himālaya,	237
Himājugana, <i>m</i> ,	245
Hindu,	233
Hindupur Inscription of Śal a 775,	147
Hiranyatēsi <i>Gṛhyasūtra</i> , <i>work</i> ,	43
Hiranyanibha, <i>Kṛita</i> 's <i>preceptor</i> ,	50
Hiranyasūmadayala, <i>off</i> ,	157, 159
Hirpur, <i>s a ti Haripura</i> ,	206
Hūṭṭaras	190, 195, 196
horseman, <i>emblem on coin</i>	193
Hōsa Kummēṭa, <i>l</i> ,	182
Hōṭri,	46
Hoyasāl, <i>dy</i> ,	175, 177, 178 & n, 179, 180 n, 181 n, 183, 184, 191, 193
Hoyasanarayanaśilāhala, <i>tit of</i> <i>Iudara</i> I	
Mahādēva,	191, 193
Huhgic, <i>l</i> ,	184
Humāyūn, <i>Moghal</i> <i>l</i> ,	232
Hūna, <i>tribe</i> ,	102 & n, 291
Hūna <i>mandala</i> , <i>di</i> ,	102, 108
Hutāśana, <i>s a god Agni</i> ,	253

I

i, initial,	78 n, 81, 123, 162, 204, 213, 270
i, medial,	68, 74, 198, 204, 290
i, medial, used for ī ,	115
i, superfluously used,	189
ī, initial,	81
ī, medial,	74, 81, 88, 91 n, 114, 198
Idar, <i>fort of</i> — ,	232
Ikhāku, <i>S dy</i> ,	52 n
Ikhvāku, <i>dy</i> ,	47
Ichala, <i>s a Idar</i> ,	232
Idurganayala, 'lord of the fort of Idar' ,	232
Ialāśu, <i>coin</i> ,	286, 287, 288
Ilam, <i>s a Ceylon</i> ,	111 n

	PAGE
Itutush,	186 & n, 187
Imani Kaṇḍēruvāti, <i>di</i> ,	166
Imdā, <i>m</i> ,	140
Inban Dēvanaśetti, <i>m</i> ,	285, 287, 288
Indian Museum Plates of Dēvēndravarmān,	76, 201 n
Indra, <i>god</i> ,	44, 99, 130, 167, 235, 239
Indra II, <i>Rashtrakūta</i> <i>l</i> ,	10, 14
Indra III, <i>do</i> ,	104, 296
Indrabhattāarakavarman, <i>Vishnukundin</i> <i>l</i> ,	91, 92, 93, 95
Indradaun, <i>s a l</i> Indradhavalā (?),	227
Indradēva, <i>s a l</i> Indradhavalā,	225, 227, 228
Indradhavalā, <i>l</i> ,	223, 224 & n, 227, 228, 229
Indradymna, <i>s a</i> Indradaun (?),	227
Indrapāla's Inscription,	103
Indrarāja, <i>E Chalukya</i> prince,	167
Indravarmān, <i>E Chalukya</i> <i>l</i> ,	94, 95 n
Indravarmān, <i>Ganga</i> <i>l</i> ,	56, 57, 78, 79, 94, 264
Indravarmān I, <i>do</i> ,	62, 63, 64 n, 78
Indravarmān II, <i>do</i> ,	62, 63 n, 64
Indravarmān, <i>Vishnukundin</i> <i>l</i> ,	93 n
Indrīvati, <i>ri</i> ,	244
indrīya, Buddhist term,	241
Īpur Plates (Set I),	88, 91 & n, 92 & n, 93 n, 95 n, 96
Īpur Plates (Set II),	91 & n, 92 & n, 95 n
Īpūr Plates of Mādhavarman I,	116
Īśa, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	235
īśa, <i>s a</i> rāja,	29
Īśānadēva, <i>Sōmarāmsī</i> <i>l</i> ,	116
Īśānavarmān, <i>Maulhārī</i> <i>l</i> ,	115, 116 & n
Īśāpura Yūpa Inscriptions,	44, 45 & n, 51
Īśvara (Bhāradvāja <i>gōtra</i>), <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
Īśvara, (Gautama <i>gōtra</i>) <i>m</i> ,	105, 109
Īśvara, <i>s a</i> god Śiva	238
Īśvaradatta, <i>Ābhīra</i> <i>l</i> ,	48
Īśvaradatta, <i>enr</i> ,	82, 83, 87
Īśvaraghōsha, <i>l</i> ,	226
Īśvaravarman, <i>Maulhārī</i> <i>l</i> ,	116
Īthasa,	253, 255
J	
<i>J</i> ,	9, 74, 81, 186, 198, 270
<i>J</i> , used for <i>y</i> ,	141, 205, 270
Jadavulabhatta, <i>m</i> ,	205, 212
Jagaddēva, <i>Kalachuri</i> <i>l</i> ,	2 & n, 5, 7
Jagaddēva, <i>Paramāra</i> <i>l</i> ,	117 n, 133
Jagadēkabhūshana, <i>Chhindala</i> <i>ch</i> ,	244
Jagannātha, <i>te at Puri</i> ,	226
Jahāngir, <i>Memoirs of</i> —	232
Jāidēva, <i>I adava</i> governor,	281, 282
Jainad Inscription of Jagaddēva,	117 n, 133
Jain tradition,	51
Jaitrakarna, <i>s a</i> Jaitrēśvara,	232

	PAGE
Jaitrēśvara, <i>ch</i> ,	231, 232, 235, 238
Jaitugi, <i>I adava</i> <i>l</i> ,	191
Jaitpur, <i>vi</i> ,	120
Jālladēva I, <i>Kalachuri</i> <i>l</i> ,	2, 4, 7
Jālladēva II, <i>do</i> ,	2
<i>jala</i> , 'lotus', auspicious sign,	168
Jamālgarhi Lamp Inscription,	289
Jīmaṭa, <i>donce</i> ,	106, 110
Jambūnadi <i>vīthi</i> , <i>di</i> ,	159, 290, 291
Janamājaya, <i>s a</i> Mahā Bhavagupta II, 249, 253 & n,	255
<i>janapada</i> ,	72, 79, 108, 111, 112, 113, 135, 159, 262, 264
<i>janapada</i> ,	77, 129, 131
Janārdana, <i>s a</i> god Vishnu,	178 n
Janāśraya, <i>sur of Vishnukundin</i> <i>l</i> Mādhavarman III,	90, 91, 93 & n, 95
<i>Janāśrayi Chhandōvichiti</i> , work,	90, 93, 95 n
Jangōyilā, <i>vi</i> ,	53, 54, 55, 56
Jāpila, <i>l</i> ,	224 & n, 228
Jaraśambhu, <i>ch</i> ,	137
<i>Jataka</i> , work,	39
Jāṭesingī Dungri Plates of Mahā Śivagupta I,	250 n
Jatiga I, <i>Śilahara</i> <i>l</i> ,	29, 30, 33
Jatiga II, <i>do</i> ,	29 & n, 30, 33
Jatila Parāntaka, <i>Pāndya</i> <i>l</i> ,	284
Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Īśvaravarman,	116
Jīwar Inscription of V S 1478,	231 n
Jayabhata I, <i>Gurjara</i> <i>l</i> ,	148, 149, 150, 153
Jayabhata II, <i>do</i> ,	148, 149, 150, 153
Jayabhata III, <i>do</i> ,	148, 149, 151 & n, 153, 154 & n, 155
Jayadā, <i>di</i> ,	264
Jayadāsa, <i>enr</i> ,	158, 161
Jayanātha, <i>Uchhalalpa</i> <i>l</i> ,	171, 172, 173
Javangōndaśōla mandalam, <i>dr</i> ,	24
Jayasimha I, <i>E Chalukya</i> <i>l</i> ,	88, 90, 94 & n, 95 n, 167
Jayasimha II, <i>do</i> ,	167
Jayasimha, <i>m</i> ,	124, 129, 131
Jayasimha, <i>Paramāra</i> <i>l</i> ,	133, 134
<i>jaya stambha</i> ,	43
Jayasvāmin, <i>Uchhalalpa</i> <i>l</i> ,	171
Jayasvāmini, <i>Uchhalalpa</i> <i>q</i> ,	171
Jayavarmadēva, <i>Ganga</i> <i>ch</i> ,	267, 268 & n
Jayavarmadēva, <i>Ganga</i> <i>l</i> ,	261, 262, 268
Jayanīyaya, <i>so called doorway in the Jagannātha temple at Puri</i> ,	226
Jaynagar, <i>l</i> ,	227
Jēda (Jatā)śringa, <i>di</i> ,	262 n & add
<i>jh</i> ,	204
Jhampadaprabhu or Jhāmpadaprabhu, <i>minister</i> ,	278, 279, 280
<i>jñanamūṛṭya</i> ,	19, 57
Jijika, <i>vi</i> ,	64 n
Jilwāda, <i>s a</i> Chēlavāṭa,	231

	PAGE
Jilvīrī,	234
Jimūta-ibana, progenitor of Śilahāra dy,	274
Jimūta-ābana, Iḍyudhara prince, 30, 31, 32, 33 & n	
Jinabhatana,	293 n
Jirjūgi Grant of Indravarman I,	62 & n, 63, 64 n,
	92
jīrn śādhara, purpose of donation,	195
jīrn śādhara, 'repairs',	276
Jital arna, s a Jaitre-vara,	232
Jivasvāmin, m,	157, 159
Jivastagupta II, Gupta I,	242, 243
Jiva Mahipati, s a Alagiva-aiyar,	177
jñ	124
Jñinśvara, śunt,	193
Jupiter, Twelve year Cycle of —,	171
jyōtishā,	272 n

K

k	1, 9
Kaccāyana (Katyāyana), work,	38
Kachchi, s a Kūchi,	144 n
Kadaba Plates of Gōvinda III's Time,	11, 12 & n
Kadab Plates,	206 n, 214 n
Kadachi, u,	102
Kadachcheliha, u,	102, 112
Kadachistha, u,	112 n
Kadamba, dy,	48, 89 n, 91 n, 142 n, 223, 224,
	225 & n, 226, 227, 228
Kādambavāsā, s a Kādamba ch Samara	
śunha (?),	226
Kādava, s a Pallava,	176, 178 & n, 179 & n,
	180, 181
Kādava lumāra, s a Pallava ch Kōpper	
uñjūgādēva II,	176
Kādavarāvar, s a Pallavāndūr,	181 n
Kādutamātya, off,	31, 34
Kāduvetti,	178
Kādurettigal, s a Perumangalam Udayir,	176
Kailāsa, m,	249, 254, 255
Kailāsa, mo,	194, 236, 239
Kailāsapura, u,	115, 120, 122
Kāmgōda, s a Kōngōda,	131 n
Kaitā, u,	3
Kaitābha, demon destroyed by Vishnu,	178 n
Kajangalā, l,	39
kalapada, sign,	1, 21 n, 22 n, 251 n
Kālātiya, dy	96, 191, 192, 193 & n
Kakka I, Rāshtrakūṭa l,	10, 14
Kākusthavarman,	84 n
Kalachuri, dy,	2, 3, 4 & n, 5, 7, 8, 102, 103, 118,
	172, 173, 174, 255, 257, 258 & n,
	259 & n, 260, 296
Kaladondha, s a Kōnthalasthina (?),	280
Kalahandi, vi,	225
Kalalācharyalathānala, work,	50
Kalakkād u,	284

	PAGE
Kalakkudi, s a Ukkirankōttai,	283 & n, 284, 286,
	287, 288
Kalakkudi nādu, s a Ukkirankōttai,	283, 285, 288
lalam, measure of capacity,	25, 26, 27
Kālamukha, sub sect of the Pasupatas,	162, 163, 164,
	165, 169
Kālamukhōndra, s a Paśupati II, or Prabhū	
tarīsi II,	164 & n, 170
Kālanāthasvāmin, le,	165
Kalandai, s a Karavandapuram,	283 & n
Kālāñjara, l,	116
Kālāñjara Stone Inscription of Udayana,	116
lalañgu,	286, 287, 288
kalala, part of nūpa,	43 n
kalasa, depicted over inscription,	273, 277, 278, 279,
	280
lalaśa, 'pitcher', auspicious sign,	168, 281
Kalas Inscription of Gōvinda IV,	104
Kalavān Inscription,	37 & n
Kālēva, 'belonging to Kali',	128
Kalha Plates of Śōdhadēva,	259
Kali, age,	125, 128, 130, 131, 149, 150, 153, 154,
	207, 208, 219, 228
Kāldāsa, author,	64, 83, 84 & n, 93,
	172 n
Kāldāsa, com,	82, 83, 84, 87
Kaluga, co,	57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 69 & n, 70,
	75, 79, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95, 119, 123,
	125, 126, 127, 130 & n, 131 n,
	1125, 62, 163, 200, 225, 226,
	258, 261, 262, 264, 266, 268, 297
Kalingādhipati,	80
Kalinganagara, ca,	65 & n, 66, 68, 69, 72, 75, 76
Kalingapatam, ci,	65
Kalingarāja, Kalachuri l,	2, 4, 7
Kalivallabha, s a Rāshtrakūṭa l Nrupama,	208, 219
Kali Vishnuvardhana, s a E Chululya l,	
Vishnuvardhana V,	167
Kaliyuga Vikramāditya, sur of Gandarā	
ditya,	31, 33
Kalpa, lādānga,	253, 255
Kalyāna, ca,	183
Kalyāni, ca,	134
Kamalarāja, Kalachuri l,	2
Kamalavana vanik sthāna, 'Kamalavana Mer	
chants' Association',	249, 251, 252, 255
lamandatu, emblem on seal,	114
Kāmārṇava I, Ganga l,	71
Kāmārṇava II, do,	71
Kāmārṇava III, do,	68, 72
Kāmarūpa, s a Assam,	261
Kambha, s a Rāshtrakūṭa l Stambha,	144
Kamdihidēva, s a Kampildēva,	184 n
Kammarāshtra, di,	89 n, 94
Kampa or Kampavarman, Pallava l,	144, 145 & n,
	146, 147

	PAGE		PAGE
Kampana Eighteen, <i>di</i> ,	185	Karavantapura, <i>s a</i> Karavandapuram,	286, 288
Kampila, Kāmpilādēva or Kāmpilarāya, <i>l</i> ,	182,	Karcha, <i>vi</i> ,	102
183 & <i>n</i> , 184 & <i>n</i> , 185 & <i>n</i>		Karda Plates of Karka III,	259 <i>n</i>
Kāmpilādēva, <i>s a</i> Kāmpilādēva,	184 <i>n</i>	Karhādā Brāhmanas, <i>cf</i> Karahātaka,	104
ka[m]śakara, 'brazier',	291, 292	Karigrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107
kamsāra <i>do</i> ,	267	Karikāla, Chōla <i>ch</i> ,	96
kamsārā, <i>do</i> ,	80	Karikāla, family,	96
Kanaswa, <i>l</i> ,	51	Karikāla Chōla,	96
Kanaswa Inscription,	51 <i>n</i>	Kāntalū, <i>vi</i> ,	255 & <i>n</i> , 256, 257
Kanauy, 47 & <i>n</i> , 103, 187, 224, 225, 258 <i>n</i> ,	296	Kāntalū Inscription,	255 & <i>n</i> , 257 <i>n</i>
Kāñchanatula, gift,	235, 236	Kari turag agama, 'elephant and horse lore',	168
Kāñchī, <i>ca</i> ,	10, 14, 89 <i>n</i> , 147, 179, 216	Kari turag ōshtra nau sādhanika, <i>off</i> ,	229
Kandañ Sūran, <i>s a</i> Tennavan Pallava		Kariyavārachchi, tax,	26, 27
darayan	283, 286, 288	Karlā, Rāshtrālūka <i>l</i> ,	258
Kāndēru, <i>ci</i> ,	166	Karkka, <i>s a</i> Karkka,	14 <i>n</i>
Kandēruvāti, <i>s a</i> Kandērvvādi,	166	Karna, <i>epic hero</i> ,	207, 218
Kandērvvādi, <i>see</i> Gudla Kandērvvādi,	166	Karna, Gurgara <i>l</i> ,	149, 153
Kānhapa, Yādava <i>l</i> ,	193 <i>n</i>	Karna, Kalachuri <i>l</i> ,	102, 134, 258, 296
Kamshka, Kushāna <i>l</i> ,	47 & <i>n</i>	Karnāta, people,	10, 14, 291
Kanher Plates of Pamparājādēva,	142 <i>n</i>	Karnātaka Brāhmanas,	104, 107
Kannada literature,	190	Karnāṭaka, <i>co</i> ,	193 & <i>n</i> , 206, 217
Kannadar,	180, 181	Karnūl Plates of Vikramāditya I,	82 <i>n</i>
Kannanūr, <i>ca</i> ,	178	Karpara, <i>sami</i> ,	190
Kannarādēva, Rāshtrālūka <i>l</i> ,	144 <i>n</i> , 145 <i>n</i>	Karpāsikāgrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	135
Kanni, <i>ri</i> ,	180, 181	karsha, measure of capacity,	137, 140
Kanōpī, <i>vi</i> ,	102, 105, 109, 113	Kartalritika, <i>off</i> ,	157, 159
Kantēru, <i>s a</i> Kandēru,	166	Kārtavīrya, myth <i>l</i> ,	2, 4, 6, 43 <i>n</i>
kantilā,	208, 219	Kārtayuga,	86 & <i>n</i>
anya dhēnu dhara turangama ratka grantha,		Kārttilādī, (year),	104
gifts,	236	Kārttikēya, god,	120, 122
Kānyakubja, <i>ca</i> ,	225, 243	Karumilal kudi nādu, <i>di</i> ,	285, 286, 288
Kānyakubja bhūti, <i>di</i> ,	243	Kasamana or Kasamanā, donee,	11 & <i>n</i> , 16, 18
Kānyakubja dēsa,	188, 189	Kasālī Plates of Bhōjadēva,	29 <i>n</i>
Kānyākumāri Inscription,	97 <i>n</i>	Kashmir,	271
Kāpīhika, Śāva sect,	165	Kāśī, tīrtha,	233
kapardaka vādī, <i>see</i> vādī,	139, 140	Kasā Stone Inscription,	259 & <i>n</i> , 260
Kapilā, <i>l</i> ,	290, 291	Kāśidda, <i>vi</i> ,	264
Kapilasiddha Mallē-varādēva,	195	Kāśimkōta Plates,	57
Kapilasiddha Mallī āryunādēva, <i>te</i> ,	190, 191, 194,	kāsu, coin,	24, 26, 27, 287, 288
	195	Kāṭahaka, <i>s a</i> Kāṭava,	180
Kapīśi, <i>ci</i> ,	37	katula, 'camp',	250 & <i>n</i>
Kapīsthavātaka, <i>vi</i> ,	157, 159	katula, <i>s a</i> chashāla,	44
Kapīthakhēda, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107	Katakā, <i>s a</i> Cuttack (?),	250 <i>n</i>
Kapotin, yūpa,	44 <i>n</i>	Katalanāyala, <i>off</i> ,	164, 170
Kar, 'first harvesting season' <i>cf</i> Tulā,	26, 27	Katak Grants (Three) of the 31st year,	249, 250
lāra, 'toll' or 'tax',	41, 60, 66, 98, 236		251 <i>n</i> , 253 <i>n</i>
Karahātaka, <i>l</i> ,	104, 107	Katakhadi, <i>s a</i> Katashadi,	275 <i>n</i>
Kārai nādu, <i>di</i> ,	147	Katashadi, <i>di</i> ,	275 & <i>n</i> , 276
Karavali Āndī nādu, <i>di</i> ,	147	Kāthnāwār, <i>co</i> ,	138, 270 <i>n</i> , 277 & <i>n</i>
Karalanda charu, work,	30 & <i>n</i> , 275 <i>n</i>	Kāttumannārkhōyil Inscription,	179
Karana, <i>off</i> ,	120, 129, 131, 262, 265	Kātyāyana, <i>m</i> ,	82, 87
Karanīla <i>off</i> ,	156 <i>n</i>	Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, work,	43, 44 <i>n</i>
karapaka, <i>see</i> kāravala,	83 <i>n</i>	Kaundarāja, <i>m</i> ,	83, 87
karāṭka, used for lārala,	82, 83, <i>n</i> , 87	Kaunkana, <i>s a</i> Kōnkana,	282
Karavandapuram, <i>s a</i> Kalakkudi,	283, 284 & <i>n</i> ,	Kaupitika, <i>off</i> ,	138, 140
	285, 283		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kaurusha, one of Laluli's four pupils,	164	<i>lhaṇḍa sphutita jīrn ōddhāra</i> , 'repairs',	32
Kauśāmbi, ca,	245 n, 247	<i>lhaṇḍa sphutita navaś arman</i> , do,	169
Kauśiki, goddess,	167	<i>lhaṇḍa sphutita pratikarana</i> , do,	252
Kauṭilya, author,	254 n, 255 n, 284	Khandeya Rāya, s a Kampiladēva,	184
Kāvada, v,	105, 109	Khandimala or Khandivil, engr,	76, 78
Kāṭadi, tit, see also Kāvidi,	147	Kharagiri, l,	284
<i>Kāṭalar Tambirān</i> , tit of Pallava ch Kōpper		Kharbādi, s a v Khairadē (?), ' ' . .	206
uñjungadēva I,	179	Khariyār Plates of Mahā Sudēvarāja,	19
kāramūli, 'chief guard',	185	Kharjūrikā, v,	103, 106, 110
Kāvannūr, v,	144, 145, 147 & n	Kharōd, v,	116
Kāvāri, r,	176, 178, 193 n	Kharōd Inscription of Ratnadēva III,	2, 3
Kāvērippākkam, v,	145	Kharōshthi Inscriptions,	289 & n
<i>Kāvidi</i> , tit,	144, 147 n	Khaśa, tribe	291
Kāvi Grant of Jayabhata III,	3, 151 n, 152 n	<i>khata</i> , 'engraved', s a <i>lshata</i> ,	82 n, 87
Kavilāsa, s a mo Kailāsa,	194	Khatāpūrana, v,	53, 54, 55
Kavilāsapura, c,	194	Khayāravāla, s a l Khadirapāla (?),	224, 225
<i>Kavirāja</i> , tit of Yōgisvara,	234, 237, 240	Khed, s a v Khēda,	214 n
<i>Kavirājumarga</i> , work,	193	Khēda, v,	213, 214 n, 221
Kāviri, s a r Kāvāri,	180, 181	Khēdādīva, deity,	29, 31, 32, 34
Kāvīrppattinam, v,	180	Khēdāpāhikā, v,	103, 106, 110
<i>Kavisāriabhauma</i> , tit of Pallava ch Kōpper		Khedauha, cf Khēdāpāhikā,	103
uñjungadēva I,	175 n	Khedāvala, cf Khēdāpāhikā,	103
<i>Kāvyaṃilā</i> , work,	83 n	Khedāval Brāhmanas,	103
<i>Katyamīmamsā</i> , do	83	Kheṛā, v,	203
Kāyastha, caste,	249	Khētaka, v,	103, 106, 110
Kāyathā, v,	2, 3, 5, 8	Khētri, s a <i>Menār</i> ch Kshētra,	232
Kāhana, <i>Chahamāna</i> l,	191 n	<i>khila lshētra</i> , 'fallow land',	54, 55
Kērala, co,	10, 14, 217 n, 297	Khoh Plates of Śarvanātha,	101 n
Kēśava, com,	199, 202	Khummana, family,	236, 240
Kēśava, m,	156 n	Khurda Plates of Mādhavarāja,	126, 127, 131 n
Kēśava, s a god Vishnu,	249, 252, 255	Khwājā Jahān,	185
Kēśarāja, <i>Śilāhara</i> l,	279	Kidangil, v,	24, 25
Keslā, v,	120	Kiladrangaka,	221
kh,	72, 250 n	<i>lilala</i> , 'peg' (for marking boundaries),	157, 160
Khaehara, s a Vidyādhara dy,	33 n	Kindēppa, v,	57, 59, 60, 61
<i>Khādgi</i> , tit,	157, 159	Kindēppa Grant of Anantavarman,	89
Khadrapadra, v,	249, 251, 255	Kirīri Pillar Inscription,	43 n
Khadrapāla, l,	223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228	<i>Kiratārjunīya</i> , work,	90, 93 & n
Khadupallikā, v,	103, 105, 109	Kirtupāla, m,	224, 229
Khalapītaka, v,	117 n	Kirtirāja, <i>Śilāhara</i> l,	29 & n, 30, 33
Khairadē, v,	205, 206, 210	<i>Khēśara vadavā gō mahīshy adhikṛita</i> , off,	291
Khajurāho Inscription of Kōkkala,	257 n	Kitkai nādu, d,	24
Khajuriya, v,	104	Kittimssanka, l of Ceylon,	225
Khāhmpur Plates of Dharmapāla,	64 n, 290, 291	Kōdavalli, d,	29, 30, 31, 34
Khalugakhanda, d,	266, 268	Kōdavira, v,	157, 159
Khambēsvari, te,	248	Kōdōh, v,	30
Khambha, s a <i>Rāshtra-ūta</i> ch Stambha,	12 n	Kodumbalūr Inscription of Vikramal ēsarīn,	165 & n
Khamba II, <i>Chālukya</i> l,	99, 100 n	Koeti, l in Borneo,	44 n
Khāmkhēd Plates,	204	Kōkalāvalapura, s a Kōlāhalapura,	79
<i>khampana</i> , t d,	28, 29, 31, 34	Kōkalla, <i>Kalachuri</i> l,	2, 4, 7
Khanda, com	261, 263	Kōkalla I, do,	258 & n
<i>khanda</i> , t d,	249, 250, 251, 254	Kōkkili, <i>E Chālukya</i> l,	167
Khandajōtikā, v,	157, 158, 159	Kōlāhalapura, ca,	79
Khāndajuli, v,	158	Kōlāñeha, s a v Kulāñehā	103
<i>khanda</i> lshētra,	266, 268	Kolār, s a Kōlāhālapura,	79

	PAGE
Kōḷilapura, <i>s a</i> Kōḷihalapura,	79
Kolavennu Plates of Chūlukya Bhīma II,	27, 69
Kolhīpur,	28, 29, 30, 275
Kōḷīpura, <i>s a</i> Kolhāpur,	29, 30, 31, 34
Kollēru Plates of Vijayanandavarman,	56
Kō nartī Plates of Chandavarman,	56, 58 n, 89 n, 200
Kōmniyāṇāda, <i>ti</i> ,	29, 30, 31, 34
Konthalā vītikā,	280
Kondalārār, <i>a caste of fishermen</i> ,	144
Kōndamañchū <i>ti</i> ,	89, 97, 98, 99
Kondapadumaṭi, <i>family</i> ,	96
Kondapilem, <i>ti</i> ,	59
Kondūr, <i>s a</i> Kondakkārār,	144
Kōndūrīja, <i>s a</i> Kaundarāja,	83
Kōndūda Grant of Dharmarāja,	91, 94 n, 125
Kōndūrīyapuram Inscription,	26
Kōngūda, <i>co</i> ,	64, 69 n, 123, 125, 126, 128, 131, 201
Konlan, Konlan, Konlan or Kōnkana,	
<i>co</i> ,	192 & n, 269, 271, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282
Kōṇḷaṇḍaḥṇaravartin, <i>Silāhāra tit</i> ,	277, 279, 280
Kōṇḷan Thānā,	192
Kōṇ Nagirattān,	287, 288
Kōṇ Sittan,	287, 288
Kōṇthalasthāna, <i>ti</i> ,	280 & n
Kopperam Plates of Pulikēśm II,	88, 94, 95 n
Kopperuṅṅadēva I, <i>Pallava ch</i> ,	175 & n, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181
Kopperuṅṅadēva II, <i>do</i> ,	176, 177 & n, 179
Kopperuṅṅan dēsam, <i>di</i> ,	177
Kōrādēva, <i>m</i> ,	115 & n, 121 & n, 122
Korm Grant, <i>Sal a</i> 1003,	70 n
Korm Plates of Anantavarman Chōdaganga,	70
Kosala, Kosali or Kōśala, <i>co</i> ,	19, 20, 70, 92, 94, 116, 117, 118, 119, 249, 250, 251 & n, 254, 258, 297
Kosam, <i>s a</i> Kau āmbi,	245
Ko avardhana, <i>s a ti</i> Shergadh,	132, 134, 135, 136, 139
Ko gain Stone Inscription of Vāharēndra,	117
Kotah, <i>state</i> ,	42, 48, 52
Koṭhigī Inscription,	190 n, 191
Kōṭṭavarsha, <i>ci</i> or <i>di</i> ,	159
Kramāditta, <i>s a</i> Kramaitta,	9, 16 n
Kramaitta, <i>m</i> ,	9, 11, 16 n
<i>Ira</i> and,	32, 34, 272
Kramavit, <i>s a</i> Kramaitta,	16 n
Kramila, <i>di</i> ,	291
Krishna, <i>I ashtrāṭa k</i> ,	207 & n, 214, 218
Krishna, <i>s a</i> god Vi hnu,	151, 154, 208, 219
Krishna I, <i>I ashtrāṭa k</i> ,	10, 14
Krishna II, <i>do</i> ,	258 & n
Krishna III, <i>do</i> ,	162, 163, 257 & n

	PAGE
Krishnadēva, <i>Yādava governor</i> ,	282
Krishnadēvarāja, <i>Vijayanagara k</i> ,	180 n
Krishna Kandhāra or Krishna, <i>Yādava k</i> ,	184, 192, 193 & n
Krishnarāja, <i>Paramāra I</i> ,	102, 108, 112
Krishana Śubhatunga Akālavarsha, <i>Rāshṭra Iāja I</i> ,	10, 14
Krita, <i>age</i> ,	208, 219
<i>Iṛita</i> , 'fruit', 'booty', 'reward',	50
Krita, <i>Hiranyanabha's pupil</i> ,	50
Krita or Kṛita, <i>n of era</i> ,	48, 49, 50, 51, 52
Krita, <i>n of k</i> ,	50
Krita, <i>one of Viśvēdēvas</i> ,	50
Krita, <i>Vasudēva's son</i> ,	50
Kṛittivāsas, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	120
Krōṣṭukavartani, <i>di</i> ,	261
<i>ksh</i> ,	124
<i>ksh</i> , confused with <i>lv</i> ,	9
<i>ksh</i> , Kharōṣṭhī —,	289 n
<i>kshata</i> , 'engraved', <i>s a</i> <i>khāta</i> ,	82 n
<i>Kshatrapa</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	47, 48
Kshatriya, <i>caste</i> ,	47, 119, 235, 238, 240
<i>kshaya</i> <i>tithi</i> ,	278
Kshēma, <i>m</i> ,	37
Kshēmēndra, <i>author</i> ,	83 & n
Kshētra, <i>ch of Mewār</i> ,	231, 232, 233, 235, 238, 239
<i>Kshētrapala</i> , <i>off</i> ,	291
<i>kshatidana</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>bhūmīdāna</i> ,	210, 220, 293
<i>lta</i> , confused with <i>ku</i> ,	290
<i>lu</i> , confused with <i>lta</i> ,	290
Kubēra, <i>god</i> ,	240, 251
Kubja Vishnuvardhana, <i>E Chālukya k</i> ,	90, 93, 94, 95 & n, 96, 167
Kūdagero Plates of Śiva Māndhātavarman,	89 n
Kūdal, <i>ti</i> ,	179
<i>kudimai</i> , <i>tax</i> ,	21
Kudrahāra, <i>di</i> ,	89 n, 92 n
Kukkaka, <i>minister & com</i> ,	11, 18
Kuladatta, <i>com</i> ,	291, 292
Kulanch, <i>vi</i> ,	103
Kulāñchā, <i>vi</i> ,	103, 105, 109
<i>kulaputra</i> ,	86
<i>kulaputrale</i> ,	70, 267
Kulattulān Tiruchērrambalam Udayān Per umānambī Pallavarājya, <i>general</i> ,	179
Kulattūr, <i>vi</i> ,	170
<i>Kulavāra</i> , <i>off</i> ,	156 n
Kulika, <i>tribe</i> ,	291
Kulōttunga Chōla II, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	179
Kulōttunga Chōla III, <i>do</i> ,	176, 177, 178, 179
<i>kulya</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>kulyavāpa</i> ,	157 n, 161
<i>kulyavāpa</i> , <i>measure of capacity & l m</i> ,	53, 51, 55, 56, 167, 169
Kumāra, <i>s a</i> god Kārttikēya,	168
Kumārādēva, <i>Uchchakalpa k</i> ,	171

	PAGE
Kumārādēvi, <i>Uchchakalpa</i> q ,	171
Kumārāgupta I, <i>Gupta</i> k ,	49, 51, 174 n
Kumāramātya, <i>off</i> ,	79, 157, 159, 201, 202, 203, 264, 268, 291
Kumārāpāla, <i>Chaulukya</i> k ,	192, 275
Kumārāpalacharita, <i>work</i> ,	275
Kumāra Ramana Kummaṭa, <i>see</i> Kummaṭa ,	184
Kumāra-Rāmañāthadēva, ,	182, 183 & n , 185
Kumara Ramanathana sāṅgatyā, <i>Kannada</i> work ,	183, 185
Kumāra Ramana Lathe, <i>Kannada</i> work ,	193 n
Kumārasambhava, <i>work</i> ,	84 n
Kumāravatsa, <i>donce</i> ,	20, 21
Kumāravishnu, ,	89 n
Kumbhā, <i>ch of Mewar</i> ,	232
Kumbhagarh Inscription of V S 1517, ,	233, 234
Kumbhā's Tower of Victory, <i>at Chitor</i> ,	232
Kummaṭa, <i>ca</i> ,	183, 184 & n , 185
<i>lunda</i> , 'spring', ,	214 n
Kuṇḍabhōgīn, <i>m</i> ,	124, 129, 131
Kundanaka, <i>m</i> ,	139, 141
Kundavaiyār, II <i>Ganga</i> princess, ,	145
<i>lūndi</i> , <i>l m</i> ,	31, 34
Kunkana, <i>s a</i> Koulān, ,	271
Kunnūr, <i>u</i> ,	285, 286, 288
Kuntala, <i>co</i> ,	84, 92
Kuntalēśa, <i>s a</i> Pravarasēna II, ,	84 & n
Kuntalēśa, <i>tit of Lalājāla</i> kings, ,	84
Kuntalēśaradautya, <i>work</i> ,	83 & n
Kuntalēśaradautya, <i>do s a</i> Kuntalēśvara dautya, ,	83 n
Kurala rūshīra, <i>d</i> ,	65
Kurī, <i>u</i> ,	11, 13, 16
Kurhū, <i>u</i> ,	13
Kurram Casket Inscription, ,	37
<i>lūrrānēl</i> , <i>ta</i> ,	24
Kurugodu nādu, <i>d</i> ,	184
Kuruspal Tank Slab Inscription, ,	244
<i>luruiam</i> ,	32
Kuśīvatī, <i>ca</i> ,	149
Kushāna, <i>tribe</i> ,	47
Kuśika, <i>one of Lakulī's four pupils</i> ,	164
<i>Kūṣṭhal āśa</i> , <i>off</i> ,	201, 202, 203
<i>lutruiam</i> ,	32
<i>lufumbin</i> , 'householder', 'ryot', ,	20, 54, 55, 60, 79 & n , 97, 99, 169, 266, 291
<i>l</i> , confused with <i>l sh</i> ,	9

L

<i>l</i> ,	9, 74, 124, 141, 245
<i>l</i> , confused with <i>n</i> ,	1
Lachchhaya, <i>s a</i> Lavaiya, ,	16 n
Lādāvalhikā, <i>u</i> ,	214 n
Laghu Lohārī, <i>u</i> ,	221

	PAGE
Lakāṣipu Paśupati I, <i>Sana ascetic</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Lakhaipari, <i>u</i> ,	205, 206, 211
Lakhaneśvar Temple Inscription, ,	116
Likhuri, <i>s a u</i> Lakhaipari, ,	206
Laksha, <i>ch of Mewar</i> ,	231 & n , 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 241
Lakshmadēva, <i>Paramāra</i> k ,	133
Lakshmana, <i>ch</i> ,	186 & n , 187, 188
Lakshmana, <i>epic hero</i> ,	187, 188
Lakshmana, <i>Kalachuri</i> k ,	259
Lakshmanaiya Prabhu, <i>minister</i> ,	271, 272, 277
Lakshmananāyaka, ,	271, 277, 278
Lakshmanaprabhu, <i>m</i> ,	273, 274
Lakshmanarāja I, <i>Kalachuri</i> k ,	255, 256, 257 & n , 258 & n , 259, 260
Lakshmanarāja II, <i>do</i> ,	259
Lakshmanarāja III, <i>do</i> ,	259 n , 260
Lakshmanasēna, <i>Sīna</i> l ,	224, 227
Lakshmana Temple Inscription, ,	115 n , 119 n
Lakshmīśar Inscription, ,	184 & n
<i>Lakshmī</i> , emblem on seal, ,	1, 18
Lakshmī, <i>goddess</i> ,	108, 112, 134, 135, 153
Lakshmidhara, <i>m</i> ,	141
Lakshmi Nārāyana, <i>te</i> ,	132, 134, 139
Lakul, <i>founder of Kālamukha sub sect of the Pasupatas</i> ,	162, 163, 164
Lakulīśa Pāśupata, <i>s a</i> Pāśupata sect, ,	165
Lakulīśvara, <i>s a</i> Lakul, ,	169
Lālgudi, <i>u</i> ,	146
Lambōdara, <i>s a</i> god Garuṣṭha, ,	280
Lamkēśa, ,	31 n , 33 n
Lāmu, <i>u</i> ,	163, 166, 169
lances, emblem on seal, ,	67
languages —	
Chinese, ,	37, 241
Dardic, ,	40
Hindī, ,	142 n
Hindustānī, ,	137
Iranian, ,	36
Jaina Mahārāshṭrī, ,	246
Kanarese, ,	6 n
Kannada, <i>s a</i> Kanarēse, ,	28, 33 n , 34 n , 104, 182, 189, 193
Khotanī Saka ,	36, 40
Marāṭhī, ,	37, 100, 137, 193 & n , 270, 282
Mixed Sanskrit, ,	246
North Western Prakrit, ,	38
Pāh, ,	40, 83 n , 149, 241, 242
Prākrit, ,	9, 40, 62, 84, 128 n , 137, 175, 267, 270, 289
Sanskrit, ,	2, 9, 19, 28, 46, 53, 57, 62, 68, 74, 78, 82, 84, 88, 100, 115, 124, 133, 137, 141, 148, 156, 162, 175, 186, 189, 191, 196, 198, 205, 213, 223, 230, 241, 242, 246, 249, 256, 261, 263, 265, 267, 270, 282, 283, 284, 290

	PAGE
languages— <i>cont'd</i>	
Tamil,	144, 175, 283
Telugu,	162
Tibetan,	37, 38, 241
Liṅguliya, <i>vi</i> ,	70
Lankā,	37
Lanl'vara, <i>s a</i> Ravana,	37
Lāshana <i>m</i> ,	276
Lāṭṭa, <i>co</i> ,	92, 103, 106, 110, 191, 192, 291
Lavvaiva, <i>donee</i> ,	11, 16
Lepta, <i>vi</i> ,	250
<i>li</i> , used for <i>hi</i> ,	82
Lihā, <i>m</i> ,	105, 110
Lilīcharita, Marāṭhī work,	193
Lilīdūtī, Śilāhāra <i>q</i> ,	271, 272
Lilīdūtīva, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
linga, <i>s a</i> Śiva linga	275, 277, 283 <i>n</i>
Lingiyat <i>seal</i> ,	190 & <i>n</i>
Lipitungā, <i>cf</i> Luputurā,	250
llu,	245
lm,	156
Lohadhagara <i>di</i> ,	74, 77
Lohanagara <i>di</i> ,	82, 84, 86
Lōhapa Agniḥōtrin, <i>donee</i> ,	105, 109
Lōhūrī, <i>vi</i> ,	213, 218, 221
Lōhūrī Grant of Gōrinda III,	204, 206, 210 <i>n</i> , 212, 216, 295, 296 <i>n</i>
Lōhaṭa, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
Lohagahakshapathaka, <i>di</i> ,	148, 151, 155
Lōhina, <i>donee</i> ,	105, 109
Lol abhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> ,	213, 221
Lōkamahādūtī, <i>q of E Chāḷukya I</i> Bhīma II,	168
Lōkananda Dikshita, <i>m</i> ,	105, 109, 113
Lokanītha, <i>god</i> ,	157, 159
Lokanātha <i>god, emblem on seal</i>	157 <i>n</i>
Lōnra, <i>vi</i> or garden (?),	275, 276
Lonad, <i>vi</i> ,	275 & <i>n</i>
Lonī <i>vi</i> ,	84
lotus, <i>emblem on seal</i>	73, 114, 265, 267
lotus bud, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	141
lp,	156
Lupattarā, <i>s a</i> Luputurā,	250 <i>n</i>
Lupaturā, <i>s a</i> Luputurā,	250 & <i>n</i>
Luputurā, <i>vi</i> ,	249, 250, 251, 254

M

<i>m</i> ,	9, 74, 156, 186, 189
<i>m</i> , confused with <i>p</i> ,	1
<i>m</i> , final,	45, 53, 57, 62, 67, 81, 156, 162, 197, 198, 245
<i>m</i> , <i>l m</i> ,	26, 27
Machilishar Grant of Hanschandra,	186 <i>n</i>
Mu'ili panji, work,	201
Madana, <i>s a</i> god Kāma,	134, 194
Madanaratna, <i>author</i> ,	134

Mādā Nā[va*]kṛti, <i>q</i> ,	183
Mādarasa,	182, 183, 185
Mādgāli, <i>f</i> ,	246, 247, 248
Mādhava, <i>donee</i> ,	213, 221
Mādhava (Bhīradvāja), <i>donee</i> ,	32, 34
Mādhavarāja I, Śailōdbhava I,	126, 127
Mādhavarāja II <i>do</i> ,	91, 94 <i>n</i> , 126, 127
Mādhavaśarma, <i>donee</i> ,	94
Mādhavavarman III, Śailōdbhava, <i>k</i> ,	122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130 <i>n</i> , 131
Mādhavavarman I, Viśvāmukundin <i>k</i> ,	90, 91, 92 & <i>n</i> , 94 <i>n</i> , 95 & <i>n</i> , 116
Mādhavavarman II, <i>do</i> ,	88, 91, 92, 93, 95 & <i>n</i>
Mādhavavarman III, <i>do</i>	88, 90, 91 & <i>n</i> , 92 <i>n</i> , 93, 94, 95 & <i>n</i> , 96
Madhu, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
Madhuka, <i>di</i> ,	102, 112
Madhuka Dvivedin, <i>donee</i> ,	213, 221
Madhukāmārnava, Ganga <i>k</i> ,	72
Madhumathana, <i>donee</i> ,	106, 110
Madhupālikā, <i>vi</i> ,	104, 105, 110
Madhurintakadva, <i>ch of Bhramarakṣṭya</i> ,	244
Madhuripu, <i>s a</i> god Viśvnu,	208, 219
Madhusūdana, <i>do</i> ,	269
Madhuritaka, <i>vi</i> ,	157, 159
Madhyādśa, <i>co</i> ,	103, 105, 109, 110
Madhyamarāja, Śailōdbhava I,	91, 125
Madira, <i>ca</i> ,	144 <i>n</i>
Madit chēragar, 'soldiers on guard at ram parts',	285 & <i>n</i> , 286, 288
Madra, <i>tribe</i> ,	47 <i>n</i>
Madras Museum Plates of Jātavarman,	284
Madras Museum Plates of Vajrahasta III,	Śaka 984, 64 <i>n</i> , 67 <i>n</i> , 68 & <i>n</i> , 142 <i>n</i>
Madurai kṛāṇchi, work,	144
Magadha, <i>co</i> ,	103, 105, 109, 113, 115, 158, 224, 227
magula, 'site for house',	28, 31, 32, 34 <i>n</i>
Mahābaladhikṛta, <i>off</i> ,	199, 200, 202
Mahābalapuram, <i>vi</i> ,	180
Mahābhārata, <i>epic</i> ,	12 <i>n</i> , 240
Mahābhāshya, work,	47 <i>n</i>
Mahā Bhavagupta II, Sōmavamśi <i>k</i> ,	249, 251 & <i>n</i> , 254
mahādanapati, 'great giftlord',	38
Mahādandanayaka, <i>off</i> ,	291
Mahādēvarāja, Iādava <i>k</i> ,	184, 190, 191, 192, 193 & <i>n</i> , 194, 195, 279
mahādēvapādhi, <i>cf</i> patī,	272 <i>n</i>
mahādūtī, 'queen' or 'chief queen',	11, 12, 17, 79, 80, 100, 221, 265, 267
Mahādūtya, <i>donee</i> ,	223, 224, 229
mahādōsha <i>vi</i> arjita, privilege,	282
Mahaduj, <i>m</i> ,	270

	PAGE
Mahāḥ Dcī alā, <i>q</i> ,	100
<i>Mahājāna</i> ,	32, 34 & <i>n</i>
Mahā Jay arāja, <i>l</i> ,	19
<i>Mahākārtākrītika</i> , <i>aff</i> ,	291
<i>Mahākāvya</i> ,	191
Mahā kōsala, <i>co</i> ,	19 & <i>n</i> , 90, 91, 92, <i>n</i> , 95 <i>n</i>
<i>Mahākshapaṭalika</i> , <i>off</i> ,	292
<i>Mahākshapaṭalin</i> , <i>aff</i> ,	249, 254, 255 & <i>n</i>
Mahālakshmi, <i>s a goddess</i> Lakshmi, 31, 33, 258	
<i>mahallāla</i> , 'landlord',	139, 141
<i>Mahāmahattama</i> , <i>off</i> ,	249
<i>Mahamahattara</i> , <i>aff</i> ,	201, 202, 203
Mahamandadīva, <i>ch</i> ,	186, 187, 188, 189
<i>Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	31, 33, 195, 226, 271, 274, 282
<i>Mahāmaṇḍalīśvarādhipati</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	226, 271, 272, 273
<i>Mahāmaṇḍalika</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	223, 225, 226, 227, 229
<i>Mahāmaṇḍalīla</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	226
Mahāmāda Sīhi, <i>s a</i> Muhammad ibn Tughlaq,	187 <i>n</i>
<i>Mahāmūṭya</i> , <i>aff</i> ,	271, 272, 278, 279, 280
Mahāmūyā, <i>te</i> ,	18
<i>Mahāmūyūrī</i> , <i>work</i> ,	37, 38
Mahammad,	234
Mahammad, <i>s a</i> Nāsir ud dīn Mahmūd,	233
Mahammad Tughlak, <i>Sulṭān of Delhi</i> ,	232
Mahānadi, <i>ri</i> ,	3, 19 & <i>n</i> , 20, 70, 250 & <i>n</i>
<i>Mahānāśaka</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Mahānāyala</i> ,	286 & <i>n</i> ,
<i>Mahānāyala</i> , <i>off</i> ,	283, 286 <i>n</i> , 288
<i>Mahānāyala</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	221
Mahānīlī, <i>I</i> <i>idyādharma prince</i> ,	30
<i>Mahānīpati</i> <i>tit</i> ,	223, 225, 228
Mahānubhāva, <i>eccl</i> ,	193
<i>Mahāpradhana</i> (<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>), <i>off</i> ,	184
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> , <i>off</i> ,	31, 34, 190, 194, 195, 271, 272, 273 & <i>n</i> , 274, 275, 276, 277
<i>Mahāpratīhara</i> , <i>off</i> ,	199, 200, 203, 291
Mahā Pravaraṛāja, <i>l</i> ,	19
Mahāpūrusha or Mahāpūrusha, <i>s a</i> <i>god</i> Vishnu,	82 & <i>n</i> , 86
<i>Mahārāja</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	57, 60, 61, 62, 66, 71, 74, 77, 82, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101 <i>n</i> , 126, 129, 137, 149, 155, 157, 158, 160, 171, 173 & <i>n</i> , 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 243, 245, 247, 248, 261, 262, 268, 281, 291, 297
<i>Mahārājadhīrāja</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	15, 72, 79, 86, 106, 108, 112, 133, 135, 157, 158, 159, 169, 182, 185, 194, 195, 205, 210, 220, 271, 273, 254, 263, 264, 265, 266, 277 <i>n</i> , 279, 280, 290, 291
<i>Mahārānī</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	100
Mahārāshṭra, <i>co</i> ,	57, 104, 193 & <i>n</i>
Mahārāshṭra, <i>s a</i> <i>Vidarbha (?)</i> ,	118, 119
Mahārāshṭra, <i>the sixty lac —</i> ,	193

	PAGE
Mahārāshṭras, <i>three—</i> ,	118
<i>Mahāsāmanta</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	79, 126, 128, 129, 131, 158, 186, 188, 189, 201, 202, 203, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 283, 291
<i>Mahāsāmāntādhipati</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 276
<i>Mahāsāndhivigrahādhipati</i> , <i>off</i> ,	17, 18
<i>Mahāsāndhivigrahika</i> , <i>off</i> ,	59, 199, 200, 201, 202, 271, 272, 275, 276, 278, 280
<i>Mahāsāndhivigrahin</i> , <i>aff</i> ,	249, 254, 255, 261, 263
<i>Mahāsāndhivigrahin</i> , <i>off</i> ,	279, 280
<i>Mahāsānapati</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	46, 47, 48, 51, 52 & <i>n</i> , 291, 292
Mahā Śivagupta, <i>Sāmavamsī l</i> ,	90 <i>n</i> , 92 <i>n</i> , 115, 116 & <i>n</i> , 118, 119, 120, 222
Mahā Śivagupta I, <i>Sōmavamsī l</i> ,	250 <i>n</i>
Mahāsīva Tivaradēva, <i>s a</i> <i>Tivaradēva</i> ,	90
Mahāsīva Tivararāja, <i>Kāsala l</i> ,	19
<i>Mahāsūdasana Sūttanta</i> , <i>work</i> ,	149
Mahā Sudēvarāja, <i>l</i> ,	18, 19, 20
<i>mahattara</i> , 'elder',	157, 159, 291
<i>Mahattara</i> , <i>off</i> ,	15, 151, 154, 199, 201, 210, 220, 221, 265, 266, 269, 273
<i>Mahattarala</i> , <i>off</i> ,	199, 202
Mahāvratin, <i>s a</i> <i>Kāpālīka</i> ,	165
Mahāyāna, <i>form of Buddhism</i> ,	196
Mahēndra, <i>l of Pishṭapura</i> ,	89 & <i>n</i>
Mahēndra, <i>mo</i> ,	70, 71, 76, 79, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 268
Mahēndra, <i>s a</i> <i>god</i> Indra,	168
Mahēśvara, <i>s a</i> <i>god</i> Śiva,	61, 115, 122, 153, 154, 165, 168, 200, 254, 263, 265
Mahidatta,	157, 159
Mahmdaka, <i>m</i> ,	140
Mahmūd Khilji, <i>of Maluā</i> ,	232
Mahoba Inscription,	187 <i>n</i>
Mahōdaya, <i>ca</i> ,	12 <i>n</i>
Mahū, <i>ti</i> ,	102
Māhula, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110
Maillapryya minister,	29, 31, 34
Māinūku, minister,	280
<i>Maitra</i> , <i>nakshatra</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Anurādhā</i> ,	168
<i>Maitrīya</i> , <i>one of Lakulī's four pupils</i> ,	164
Majhwh, <i>vi</i> ,	104
<i>Maṃghimanikāya</i> , <i>Buddist work</i> ,	241 & <i>n</i>
<i>maṭara tōrana</i> , <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	67
Māla, <i>ti</i> ,	124, 129, 131
Mālava, <i>co</i> ,	134, 138 & <i>n</i> , 191 & <i>n</i> , 192, 194, 195, 209, 215, 258, 291, 297
Mālava, <i>tribe</i> ,	49, 50, 51 & <i>n</i>
<i>Mālava gan āmnāta</i> ,	48, 51 <i>n</i>
<i>Mālava gaṇa sthiti</i> ,	49, 51 <i>n</i>
<i>malavam</i> ,	28, 32, 34 <i>n</i>
<i>Malavapati</i> , 'Sulṭān of Mālwa',	232
<i>Malava pūrā</i> ,	49
<i>Malavikāgnimitra</i> , <i>work</i> ,	100 <i>n</i>

	PAGE		PAGE
Mahaya mo,	91	Māngi Yuvarāja, <i>E Chalukya I</i> ,	101 n, 167
Mālēṭṭa, tribe,	47 n	Mānikādēva, <i>donee</i> ,	266
Mālik Kāfūr,	178, 184	Mānikāla Inscription,	38
Mahāvundī Grant of Ammarāja II,	162	Mañjuvāg, <i>Buddhist deity</i> ,	196
Mākhed, <i>s a</i> Māryakhēta,	104	Mankha, <i>author</i> ,	271 n
Māladatta, <i>m</i> ,	249, 254, 255	Mannātha, <i>vi</i> ,	148, 152, 154
Mallu, <i>vi</i> ,	176, 180, 181, 182	Manne, <i>vi</i> ,	11 n, 293, 294
Mallai Kavalan, <i>tit of Pallava ch</i> Kōpper		Manne Plates of Gōvinda III,	12 n
uñjagadēva II,	177	Manne Plates of Khambhadēva,	11 n, 12 n
Māhāla, <i>vi</i> ,	114 & n, 120	Manne Plates of Śaka 724,	206, 215, 216, 217, 293, 294, 295, 297
Māham, <i>vi</i> ,	144 n	Manne Plates of Śaka 732,	216, 217 n, 295
Māhapanāyaka, <i>m</i> ,	69, 73	Manōja, <i>s a</i> god Kāma,	168
Māhār, <i>vi</i> ,	113, 114 & n, 118 n, 120 & n	Manorathapūranī, <i>commentary</i> ,	39
Māhasārul, <i>vi</i> ,	155 & n, 158	Mantrasaltī,	61 n
Mallaiam,	28, 32	mantrin, 'minister',	229, 249, 253
Māhikāryuna, <i>Sāva ascetic</i> ,	165	Manu, <i>myth, l</i> ,	2, 4, 6
Māhikāryuna, <i>Śilahāra I</i> ,	273, 274, 275 & n, 276, 277	Manu, <i>sage</i> ,	150, 153
Māhikāryuna Linga, <i>te</i> ,	190 n	mānya, 'tax free',	31, 32, 34
Māhī, <i>co</i> ,	101 & n, 102, 103, 132, 173, 232, 258, 259	Mānyakhēta, <i>ca</i> ,	101 n, 104, 105, 106, 107
Māmdipur Inscription of Krishna,	192, 193	Mānyapura, <i>s, a vi</i> Manne,	11 n, 217 n
Mānā, <i>ri</i> ,	19	mānya śhiti,	221
Mānī, <i>vi</i> , cf Mīnakā,	206	maralāl, 'measure',	25
Mīnabhita, <i>sur of Śailōdbhava I</i> , Dharma		Māran, <i>s a</i> Śadāya Māran,	283 n
rīya,	125	Māran Eyinan, <i>minister</i> ,	283
Manād, <i>vi</i> ,	148	Māran Kāri, <i>minister</i> ,	283
Mīnaka, <i>di</i> ,	205, 206, 210	Mārañ Śadāyan, <i>s a</i> Śadāya Māran,	283
Mānamātra, <i>l</i> ,	19, 22	Mārañ Śūran, <i>s a</i> Tennayan Pallavadiarayan	283, 286, 288
Munava Dharmaśastra, <i>work</i> ,	129, 131	Mārāsarva, <i>l</i> ,	209, 215, 294, 297*
Mañchannabhattachāra, <i>Vishnulundin prince</i> ,	95	Mārāsmhā, <i>Śilahāra I</i> ,	29 & n, 30, 33
Mañchin,	64	Mārāsmhā's Grant of Śaka 980,	29 n
mandai, <i>s a</i> mandapila,	137	Mārāsingha, <i>Senāvura ch</i> ,	33 n
Mandalikrīṣṇagadha, <i>s a</i> Māndalgarh,	235, 239	Mārāthī literature,	193 n
mandala, <i>l d</i> ,	2, 4, 7, 102, 105, 117 n, 119 n, 120, 126, 135, 201, 244, 272, 274, 279, 280, 290 n	Māravarman Kulāśekhara, <i>Pandya I</i> ,	180 n
Mandalika,	31, 33, 244	Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I, <i>do</i> ,	178, 179
Māndalgarh, <i>fort</i> ,	232, 239 n	Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II, <i>do</i> ,	27
mandapila, 'market',	137	Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya, <i>do</i> ,	180
mandapil adaya, 'market tax',	140	Marco Polo,	192
Mandasor, <i>l</i> ,	51	mārg udaya, 'toll',	138, 140
Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and		Maru, <i>ri</i> ,	11, 13, 16
Bandhuvarmān,	49, 51	Mārichi, <i>l alsha</i> ,	37
Mandasor Inscription of Nāravarman,	48	Mārīndēya, <i>sage</i> ,	13
Mandasor Inscription of Yaśōdharmān,	49	Markandī, <i>s a</i> ca Mayūrakhaṇḍi,	13
Māndar, <i>s a vi</i> Mudupa (?),	218	Markona, <i>vi</i> ,	201 n
Mandavaka, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107	Maru,	207, 219
Māndh, <i>s a ri</i> Mānā,	19	Māruika, <i>vi</i> ,	213, 221
Māndhātā Plates of Dēvapālā,	133 n	maruakka, 'hostile army',	33 n
maṇḍi, <i>s a</i> mandapila,	137	Maruakka sarppa, <i>s a</i> Maruamka sarppa,	33 n
Māndu, <i>s a</i> Mīlā,	232	Maruamla sarppa, <i>ep</i> , of Gandarāditya,	28, 31
Mangallu Grant,	69 n	Mārwar,	187, 231
Māngallu Plates of Ammarāja II,	162	Māsōpavāsin, <i>s a m</i> Vishnu,	213, 214 n, 221
Mangappa, <i>donee</i> ,	10, 16	Masulipatam Plates of Amma I,	69
		Masulipatam Plates of Chalukya Bhīma I,	69
		Masulipatam Plates of Chalukya Bhīma II,	27
		matha,	164, 165, 170

	PAGE
Māthara, <i>family</i> ,	89
Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II,	174 n
Mathurā Inscription of the year 80,	47 n
Mātridatta, <i>commentator</i> ,	43 n
Mātrīśarman, <i>donee</i> ,	57, 59, 60, 61
Mau, <i>vi</i> ,	186 n
Maukhara, <i>progenitor of Maukhari dy</i> ,	47
Maukhari, <i>dy</i> ,	42, 46, 47 & n, 48, 52, 115, 116 & n, 242, 243 & n
Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas,	42
Māyāpurī, <i>Mōkhalā's wife</i> ,	231, 237, 241
Mayūrakhandī, <i>ca</i> ,	10, 12 & n, 13, 16, 17, 205, 206, 210, 213, 216 n, 217, 218, 221
Mayūrasārman, <i>Kadamba k</i> ,	48
Mayūrī, <i>s a Mahamayūrī</i> ,	37
Mēda, <i>a low caste</i> ,	291
Mēghadūta, <i>work</i> ,	84
Mēl Adaiyāru nādu, <i>di</i> ,	147
Mēlpattī, <i>vi</i> ,	143, 145
Mēnamātura, <i>ci</i> ,	89 n
Mēru, <i>mo</i> ,	150, 153
metres —	
Anushtubh, 3, 13, 22 n, 30, 77 n, 78 n, 87 n, 121 n, 122 n, 127, 167 n, 170 n, 187 n, 188 n, 206, 218, 227, 237 n, 263 n	
Āryā, 13, 71 n, 127, 156, 168 n, 206, 218	
Āryagatī,	168 n
Drutavilambita,	169 n
Enérīkkalī nedilāśiriyā,	175
Gāyatrī,	44 n
Gatī,	13, 72 n
Indravajrā,	3, 13, 21 n, 121 n, 127, 206, 227, 235 n, 236 n, 237 n
Kalī,	175
Mūlinī,	3, 72 n, 227, 260 n
Nārdatala,	196
Nārsāivenba,	175
Pannirūśīrkkalī nedilāśiriyā,	175
Pushpitāgrā,	13, 78 n, 206, 218, 227, 263 n, 265 n, 267 n
Rathōddhatī,	235 n
Śālm,	206, 260 n
Śārdūlavīkṛdita, 3, 30, 71 n, 72 n, 127, 167 n, 187 n, 206, 218, 227, 234 n, 235 n, 236 n, 237 n, 238 n, 260 n	
Śīkharinī,	3, 227, 260 n
Ślōka, <i>s a Anushtubh</i> ,	71 n, 169 n
Sṛagdhārā, 3, 13, 127, 167 n, 227, 253 n, 260 n	
Udgatā,	93
Upajāti, 3, 13, 30, 151 n, 170 n, 235 n, 237 n, 238 n, 276 n	
Upēndravajrā,	151 n

	PAGE
Vamsāstha,	71 n, 169 n
Vasantatilakā, 3, 13, 21 n, 72 n, 121 n, 127, 189 n, 206, 218, 226, 227, 236 n, 237 n, 286 n	
Mewaj, <i>s a ri Nimaj</i> ,	135 n
Mewār, <i>state</i> ,	231 & n, 232, 233
Mhatārā, <i>s a Mahattara</i> ,	274
Mhow, <i>vi</i> ,	102
Miraj, <i>vi</i> ,	30
Mirūj, <i>di</i> ,	29, 30, 31, 34
Mitail, <i>vi</i> ,	103
Mitailpārā, <i>vi</i> ,	103
Mitila pātaka, <i>vi</i> ,	103, 106, 110
Mitrānanda, <i>m</i> ,	105, 110
Miyārai nādu, <i>s a Miyāru nādu</i> ,	147
Miyāru nādu, <i>di</i> ,	144, 147
Mōkhalā, <i>ch of Meuār</i> , 231 & n, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241	
Mōkhalapātaka, <i>vi</i> ,	117 n
Mokhal, <i>s a Maukhari</i> ,	47
Mōkhara, <i>vi</i> ,	117 n
Mōkhari, <i>s a Maukhari</i> ,	46, 52 & n
Monghyr, <i>di d ci</i> ,	226, 227
months —	
Apēre (Appellaios),	36, 42
Āshādha, 10, 30, 31, 34, 69, 73, 115, 119, 121, 122, 217, 249, 253, 255	
Āshādha, Second,	104, 111, 174 & n
Āśvayuja,	148, 152, 154, 155, 183, 185
Āśvōja, <i>s a Āśvayuja</i> ,	48
Bhādrapada,	205, 211, 210
Chaitra 48, 134, 135, 188 n, 271 n, 277 & n, 278, 280	
Jyāishtha,	224
Jyēshtha, <i>s a Jyāishtha</i> ,	66 & n, 67, 295 n
Kārttika, 49, 82, 87, 89, 98, 99, 104, 108, 165, 199, 201, 213, 223, 229, 230, 234, 236, 240	
Māgha, 3, 6, 8, 77, 104, 105, 107, 112, 113, 137, 138, 140, 199, 203, 271, 272	
Mārgaśīrsha, 168, 213, 215, 217, 221, 273, 295	
Nabhas, <i>s a Śrāvana</i> ,	238
Pausha, 3, 216 n, 217 n, 275, 276 n, 293, 294, 295	
Phalgu, <i>s a Phālguna</i> ,	203
Phālguna, 46, 48, 52, 90, 199, 205 n	
Pushya, <i>s a Pausha</i> ,	190, 195, 196, 275, 276
Śrāvana, 158, 161, 231, 234, 238, 241, 281, 282	
Vaśākha, 19, 22, 54, 56, 137, 138, 140, 199, 202, 205 n, 274 n	
moon, depicted over inscription, 271, 273, 274, 278, 279, 281	
moon, emblem on seal,	67
Mōregana, <i>vi</i> ,	205, 206, 210
Mongere Inscriptions,	165

	PAGE
Mōrkhand, <i>l</i> ,	12, 13
<i>mu</i> , Kharōshthī —,	289
Mudupa (Laghu' and Bṛihat), <i>vi</i> ,	213 & <i>n</i> , 218, 221
Mugai nādu, <i>di</i> ,	147
Muhammadans,	226, 227, 233, 277
Muhammad i Bakhtyār,	226, 227
Muhammad ibn Tughlaq,	187 <i>n</i>
Muhammad Shāh,	233
Muhammad Tughluq II,	233
Mukhaṅgam, <i>ci</i> ,	65 & <i>n</i> , 69, 76, 119 & <i>n</i>
Mūlavarman, <i>l</i> of Borneo,	44 & <i>n</i>
Mūlsthāna, <i>donee</i> ,	105, 109
Multan,	187
Mumjāla, <i>donee</i> ,	106, 110
Mumjāya, <i>m</i> ,	100
Muniyā Mahārānī, <i>s a</i> Chālūkyā <i>q</i> Sīriyā	
Dēvi,	100
Mummadī Singeya Nāyaka, <i>s a</i> Singeya-	
Nāyaka,	183, 184 & <i>n</i>
Mummadisōlanallūr, <i>s a vi</i> Kīdangul,	24, 25
Muner, <i>s a</i> Monghyr,	226, 227
Mungir Plate of Dēvapāla,	290, 291
Muñja,	100
Muñja, <i>Paramāra</i> , <i>l</i> ,	142
Mūnrukai Mahāsēnai, Chōla garrison,	285
Murambi, <i>vi</i> ,	218
Muraripu, <i>s a</i> god Vishnu,	108, 112
Murasiman, <i>l</i> ,	250 & <i>n</i>
Murkand, <i>sage</i> ,	13
Mūrti Eyman,	283 <i>n</i>
<i>murū kshetra</i> ,	272
Murumba, <i>di</i> ,	213, 218, 221
Murundadēvi, <i>Uchchakalpa q</i> ,	171
Muśittakudī, <i>vi</i> ,	25
<i>multiyal</i> , <i>tax</i> ,	24
Mūlāra kōṇēyā <i>santati</i> ,	165
Muzaffar Shāh I, <i>governor of Gujarāt</i> ,	233
Mysore, <i>state</i> ,	193
Mysore Copper Plate of A D 810,	165

N

<i>n</i> ,	9, 38, 62, 74, 81, 88, 141
<i>n</i> , changed to <i>anusāra</i> ,	10
<i>n</i> , final,	162, 264 <i>n</i> , 290
<i>n</i> , final, changed to <i>m</i> ,	124
<i>n</i> , final, changed to <i>m</i> ,	124, 205
<i>n</i> , final omitted,	115, 205
<i>n</i> , used for <i>anusāra</i> ,	82, 156
<i>n</i> , used for <i>m</i> ,	156
<i>n</i> , used for <i>ñ</i> ,	230
<i>n</i> , used for <i>anusāra</i> ,	19, 62, 82, 115, 124, 256
<i>ñ</i> ,	68, 124
<i>ñ</i> , superscript,	204
<i>n</i> ,	38, 62, 81, 124, 256, 290

<i>n</i> , confused with <i>l</i> ,	1
<i>n</i> , subscript,	213
<i>n</i> , superscript,	204
Nabinagar, <i>s a vi</i> Navīnarapattana,	223
Nachnā Inscription,	172, 173
Nadagām Plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka 979, 67 <i>n</i> ,	68 <i>n</i> , 70
<i>Nadagauda</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Nargāvunda</i> ,	34 <i>n</i>
Nadiā, <i>ca</i> ,	226, 227
Nādōl, <i>ca</i> ,	191
<i>nādu</i> , <i>t d</i> ,	147, 178
Nāgabhaṭa, <i>Pratīhāra k</i> ,	243, 294
Nāgabhaṭa II, <i>Gurjara Pratīhāra l</i> ,	256, 258, 259, 260
Nagara <i>bhukti</i> , <i>di</i> ,	290, 291
Nagarattān, <i>choultry</i> ,	283, 285, 286, 287, 288
Nagarattār, 'trading guild',	283, 285, 286, 287, 288
Nagarī Yūpa Inscription,	46, 49, 51
Nāgavamśi, <i>dy</i> ,	244
Nagnaka, <i>monk</i> or <i>deity</i> ,	137, 138 & <i>n</i> , 139
Nāgor,	233
Nāgpur,	255, 256
Nāgpur Museum Inscription of Bhavadēva,	116
Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year, 249, 250 & <i>n</i>	
Nāgpur Museum Prasasti of Malwa Rulers, 117 & <i>n</i>	
Nāgpur Prasasti,	133 & <i>n</i> , 134 <i>n</i>
Nāguṇi Mahattara, <i>m</i> ,	273, 274
Nāgum, <i>vi</i> ,	271, 272
Nahātī Grant of Vallālasēna,	290 <i>n</i>
<i>Namitika</i> , <i>off</i> ,	229
<i>nanēdya</i> , 'offering',	163, 164
Nakhan Munnūruvan, <i>m</i> ,	286, 288
<i>Nala 8 × 9</i> , <i>measure</i> ,	54, 55
Nālandā,	241, 290, 291
Nālandā Plate of Dēvapāla,	290 & <i>n</i> , 291
Nālandā Plate of Dharmapāla,	159
Nālandā Seal Inscriptions,	242
Nala Sopara, <i>l</i> ,	273
<i>nālī</i> , <i>measure of capacity</i> ,	25, 287, 288
<i>namasya</i> ,	107
Namidāsa, <i>com</i> ,	84
Nānda, <i>family</i> ,	58
Nānda, <i>m</i> ,	83, 87
Nandagiri, <i>s a</i> Nandidroog,	79
<i>Nandagirinātha</i> , <i>ep</i> of Gaṅga <i>l</i> Indravarman,	79
Nandalagrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107
Nānda Prabhañjanavarman, <i>Gaṅga l</i> ,	58
Nandapur or Nandapura, <i>vi</i> ,	53, 54, 159
Nandasura, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107
Nānda vithī, <i>di</i> ,	53, 54, 55, 159
<i>nandī</i> , <i>see also</i> bull emblem on seal,	67, 119
Nandidroog, <i>s a</i> Nandagiri,	79
Nandī Kampa, <i>s a</i> Pallava <i>l</i> Kampa,	145 <i>n</i>
Nandīkampa, <i>vi</i> ,	144 <i>n</i>

	PAGE
Nandi Kampīśvara, <i>tc</i> ,	144
Nandi or Nandivarman III, <i>Pallava l</i> , 144 & <i>n</i> ,	140
Nandi pillar,	189
Nāndipura, <i>ti</i> ,	103, 106, 110
Nandivarman III, <i>Pallava l</i> ,	176
Nāndod, <i>ti</i> ,	103
Nandpur, <i>s a</i> Nandapura,	53 <i>n</i>
Nāndsā, <i>l</i> ,	47 <i>n</i>
Nāndsī Yūpa Inscription,	45, 46, 47, 48, 51
Nanjunda, <i>author</i> ,	193 <i>n</i>
Nannadēva, <i>Sōmatamśī l</i> ,	116
Nannadēva, <i>Sōmatamśī prince</i> ,	92 <i>n</i>
Naogam, <i>ti</i> ,	65, 69
Napa, <i>m</i> ,	80
Narangi, <i>ri</i> ,	244
Nārana, <i>s a</i> <i>donce</i> Nārāyana,	10 <i>n</i> , 18
Narasimha, <i>m</i> ,	137, 140
Narasimha, <i>tc</i> ,	283
Narasimha II, <i>s a</i> <i>Hoysala l</i> Vira Narasimha II,	178 & <i>n</i>
Narasingapalli, <i>ti</i> ,	62
Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarman,	69
Narathambika, <i>s a</i> Ranathambika,	231 <i>n</i> , 235, 238
Nārāṭha, <i>donce</i> ,	11, 16
Nārāyana, <i>com</i> ,	199, 201
Nārāyana, <i>donce</i> ,	10, 16, 18 <i>n</i>
Nārāyana, <i>engr</i> ,	199, 203
Nārāyana, <i>m</i> ,	74, 77
Nārāyana, <i>s a</i> <i>god</i> Vishnu, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67 & <i>n</i> , 131, 135, 151, 154, 167, 230, 238, 240, 241	
Nārāyana <i>bhaṭṭa</i> , <i>donce</i> ,	32, 34
Nārāyanarāja, <i>m</i> ,	82, 86
Narbadī, <i>ri</i> ,	148
Narāṇḍradēva, <i>sur</i> of Gōvinda IV,	106
Narāṇḍradēva, <i>sur</i> of Vākpati Muñja,	108, 112
Narāṇḍramrīgarāja, <i>s a</i> <i>E Cholutya l</i> Vijayāditya II,	163, 169
Narāṇḍradēva, <i>Vālōṣaka l</i> ,	173
Nārāṇḍradēva, <i>off</i> ,	31, 32, 34 & <i>n</i>
Nārāṇḍradēva <i>sāmyabhūta</i> ,	31
Narmadā, <i>ri</i> ,	103, 258, 259, 297
Nārttūmalai,	146
Nāsapura, <i>ti</i> ,	105, 107
Nāsik,	193
Nāsir ud dīn Mahmūd,	233
Nāṭarāja, <i>tc</i> ,	177, 180
Nausāri Plates of Jayabhaṭa III,	148, 149 <i>n</i> , 150 <i>n</i>
Navagrāma, <i>ti</i> ,	65, 69, 73
navalamma (navakarman),	38, 39
navakammika (navakarmika),	38, 39
navakammika, <i>do</i> ,	38
navakammikā,	38
navakarmika, 'superintendent of work',	38
Navanēra pattalā,	229 <i>n</i>

	PAGE
Navanērapattana, <i>vi</i> ,	223, 229
Navanara pattana, <i>s a</i> <i>vi</i> Navanērapattana,	223
Nāyala, <i>family</i> ,	69 <i>n</i>
Nayaka, <i>off</i> ,	142, 143
Nayanāga, <i>m</i> ,	156 <i>n</i>
Nāyamma, <i>Silāhāra l</i> ,	29, 30, 33
Nāśringa, <i>di</i> ,	261, 262
Nedunjadaiyan, <i>s a</i> <i>Pandya l</i> Jatila Parān taka,	284
Nēnāyaka, <i>donce</i> ,	106, 110
nērvayam, <i>tax</i> ,	23
Nēsari Plates, 11, 12 <i>n</i> , 204, 206, 214, 216 & <i>n</i> , 217 <i>n</i> , 294, 296	
Noulpur Grant of Subhākaradēva,	201
nich,	156
ng,	124
Nidana sūtra, Buddhist work,	241
niddesa, 'exegesis',	241
Nidhanapur Plates of Bhāskaravarman, 8 <i>n</i> , 291 <i>n</i>	
nidhi nīlshēpa jāla pushāna samanvita, <i>pr</i> -vilege,	195
Nighantu, Tamil work,	144
Nigūha, <i>vi</i> ,	290, 291
Nīlśanlakāṇḍa, <i>ep</i> of <i>Sīna l</i> Vallāśēna,	225
Nīlāya, Buddhist work,	241
Nīla, <i>Vidyadhara prince</i> ,	30
Nīlakkuṇḍi nādu, <i>di</i> ,	285
Nīma, <i>ri</i> ,	135
Nīrāyana, <i>m</i> ,	145 <i>n</i>
Nīrāyana guru,	145 <i>n</i>
Niruddhapura, <i>ca</i> ,	12 <i>n</i>
Nirupama, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa l</i> ,	15, 208, 219
nirūṇa,	41, 42
nīrūṇa, <i>tax</i> ,	24
Nirvīta-vāṭaka, <i>vi</i> ,	157, 159
Nīśśanlakamallā, <i>tit</i> of <i>Pallava ch</i> Kōpperuñj iugadēva II,	177
Nītyavarsha, <i>sur</i> of Indra III,	104, 106
nīvarṭana, <i>l m</i> , 31, 32, 34, 82, 86 & <i>n</i> , 213, 221	
nīvāsin,	262
nīvēdya, <i>s a</i> <i>nāvēdya</i> ,	169
nīvēśana, 'house' or 'house site',	32, 62, 66
Nīvinū Grant, 91, 94 <i>n</i> , 126, 199 <i>n</i>	
Nīya Inscription,	41
nīyōgadhīpati,	182
Nīyōganīyulla, <i>off</i> ,	86
Nīyuktaka, <i>off</i> ,	15, 210, 220
Noḷamba, <i>dy</i> ,	146, 147
Noḷambavādī, <i>di</i> ,	184 & <i>n</i>
nolh,	33 <i>n</i>
Nrīpa, <i>s a</i> <i>Napa</i> ,	79, 80 <i>n</i>
Nrīpatuṅga or Nrīpatuṅgavarman, <i>Pallava l</i>	144, 145, 146
Nrīpatuṅga, <i>s a</i> <i>Pallava ch</i> Kōpperuñj iugadēva I,	181, 182

	PAGE
Nūlegrīma, <i>vi</i> ,	194
numerals, sign or symbol —	
1,	230, 238, 241, 253, 255, 268 & <i>n</i> , 269, 271, 272, 273, 275 & <i>n</i> , 276, 277 & <i>n</i> , 278, 279, 280, 281, 282
2,	230, 273, 275 <i>n</i> , 278, 280, 281, 282
3,	156, 161, 229, 246, 248, 257, 260, 275 & <i>n</i> , 276, 281
4,	42, 53, 55, 56, 230, 238, 241, 278
5,	45, 52, 152, 155, 230, 238, 241, 246, 248, 253, 255, 257, 260, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280
6,	152, 155, 257, 271, 272, 280, 281
7,	22 <i>n</i> , 53 <i>add</i> , 55 <i>add</i> , 56 <i>add</i> , 156, 161, 246, 247, 248, 253, 255, 273, 275 <i>n</i> , 277, 278, 282
8,	19, 22, 53, 55, 56, 90 <i>n</i> , 156, 161, 238, 241, 247, 275 & <i>n</i> , 276, 277 <i>n</i> , 279, 280
9,	19, 22, 53, 55, 56, 62, 66, 67, 257, 260, 275 <i>n</i> , 277 <i>n</i>
10,	42, 152, 155
20,	19, 22, 42, 156, 161
40,	90 <i>n</i>
48,	90 <i>n</i>
60,	53, 55, 56
70,	62, 66, 67
80,	152, 155, 246, 247, 248
90,	45, 52
100,	53, 55, 56
200,	45, 52
400,	152, 155
numerals, words —	
<i>buna</i> (=5),	238
<i>chandra</i> (=1),	238
<i>giri</i> (=7),	162
<i>nabha</i> (=0),	162, 168
<i>rasa</i> (=6),	162
<i>śruti</i> (=4),	238
<i>śasu</i> (=8),	162, 168, 238, 241
<i>Vīda</i> (=4),	241
Nuparsunga, <i>vi</i> ,	250
Nuptara, <i>s a</i> Luputurā (?),	250
Nyāya, āstra,	5, 8, 89, 98, 99

O

ō, medial,	53, 81, 135 <i>n</i> , 156, 162, 204, 230
Oddagunṭa, <i>vi</i> ,	163, 169
Ōdra, <i>co</i> ,	126, 199, 202
Ōḍraḷa, <i>co</i> ,	258, 27
Ōghadēva, <i>Uchchakalpa</i> I,	171
Olakkūr, <i>ti</i> ,	144 <i>n</i>
olulavi, oblation,	23 & <i>n</i>

olukku, oblation,	23 & <i>n</i>
Ōm, symbol for —,	3, 13, 20, 60, 65, 70, 76, 79, 108, 111, 120, 127, 135, 140, 142, 201, 202, 203, 206, 218, 227, 250, 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, 272 <i>n</i> , 273, 276, 278, 279, 280, 282, 291

Ōmgōdu Grant I,	89 <i>n</i>
Ōmgōdu Grant II,	89 <i>n</i>
Oruvakallu, <i>vi</i> ,	161 & <i>n</i>
Osmanabad, <i>s a</i> Dharaseo,	206 <i>n</i>
Osmanabad, <i>vi</i> ,	30
Ōtantapurī, <i>s a</i> Udyanna,	226
Ōymā nādu, <i>di</i> ,	24

P

<i>p</i> ,	9
<i>p</i> , confused with <i>y</i> ,	1
<i>p</i> , used for <i>ph</i> ,	115
<i>pachchaya</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>pratyaya</i> ,	41
<i>Pachchayālāra vibhanga</i> , Buddhist work,	242
<i>Padavittalavan</i> ,	286, 288
<i>Padala</i> [śu]nga, <i>vi</i> ,	268
<i>Padamakālūru</i> Grant of Ammarāja II,	162
<i>Pādamūla</i> ,	86
<i>Padhālasaka</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	275, 276
<i>Pādhi</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Pātī</i> ,	272 <i>n</i>
<i>padī</i> or <i>pādī</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>pātī</i> ,	272 <i>n</i>
<i>paḍikāval</i> , tax,	79
<i>Padivasa</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	278, 279
<i>Pīdma</i> , <i>donee</i> ,	268, 269
<i>Padmaśiva</i> Rāul, <i>m</i> ,	273, 274
<i>padma tunḷa</i> , coin,	193 <i>n</i>
<i>Paduvūr kōṭṭam</i> , <i>di</i> ,	144, 147
<i>Pāgunāra</i> , <i>di</i> ,	89, 97, 99
<i>Pāgunavara</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Pāgunāra di</i> ,	97
<i>Pāgunavara</i> , <i>do</i> ,	97
<i>Pāhārpur</i> Copper plate Inscription,	53, 54 <i>n</i> , 156
<i>Paiyalachchhī</i> , work,	101 <i>n</i>
<i>Parthan</i> Plates of Gōvinda III,	9, 10, 14 <i>n</i> , 15 <i>n</i> , 16 <i>n</i> , 206, 214
<i>Parthan</i> Plates of Rāmachandra,	191, 192
<i>Pāla</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	131 <i>n</i>
<i>Palay anūr</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	179
<i>Palakī</i> , <i>di</i> ,	94
<i>Palakkada</i> , <i>ci</i> ,	89 <i>n</i>
<i>Pālanpur</i> , <i>state</i> ,	232
<i>Pālanpur</i> Plates of Bhīmadēva,	257 <i>n</i>
<i>Palasadā</i> , <i>l</i> ,	3, 6 & <i>n</i> , 8
<i>Palhanāpura</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Prahādānapura</i> ,	231, 232, 235, 238
<i>Pālī</i> canon,	242
<i>pāṭidhvaja</i> ,	14
<i>pallāna</i> (Skt <i>pariyāṇa</i>), 'saddle',	246
<i>pallānakāra</i> , 'saddler',	246, 248

	PAGE
Pallava, <i>dy</i> , 48, 89 & <i>n</i> , 94, 96, 144, 145 <i>n</i> , 146, 174 <i>n</i> , 175, 176, 177, 178, 179 & <i>n</i> , 182 <i>n</i> , 207, 209, 215, 216, 217 <i>n</i> , 220, 296,	
Pallava, territory,	145, 146
Pallavamalla, <i>Pallava l</i> ,	179
Pallavāṇḍār,	181 <i>n</i>
Pallavarayan,	175
<i>palli</i> , 'hamlet',	139
<i>Pallichchanda</i> ,	22
Pallikonda Inscription,	144 <i>n</i>
Pallimadani, <i>ti</i> ,	165
Pallimadani Inscription,	285
<i>pana</i> , coin,	138, 139
<i>Pañcha</i> , <i>s a Mahāyana</i> ,	34 <i>n</i>
<i>Pañchagangū ri</i> ,	30
<i>pañchagni</i> , 'five sacred fires',	224 <i>n</i>
<i>pañchagnika</i> ,	224 <i>n</i>
<i>Pañchāṅga</i> , <i>donee</i> ,	20, 21
<i>pañcha mahapīṭala</i> ,	17, 152, 160, 170, 211, 222
<i>pañcha mahāśabda</i> ,	31, 33, 71, 142, 149 & <i>n</i> , 150, 151, 193, 261, 263, 273, 276
<i>pañcha mahāyājñā</i> ,	16, 54, 160, 211, 221
<i>pañchatūriyo</i> , cf <i>pañcha mahāśabda</i> ,	149
<i>pañchatūra</i> , <i>tax</i> ,	23, 24, 25, 26
<i>pañchatūralāl</i> , measure of capacity,	25
<i>Pañchatāra vāṇam</i> , committee,	23 & <i>n</i> , 27
<i>pañchavari</i>	27, 28
<i>pañchupili</i> , <i>tax</i> ,	26, 27
<i>Pāṇḍavas epic heroes</i> ,	119
<i>Pandharpur</i> ,	193 & <i>n</i>
<i>Pandita</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	223, 224, 229
<i>Pāṇḍu</i> , <i>epic l</i> ,	119
<i>Pāṇḍu amēl</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	118
<i>Pāṇḍu</i> , <i>co</i> ,	146, 179, 297
<i>Pāṇḍu</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	10, 14, 116, 165, 178, 179, 217 <i>n</i> , 283 & <i>n</i> , 294, 285
<i>Pāṇḍu nāḍu</i> , <i>di</i> ,	115, 147
<i>Pāṇḍu</i> , <i>authar</i> ,	4 <i>n</i> , 47 <i>n</i> , 205, 246
<i>Pāṇḍu</i> , <i>l</i> ,	233
<i>Pāṇḍu</i> , <i>s a Padivasa (?)</i> ,	279
<i>Pāṇḍuśāṇḍanī</i> , commentary,	39
<i>Pāṇḍu bala sarppa</i> , cf <i>Maṇḍuka sarppa</i> ,	33 <i>n</i>
<i>Paradura sōḍara Rāmāna charite</i> , Kannaḍa work,	183
<i>Paral</i> <i>ṣari</i> , <i>Chōla tit</i> ,	144 <i>n</i>
<i>Paral</i> <i>ṣarivarman</i> , <i>Chōla tit</i> ,	25, 26
<i>Paramabhagavata</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	20
<i>Paramabhatṭarala</i> , <i>tit</i> , 15, 54, 55, 72, 79, 106, 108, 112, 133, 135, 157, 160, 169, 191, 195, 200, 202, 203, 205, 210, 220, 271, 253, 254, 263, 261, 265, 266, 290, 291	
<i>Paramabrahmanya</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	89, 97
<i>Paramadavata</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	200, 201, 202, 203

	PAGE
<i>Paramadavatādhdavata</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	200, 202
<i>Paramadēvatādhdavata</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	200
<i>Paramamahēśvara</i> , <i>tit</i> , 60, 65, 72, 77, 79, 86, 120, 142, 149, 150, 169, 200, 225, 228, 242, 251, 264, 266, 268	
<i>Paramāra</i> , <i>dy</i> , 101, 102, 103, 117 <i>n</i> , 132, 133 & <i>n</i> , 134, 135 <i>n</i> , 142, 191, 192 & <i>n</i> , 232, 272 <i>n</i>	
<i>Paramasaugata</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	291
<i>Paramavaishnavi</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	119 <i>n</i>
<i>Paramavaishnavi</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	80
<i>Paramēśvara</i> , <i>s a god Śiva</i> ,	75, 208, 219
<i>Paramēśvara</i> , <i>tit</i> , 10, 14, 15, 17, 79, 106, 108, 112, 133, 135, 149, 169, 194, 195, 205, 210, 220, 242, 243, 251, 251, 253, 254, 263, 264, 265, 266, 290, 291, 293 <i>n</i>	
<i>Parāntaka I</i> , <i>Chōla l</i> ,	25
<i>Parāntaka Viranārāyana Śaḍarayan</i> , <i>l</i> ,	284
<i>Paral</i> Inscription of Aparādityadēva,	275 <i>n</i>
<i>Pārikud</i> Grant,	199 <i>n</i>
<i>Pārikud</i> Plates of Madhyamarāja,	125, 127
<i>Parivrajaka</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	59, 171, 173
<i>Pāriyātrika</i> , <i>tribe</i> ,	48
<i>Parlākṣmedī</i> , <i>ci</i> ,	119
<i>Parlākṣmedī</i> Plates,	79
<i>Parlākṣmedī</i> Plates of Anantavarman,	261
<i>Parlākṣmedī</i> Plates of Indravarman II,	62
<i>parṇaśala</i> ,	138, 139, 140 <i>n</i>
<i>Parsadā</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	3
<i>Parsadi</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	3
<i>Parsodi</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	3
<i>Pārtha</i> , <i>s a epic hero Arjuna</i> ,	15
<i>Parthian drama</i> , coin,	280 <i>n</i>
<i>Parvat āmnāya</i> ,	165
<i>Pārvaṇi</i> , <i>goddeś</i> ,	127, 130, 240
<i>Parvān</i> , <i>ri</i> ,	135, 139
<i>paśānam</i> , <i>tax</i> ,	26
<i>Paśchimasamudrādhipati</i> , <i>tit of Yādava</i> <i>gacernor Rāmadēva</i> ,	282
<i>Paśupata</i> , <i>Śaiva sect</i> ,	162, 163, 164, 165
<i>Paśupati II</i> , <i>Śaiva ascetic</i> ,	164 & <i>n</i> , 170
<i>paśaka</i> , <i>t d</i> ,	117 <i>n</i> ,
<i>Pāṭakabhōjya (?)</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	77
<i>Paṭākila</i> , <i>aff</i> ,	273, 274
<i>Paṭāṅjala Mahābhāṣya</i> , <i>s a Mahābhāṣya</i> ,	47 <i>n</i>
<i>paṭhaka</i> , <i>t d</i> ,	102
<i>Pathān</i> ,	232
<i>pāṭi</i> ,	272 & <i>n</i> , 276, 280
<i>Paṭāṅkollā</i> Grant of Śivarāja,	198, 199, 200
<i>Paṭichhasamuppāda vibhanga</i> , Buddhist work,	242 & <i>n</i> .
<i>Paṭichhasamuppāda vibhanga sūtra</i> , Buddhist work,	242
<i>Paṭil</i> , <i>s a Paṭākila</i> ,	273 <i>n</i>

	PAGE
<i>Pratītyasamutpāda vibhāgasūtra</i> , Buddhist work,	241, 242
<i>Pratītyasamutpāda vyākhyā</i> , do,	241
<i>pratiāsin</i> , 108, 112, 120, 135, 291, 292	
<i>pratyaya</i> ,	41
<i>Praudhapratāpachakravartin</i> , <i>Yadava</i> tit,	194, 195, 281, 282
<i>Pravarapura</i> , <i>ca</i> ,	82, 85, 90 n
<i>pravaras</i> —	
<i>Aurava</i> Bbṛigu Chyavana Āpnavāna Jama dagni,	78, 80
<i>Autathya</i> or <i>Utathya</i> ,	124, 129 & n, 131
<i>Vasishtha</i> Śakti Pārāsara,	2, 5, 7
<i>Pravarasena</i> I, <i>Vakaṭa</i> a l,	85
<i>Pravarasena</i> II, <i>da</i> ,	82, 83, 84 & n, 86, 88, 90 n, 92, 114
<i>Prayāga</i> , <i>tirtha</i> ,	233
<i>Prīṣhāṇa</i> , <i>off</i> ,	291
<i>Primeval</i> Baar, <i>s a</i> Ādi Varāha,	153
<i>Prithivībhātṭa</i> , <i>dance</i> ,	213, 221
<i>Prithivī Mahārāja</i> , <i>Chōla</i> l (?), 88, 89, 90, 95, 96, 97, 98	
<i>Prithivīmūla</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Prithivīmūla</i> ,	92
<i>Prithivīvarman</i> , <i>m</i> ,	88, 89, 98, 99
<i>Prithivishēna</i> I, <i>Vakaṭa</i> a l,	84, 85 & n
<i>Prithivishēna</i> II, <i>do</i> ,	114, 172, 173
<i>Prithivīvara</i> ,	96 n
<i>Prithivīvallabha</i> , <i>sur of Rashtrakūṭa</i> l	
<i>Gōvinda</i> III,	10, 15
<i>Prithivīvarman</i> , <i>Ganga</i> l,	78, 79
<i>Prithu</i> , <i>myth</i> l,	15, 159
<i>Prithvidēva</i> I, <i>Kalachuri</i> l,	2, 4, 7
<i>Prithvidēva</i> II, <i>da</i> ,	2, 5, 7
<i>Prithvigangaraiyar</i> , <i>ch</i> , <i>of</i> <i>Pangala</i> nāḍu,	145
<i>Prithvigangaraiyar</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>W Ganga</i> l <i>Prithvī</i>	
<i>pati</i> I,	144, 145, 146, 147
<i>Prithvīmūla</i>	88
<i>Prithvipati</i> I, <i>W Ganga</i> l,	145, 146 & n
<i>Prithvirāja</i> , <i>Chauhan</i> l,	226
<i>Prithvirājarāsā</i> , <i>work</i> ,	226
<i>Prithvirājaiyaya</i> , <i>work</i> ,	134, 226
<i>Prithvīvallabha</i> , <i>sur of</i> <i>Gōvinda</i> III,	205, 210, 220
<i>Prithvīvallabha</i> , <i>sur of</i> <i>Gōvinda</i> IV,	106
<i>Prithvīvallabha</i> , <i>sur of</i> <i>Vākpati</i> Muṇja,	108, 112
<i>Prithvīvallabha</i> , <i>sur of</i> <i>Vijayanagara</i> l	
<i>Dēvarāja</i> I,	182, 185
<i>Prithvīvallabha</i> , <i>tit of</i> <i>Yādava</i> l <i>Mahādēva</i>	
<i>rāja</i> ,	194, 195
<i>Prithvīvarman</i> , <i>Ganga</i> l,	203, 204
<i>Priyamitrasvāmin</i> , <i>donee</i> ,	199, 203
<i>Prōla</i> , <i>Karilāla</i> ch,	96
<i>Prōlakavā</i> , <i>f</i> ,	69, 73
<i>Pūdi</i> <i>Pōrān</i> , <i>m</i> ,	286, 288
<i>Pugūr</i> , <i>v</i> ,	180, 181
<i>Pulakēśvara</i> , <i>Gujarāt Chalukya</i> l,	93 n

	PAGE
<i>Pulakēśin</i> , <i>W Chālukya</i> ch,	8 n
<i>Pulhūmra</i> Grant of <i>Jayasimha</i> I,	88, 90
<i>Pulhēśin</i> II, <i>W Chālukya</i> l,	88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95 & n, 96, 118, 119
<i>Pulindasēna</i> , <i>ancestor of</i> <i>Śailōdbhava</i> ,	125, 127, 130
<i>Pulōmbūru</i> , <i>v</i> , <i>l</i> ,	93
<i>Pulōmbūru</i> Grant of <i>Mādhavavarman</i> ,	88, 90, 91 & n, 92, 93 & n, 94, 95 & n, 96, 116
<i>Punada</i> , <i>tribe</i> ,	48
<i>Punarvasu</i> , <i>nakshatra</i> ,	217 n, 295
<i>Punyābhra</i> , <i>v</i> ,	102, 112
<i>Punyakumāra</i> , <i>Chōla</i> l,	96
<i>pū ppon</i> , <i>tax</i>	24
<i>Puri</i> , <i>ci</i> ,	123, 226
<i>Puri</i> Copper plate of <i>Nṛsimhādēva</i> IV,	226
<i>Puri</i> Plates of <i>Mādhavavarman</i> ,	123, 126, 127
<i>Puri</i> (<i>Uttarapārśva</i> <i>Maṭha</i>) Plates of <i>Dharma-</i>	
<i>rāja</i> ,	125
<i>Purle</i> Plates,	74
<i>Purle</i> Plates of <i>Indravarmān</i> ,	78, 264
<i>Pūrṇā</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>r</i> <i>Payōshpī</i> ,	214 n
<i>Pūrnadēva</i> , <i>m</i> ,	261, 263
<i>pūrṇa</i> <i>kālāṣa</i> , depicted over inscription,	279
<i>Pūrṇa</i> <i>pathala</i> , <i>ca</i> ,	102, 112
<i>pūrnimānta</i> ,	3, 104, 119
<i>purōga</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>purōhita</i> (?),	262
<i>purōhita</i> , 'priest'	229, 266
<i>Purujvanā</i> , <i>v</i> ,	74, 77
<i>Purushōttama</i> , <i>dance</i> ,	105, 110
<i>Purushthana</i> , <i>cf</i> <i>Purujvanā</i> ,	74, 77
<i>pūria</i> <i>bhuktala</i> <i>bhūjyamāna</i> <i>dēva</i> <i>brahma</i> <i>dāya-</i>	
<i>vargīla</i> , <i>privilege</i> ,	292
<i>Pūrvadēśa</i> ,	225
<i>pūrvagraharāja</i> ,	94
<i>Pūria</i> <i>pathala</i> , <i>di</i> ,	112
<i>Pushkar</i> or <i>Pushkara</i> , <i>tirtha</i> ,	234, 236, 240
<i>Pushkarinī</i> , <i>di</i> ,	75
<i>Pushpājyudha</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>god</i> <i>Kāma</i> ,	235, 237
<i>Pushya</i> , <i>nakshatra</i> ,	215, 217 & n, 294, 295 & n
<i>Pushyamitra</i> , <i>Sunga</i> l,	47
<i>Pustapāla</i> , <i>off</i> 'record keeper',	54, 158, 161, 202

Q

<i>Qutb ud din</i> ,	226
----------------------	-----

R

<i>r</i> ,	9, 24, 198
<i>r</i> , doubling of consonant after —,	2, 9, 28, 53, 57, 62, 68, 74, 82, 115, 124, 137, 156, 189, 198, 205, 249, 256, 261, 263
<i>r</i> , doubling of consonant before —,	53, 57, 68, 82, 115, 124, 156, 198, 256, 261

	PAGE
r, subscript,	20 n, 111
r, superscript,	1, 201, 213
Rīchapaṭnam, vi,	103 n
Rīdhī, <i>Kṛishna's consort</i> ,	108, 112
Rādhanāgarī, s a Vallavāda,	30
Rīdhanpur Plates, 12, 204, 206, 208 n, 209 n, 210 n, 214, 215, 216, 217 n, 296 n	
Rāghavānī a, author,	190
Raghuatansa, work,	43 n, 61, 67 n, 172 n, 238 n
Rāgōlu Plates of Śaktivarman,	89
Rāhappa, I,	10, 11
Rahasya, off,	76, 78
Rai Lakhamaniya, s a Lal shinnasāna,	227
Rai Mal, prince,	231
Rai Mal's Inscription of V S 1545,	233
Raipur,	233
Raipur Plates of Mahā Sudōvarāja,	19
raja,	29
Rāja, m,	273 n
rajabhatya saria pratyāya samāta, privilege,	202
raja datti, 'royal gift',	202, 203
rājadhani, 'capital',	235
Rājādhirāja I, Chōla k,	25
Rājadhikṛiya, tit,	10, 14, 15, 293 n
Rājādhirājādōva, Chōla I,	111 n
Rājādhirājavitānkar Śardēśvaradēvar, deity,	21, 25
Rājagriha, dt,	291
Rajaguru,	275 n, 276
Rījal Śāri, Chōla tit,	111 n
Rījal Śāriarman, Chōla tit,	21
Rījakya grama, ti,	103, 110
rajaliya māna, 'royal measure',	86 n
Rajakkajñāyan, tit of Hoysala Sōmēśvara,	180 n
Rajakkal Tambirān, tit,	190
rājalya mana, s a rājaliya mana,	82 n, 86
rāja mana, s a rajaliya mana,	82 n
Rajāmātya, off,	291
rajan, 'prince',	151, 229
Rajan, tit,	291
Rājānaka, m,	273 & n
Rajanaka, tit,	79, 129, 262, 204, 268, 291
Rājanārājana Sambuvārāya, Sambuvārāya ch,	170 n
Rājanya, s a Kshatriya,	237
Rajanyaka, tit,	129, 131
Rajaparamēvara, tit,	182, 185
Rājapura, vi,	244
Rājapura Copper plate,	270 n
rajapurusha,	108, 120, 135
Rājaputra, Kalachuri prince,	259
Rājaputra, sur of Kalachuri k Lakshmana,	259
Rajaputra, tit,	79, 129, 131, 201, 202, 203, 262, 204, 268, 291
Rājarāja I, Chōla k,	178

	PAGE
Rājarāja III, Chōla k,	177 & n, 178, 179
Rājāśekhara, author,	83
Rājāsūhla, Pallava k,	171 n
Rājāsūhla, Pāndya k,	281
Rājāsūhla, sur of Gaṅga k Hastivarman,	63, 66, 67
Rājāsūhla III, Pāndya I,	293
Rājāśunga ppūrangūthi, colony,	283, 285, 286, 288
Rājāsungīśvaran, lc,	281
Rajasthānīya, off,	291
Rajavallabha, off,	251, 254 & n
Rījaya, m,	31, 34
Rījendra, s a Śailōdbhava k Mādhavavarman III,	124
Rājēndravarman, Gaṅga k,	74, 75, 77
Rājgir, s a Rājagriha,	291
Rājim, ti,	116 & n
Rājim Plates of Tivaradēva,	19, 114, 116 & n, 118 n, 119
Rājput,	232
Rājputānā,	232, 239 n
Rājyadatta, m,	157, 159
Rajyadhikṛiya, 'chief minister',	83
Rāma, epic hero,	107
Rama s a Rāma m,	36
Rīma, m,	37, 41, 42
Rāmabhadra, s a epic hero Rāma,	107, 111, 113, 136, 212
Rāmabhadradēva, Pratihāra k,	213
Rāmachandra, s a epic hero Rāma,	253
Rāmachandra, Iudava k,	184, 191, 192, 193 n, 270, 281, 282
Rāmādēva, commentator,	84
Rīmadēva, ch,	112 & n, 143
Rāmādēva, Iudava general,	281, 282
Rīmadēva, Iudava k,	184, 281, 282
Rīmadēvi, Chalukya princess, Sēa q,	225
Rāmādēvi, Uchchālāpa q,	171
Rāmāgiri, s a mo Rāmtek,	84 & n
Rāma grove,	37, 38, 42
Rīmākakshā, I,	37
Rīmākakshaka, s a Rīmākakshā,	38
Rīmākakshā s a Rīmākakshā,	37
Rīmālengurāja, m,	89, 98, 99
Rāmānūtha, Hoysala k,	180 n
Rāmānūtha, s a Kumāra Rāmānūthadēva,	182, 185
Rāmānūtha, s a Rīmākakshā,	98
Rīmālirtham Plates,	91 & n, 92 & n, 93 n, 94, 96
Rīmēśvara tirtha,	206 n, 216 & n
Rīnganj Copper plate,	226
Rāmtel, rao,	84
rañña Skt aranya,	37
Raṇa, tit,	282 n
Raṇa, tit,	233, 234

	PAGE
Ranabhīṭṭa, <i>Śailōddbhata</i> l, see Aranabhīṭṭa,	
Ranabhīṭṭa, <i>sur of Gaṅga</i> l Hastivarman,	63, 64, 66, 67
Ranabhīṭṭodaya, <i>n of god</i> Vishnu,	64, 66, 67
Ranadhavala, l,	223, 224, 228
Ranādīṭṭa, m,	105, 109
Ranadurjaya,	96 n
Ranadurjaya, <i>Chōla</i> l,	89, 96, 97, 99
Ranadurjaya Durjaya, <i>Karīlala</i> ch,	96
Rāṇaka, <i>tit</i> , 142 & n, 143, 186 n, 187, 188, 219, 254, 255, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268	
Ranākṣara, <i>s a brother of</i> Mahā Śivagupta (¹),	116 n
Ranākṣara, <i>s a Sōmarasī</i> l Bhava dīva,	116 & n, 117, 118
Ranastambhaka, <i>s a</i> Ranathambaka,	231 n
Ranathambhaka, l,	231 & n
Ranathambor, <i>ca</i> ,	187
Ranāvalōka, <i>s a</i> <i>Rushtra</i> ūṭa ch Stambha, 2, 93 & n, 952	
Ranthambor, l,	231 & n, 232, 238
Pāṇava,	184
Rāṅgalachhī, <i>ti</i> ,	11, 13, 16
raṇī 'queen',	100
Ranvad, <i>ti</i> ,	192, 278
Raṣṭud ud dīn,	192
raṣṭra, <i>t d</i> ,	65 94
Rāshṭrakula (l ūṭa), <i>family</i> ,	186, 189, 189
raṣṭra ūṭa,	70 & n, 169, 262, 266
Rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>dy</i> ,	8, 10, 12 13, 14, 83, 101, 102, 104, 106, 114, 145 n, 146, 162, 163, 205 208, 213, 216, 219, 257, 258, 259 n, 296
Raṣṭra mahattara, <i>off</i> ,	161, 154
Raṣṭrapati, <i>off</i> ,	15, 106, 210, 220
Ratanpur, <i>ca</i> ,	2 3, 4 n, 118
Ratanpur Inscription of Prithvidīva II and Brahmadīva,	114 n, 118 n, 120 n
Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājalladīva I,	117, 118 n
Rathantara, Vedic hymn,	67
Pati, <i>Kuma's wife</i> ,	240
Ratnadīva I, <i>Kalachuri</i> l,	118
Ratnadīva II, <i>do</i> ,	2, 4, 7
Ratnadīva III, <i>do</i> ,	3, 103
Ratnarāja I, <i>do</i> ,	2, 4, 7
Ratnarāja III, <i>do</i> ,	2, 5, 7
Raula, <i>tit</i> ,	273, 274
Ravikīrti, <i>author</i> ,	93
Ravīśarma, <i>donec</i> ,	261, 262
Raya jhaga jhampa, <i>tit</i> , of Yadava l Mahā dīva,	194
Raya Nārāyaṇa, <i>tit of</i> Yadava l Mahādīva,	194, 195
Rāyīya, <i>g</i> ,	187
Rāṅgādugunī, <i>ti</i> ,	163, 169
Rāṅāṇḍu, <i>co</i> ,	97
Rāṅāṇa, <i>donec</i> ,	142, 143

	PAGE
Rewali Stone Inscription	296
ri, used for ri,	82, 205
ri,	114, 245
ri, used for ri,	10, 19, 82, 205
Riddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā,	84 n
riṇ āday ādi sambandha varjita, privilege,	281
Rishu, m,	224, 229
Riṣṭi paīchamī, '5th day of bright half of Bhādrapada'	327, 240
Rishuṇṇappa, <i>s a</i> Rishuṇṇabhātta, 213, 214 n	221
Rishuṇṇappa, <i>sage</i> ,	231, 237, 240
Risi Mahattara, m,	273, 274
Risula, m,	103, 109
Rishuṇṇabhātta, <i>donec</i> ,	205, 210
Rithpur Plates of Bhavattavarman,	82 n
riṭ,	186
Rōhanakī, <i>ti</i> ,	62, 65, 66
Rōhinī, <i>nal shatra</i> ,	72, 215, 295
Rōhinī, <i>Vasudeva's wife</i> ,	50
Rōhṇamitra, m,	38
Rohitashgadh Inscription,	224, 225
Rōhanakī, <i>s a</i> <i>ti</i> Rōhanakī,	65
Ronunkī, <i>s a</i> <i>ti</i> , Rōhanakī,	65
riṭ,	9
ri, used for ri,	234
Ruddappa Dikshita, <i>donec</i> ,	10, 11, 16
Rudra, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	163, 169, 256, 260
Rudrādītya, m,	102, 111
Rudramāmbā, <i>Kakatiya</i> g,	192
Rudras, <i>gods</i> ,	46
Rudrasarma, <i>donec</i> ,	90, 94
Rudrasena I, <i>Valakala</i> l,	85 & n
Rudrasena II, <i>do</i> ,	86, 92
Rūpīvarṇa, <i>di</i> ,	65
Rūpyavati, <i>di</i> ,	65

S

s,	9, 71 156
s, used for ś,	2, 68, 102, 137, 141, 189, 205, 231, 240, 263, 265, 270, 282
s, used for sh,	68, 141, 265
ś,	62, 74, 198, 213
ś, used for s,	2, 10, 68, 205, 268
ś, used for sh,	189
Śābana, <i>donec</i> ,	105, 109
sa bhūta vata pratyāya, privilege,	152
sa bhūta ūṇṇa pratyāya, <i>do</i> ,	211, 221
sa chaurōddharana, <i>do</i> ,	292
sachcha, Buddhist term,	241
Sachcha mādhesa, Buddhist work,	241
Sachcha vibhāṇa, <i>do</i> ,	241
sacrifices —	
Agnishōṇa,	46, 85, 89, 91, 92 n, 95 n, 98, 99
Aptōryāma,	85
Asvamedha,	44, 45, 85, 91, 92 n, 95 n, 125, 128 131 167

	PAGE
Samar Sing, <i>s a Kadamba ch Samara</i>	
simha (?)	226
<i>samasta bhāga bhōga kara hiraṇy ādāya samāla</i> , privilege,	113
Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>sur of E Chālukya k</i> Ammarāja II,	169
Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>sur of E Chululya k</i> Vijayāditya II,	163, 169
Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>sur of Vijayanagara k</i> Dēvarāja I,	182, 185
Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>te</i> ,	163, 169, 170
<i>samast ūpatti sūka ūpatti sahita</i> , privilege,	107
<i>śāmatayika</i> ,	79 n
Sambalpur,	19
Sambhu, <i>s a god Śiva</i> ,	86, 125 127, 130, 194, 195, 235, 236 239, 278
Sambhuvāśas, <i>k</i> ,	199, 200, 201
Sambhuvāśa, <i>misreading for Sambhuvāśas</i> ,	200
Sambavarāja, <i>dy</i> ,	179 n
Samgha,	38
Saṅgharātra, <i>monk</i> ,	38, 42
Saṅgharāṭ śruta, <i>monk</i> ,	289 & n
<i>saṅgharāṭ a</i> ,	38 289 n
Samgulla, <i>com</i> ,	148, 153, 155
Samiddhīśvara Temple Inscription, <i>saṅgharāṭis</i> —	233
Dakṣiṇāyana,	31, 34
Dhanush,	72
Karka,	30
Makara,	2, 3, 6, 8
Uttarāyana,	60, 61, 162, 163, 169, 273, 274 & n
Vishnu,	269
Samikṣābhā, <i>Parivāṇaka I</i> ,	171, 172, 174
Sammoha vinodinī, Buddhist work,	242 n
<i>sāmra madhūla</i> , privilege,	251
<i>sāmra madhūla</i> , <i>do</i> ,	229
<i>samuchita dēya bhāga bhōga kara hiraṇy-ady</i> ,	292
<i>śamudaya</i> , Buddhist term,	242
<i>Samudaya baly ādy aśāmba</i> , ' (land) originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (to the state)',	51
Samudragupta, <i>Gupta k</i> ,	41, 45, 57, 58, 89, 173
<i>śamvāyāharaṇ</i> ,	51, 55
<i>śamya</i> ,	32
Śālichātaka, <i>I</i> ,	109, 202
Śālichī Prakrit Inscription,	142 n
<i>śandhi</i> , not observed,	46, 133, 137, 143 n, 221 n, 249
<i>śandhi</i> , wrong,	10, 82, 84, 115, 205
<i>Śāndhivigraha</i> , <i>off</i> ,	83, 158, 161, 199, 202, 203
<i>Sāndhivigraha</i> , <i>off</i> ,	79, 80, 264, 265, 266, 267
<i>śandhu(sāndhu)igrahappēṇu</i> , tax,	26, 27
Śaṅgama, <i>dy</i> —	183
Śaṅgama, <i>m</i> ,	182, 183, 185
Śaṅgavūru, <i>s a vi Saṅgūr</i> ,	189

	PAGE
<i>Saṅgha</i> , Buddhist —,	157
Saṅgrāmanallūr, <i>vi</i> ,	285
Saṅgūr, <i>vi</i> ,	182, 185, 189, 194
Saṅgūr Inscription,	185
Saṅgūru, <i>vi</i> ,	185
<i>sa nidhi</i> , privilege,	21, 87, 120, 251
Śaṇḍā, <i>f</i> ,	246, 247, 248
<i>Śaṇḍāsiddhi</i> , <i>ep of Gandarāditya</i> ,	31
Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarsha I, 11, 92 n,	243, 258, 294, 297
Sanjān Plates of Gōvinda III,	217 & n
Śāṅkara, <i>donee</i> ,	105, 110
Śāṅkara, <i>s a god Śiva</i> ,	225, 228, 235, 236, 239, 294, 297
Śāṅkha, <i>Chāhamāna k</i> ,	191
<i>śāṅkha</i> , emblem on seal,	19
<i>śāṅkhakara</i> , see <i>śāṅkhika</i> ,	139 n
<i>Śāṅkhāyana śrautasūtra</i> , work,	46 & n
Śāṅkhēda Plates (1st set) of Dadda II,	82 n
Śāṅkhēdā Plates (2nd set) of Dadda II,	82 n
<i>śāṅkhika</i> , 'worker in shells' or 'person of mixed parentage',	139, 141
Sannasāṭi, <i>misreading for Annasāṭi</i> ,	214 n
<i>Sannidhatrī</i> , <i>off</i> ,	120 251, 254 & n
Śāntā, <i>Śringika's wife</i> ,	237, 240
Santabomali Plates of Indravarman II,	62, 64
<i>santala</i> , 'servant',	83 & n, 86 87
Śāntaru, <i>epic hero</i> ,	150, 153
<i>santika</i> , 'proximity' 'presence', cf <i>santala</i> ,	83 n
Śānuthākura, <i>m</i> ,	281
<i>sa padāranya</i> , privilege,	264
<i>sa parilāra</i> , mistake for <i>s ūparilāra</i> ,	16, 211, 221
Śaphara or Śāphara, <i>m</i> ,	246, 247, 248
Saptā ōṭīśvara, <i>deity</i> ,	226
<i>Sapta lōk aṅka nātha</i> , <i>ep of god Vishnu</i> ,	66
<i>Sapta lōk aṅka śaśrāya</i> , <i>do</i> ,	67 n
<i>sapta mūlī</i> group, images of —,	284 n
<i>Sapt ārchar mūlka</i> , <i>ep of god Vishnu</i> ,	67 n
<i>Sapt arṇava jalāsaya</i> , <i>do</i> ,	67 n
<i>Sapt arṇava saṅgīn</i> , <i>do</i> ,	66
<i>Sapta śam ōpagita</i> , <i>do</i> ,	66, 67 n
<i>Sarabhaṅga</i> , <i>off</i> ,	291
Śarabhapura, <i>ca</i> ,	19, 20, 114, 115, 173
Śarabharāja,	20
Sarabpur, <i>vi</i> ,	19
Śārādī Inscription from Hund,	257 n
Śa Rāneva, <i>general</i> ,	184
Śarapgarh, <i>vi</i> ,	19
Sarasvatī, <i>goddess</i> ,	72
<i>Sarasvatīkāṇḍābhārana</i> , work,	83
Saravū, <i>vi</i> ,	16
Sarbhōn, <i>s a vi Śrībhavana</i> ,	206
<i>Sardār</i> , <i>tit</i> ,	231
Śarēpha or Śarēphā, <i>tī & dī</i> ,	199, 201 & n, 202, 203
Sarkar Bhadrak,	201

	PAGE
Sarī ar Jalesar,	201
Sarī hō Plates of Ratnāditya II,	2 n, 1 n
Sarī hō Plates of Ratnāditya III,	103
Sārāñthī, 11,	200
Saragadharapaddhati, work,	2 n
Sārul, s a 11 Mallasārul,	155 n
Sārvi, s a Mārāsīva (?),	213, 207
sarīa budha parihara, privilege,	32
sarīa budha varjita do,	251
Sarvachandra or Sarvachandra com,	76, 78
sarīa cūya sameta privilege,	109
Sarvāditya Avasthita, donee,	106, 110
Sarvadhyaśa	86
sarīa kara parihara, 'exemption of all taxes',	169
sarīa kara sameta, privilege,	120
sarīa namasya,	72 31 195
Sarvānanda, donee,	102, 103 105 109 1113
Sarvānūtha, Uchchakalpa I,	101 n 171, 172 174
sarīa pīda parihriti, privilege,	292
sarīa pīda varjita, do,	120 201 203
sarīa pīda varjita, do	73
Sarvavarman, Maukhari I,	212 213 & 1
sarīa ushṭi parihara parihriti, privilege,	87
sarīa uya usuddha do,	32
sarīa ūparikara Varadara varjita do,	251
sarīa ūpatti sahita, do,	251
Sāsana 'grant',	78 80, 87, 88 101, 107 111
113, 122, 170, 220, 213 252 267, 269 281 232	
Sāśulā I	138 n 198
Sāśulā or Sāśulārāja I,	126
Satapatha Brahmana, work,	11 n 16 n
safatī utapa samavāta, privilege,	261
satipāthana, Buddhist term,	231
Satpura, mo,	172 211 n
satra,	66, 67, 82 86, 101, 107, 163 169
sa trina kashṭhā ōdal āpta, privilege,	272, 281
Satrugunaśāya, m,	83
Sāttan Ganavadi, ch,	283
Satvāditya, Chōla I,	96
Satvasiddhāra, donee,	5, 8 n
Satyāśraya, sur of Pulakāya II	187
Satyāśraya, II Chālukya I,	213
Satyāśraya hūṣa tilaka, cp of Vijayanagara I	
Dvārāy I,	152, 185
Saucha Khambha (or —Stambha), Rashtra	
Hūṣa ch,	206 293 n
Saurāshtra, co,	277, 278
Savathi, di,	103
Sāvathidēsa, Sāvathilū or Sāvathilūddēsa	
di,	103, 105, 106, 110
Savitrī, s a god Sūrya,	278
sa vṛṣhāmālā āhūta, privilege,	107, 109 112, 136, 272
sa vṛṣhāmālā nidhi nishīpa sahita, do,	282
seasons —	
Gihma (Grishma),	91

PERSONS—contd

	PAGE
Vasa (Vatsālā),	91
Sellada, 11,	65
Sellava, 11,	105, 107
Sena, dy,	158, 225
Sena Amul n m	271, 272
Sennadhikarita, off,	223, 229
Sennadhipati, tit,	182 183, 185
Sennapati, tit,	47, 48, 82, 84, 87
Sennāvāra, family,	13 n
Sennava, m,	31, 34
Sendamanagalam, 11,	176, 177
Sēadan Dhakaram, work,	181 n
Sendraka, dy	173
Sen Tamil, 'Tamil literature',	180, 181
Senol Plates,	86 n
Sēta s a ca Svātaka,	268
Setram s a Sautrām,	187
Setubandha, work,	84
s rila,	291
sh	156, 217
sh used for s,	10, 68 265 268
sh used for s,	205 268
shailakshari nātra, (Śrī nāmāḥ śaiva),	191 n
Shahabud di	291
Shah Sujah,	291
Shamshān Dandini	233
Shayulā 11,	215, 216 247
Shashthudatta m	157, 159
Shashthikumarī, s a Chhatulumarī	9
Shetpadi, 11,	131 172 1 4, 135, 177, 179
Shetpadi Inscription of Udayaditya,	172
Shetpadi Somanatha Temple Inscription,	137
Shet Shāh, S r I,	132 134
Shivavāra,	275 n
sh	124
Sholapur, 11	190 n, 193, 191
Shrivādi, 11,	273 n
sh th used for sh	115
Shummāra s a Khummāra,	236
Sūrya s a Sthūṣi,	187
Sudha Hecachandra, work,	13 n
suddham, 'hail'	216, 217, 218
suddham, symbol for —,	269
Suddhantam, 11,	65
Siddharāma or Siddharāmanātha, saint,	189, 190 & n, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196
Siddharanapuram, Kannada work,	190
Siddhārthaka, 11,	65
Siddhatī, 11	75
siddhaya, 'fixed income',	273 n, 274 n
siddhayam, tax,	21, 25
Siddhēśvara, god,	190 n
Siddha Bomma	184
Sihaji Gahadavala I,	187
Sihata donee,	105, 110

	PAGE
<i>Śiśha, Vēdaṅga,</i>	253, 255
<i>Śilāhārī, dy,</i>	29 & n, 30, 31, 32, 33 n, 192, 193, 226, 269, 270, 271 n, 272 n, 275, 277 n, 279, 281
<i>Śilāhāra, s a Śilāhāra,</i>	273, 274
<i>Śilāhāra, s a Śilāhāra,</i>	275, 276
<i>Śilāhārā Caves,</i>	236
<i>Śilappadigaram, Tamil work,</i>	181 n
<i>Śilāra s a Śilāhāra,</i>	271
<i>Śilāra, tr,</i>	24, 25
<i>Śimāśim, ti,</i>	168
<i>Simha, m,</i>	100
<i>Simha, s a Pallava ch Kōpperuñjuga,</i>	178
<i>Simhāna, s a Singana,</i>	101, 192, 193 & n
<i>Simha Parishad, division of the Kalamukhas,</i>	163, 164
<i>Simha parishad, s a Simha-parishad,</i>	169
<i>Simha parishad, s a Simha parishad,</i>	165
<i>Śiṅghapōruda vaṇanādu, di,</i>	178
<i>Simhavarman, Pallava I,</i>	179
<i>Sinda, dy,</i>	100 & n
<i>Sindhurāja, Chāhamāna I,</i>	191, 192
<i>Sindhurāja, Paramāra I,</i>	133, 135
<i>- [Śi]juga-Śāram, te,</i>	236, 238
<i>Śingalām,</i>	285
<i>Singana, Yādava I,</i>	191
<i>Singeva Nāyaka I,</i>	183, 184 & n
<i>Singapura, ti,</i>	65
<i>Sinnamanūr Plates (larger),</i>	284, 285
<i>Siripuram Plates of Anantavarman,</i>	57 & n, 58
<i>Sirijā Dēvi, Chālukya q,</i>	100 & n
<i>Sirijā Dēvi, Sinda q,</i>	100 & n
<i>Sirpur,</i>	19, 20, 115, 117, 118, 119 & n
<i>Sirpur Inscription of Vāsaṭā,</i>	116
<i>Sirpur Lal shmana Temple Inscription,</i>	92 n
<i>Sirpur Stone Inscription,</i>	116 n
<i>Sirso, ti,</i>	204, 206, 214
<i>Siruguppe, I,</i>	184
<i>Śisavai, ti,</i>	205, 206, 210, 214
<i>Śisavai Grant of Gōvinda III,</i>	204, 212, 213 & n, 214 & n, 216
<i>Śiva, god,</i>	13, 85, 102, 115, 119 & n, 122, 125, 130, 133, 134, 142, 154, 162, 163, 165, 166, 178, 183, 186, 188, 190, 191, 194, 200, 223, 226, 238, 241, 256, 262 n, 273, 274, 278, 283 n, 284
<i>Śivagupta, s a Mahā Śivaguptarāja,</i>	122
<i>Śivagupta, s a Sōmatamsi I Mahā Śiva gupta I,</i>	219, 251, 254
<i>Śiva linga,</i>	85
<i>Śiva linga, depicted over inscription,</i>	275
<i>Śivalingika, ti,</i>	20
<i>Śivamagha, s a Śivamāgha,</i>	218 n
<i>Śiva Mādhātavarman, Kadamba I,</i>	80 n
<i>Śivamāra II, W Ganga I,</i>	145
<i>Śivamāgha, I of Kauṣambī,</i>	215, 217

	PAGE
<i>Śivarāja, I,</i>	198, 199, 200
<i>Śivarāja, Kalachuri I,</i>	259
<i>Śiva rātri,</i>	278
<i>Śivaśarman, donce,</i>	90, 93, 94
<i>Sivpillā, m or f,</i>	219, 254, 255
<i>Siydōni Inscription,</i>	28, 137, 139
<i>Siyaḥa, Paramāra I,</i>	102 & n, 108, 112
<i>Śiyan Pallavan, s a Rājānārāyaṇa Sambu varāyan,</i>	179 n
<i>Skandagupta, Gupta I,</i>	138
<i>skandhātura,</i>	217 n, 291
<i>skandhātura, 'capital',</i>	12 & n
<i>Smara, s a god Kāma,</i>	235
<i>Smārīrīti, s a god Śiva,</i>	135 & n
<i>Smṛiti,</i>	89, 98, 99, 253, 257, 260 & n
<i>Smṛitilaustubha, work,</i>	134, 188 n
<i>Snake Temple, at Bhandal,</i>	117 n
<i>Sōbhana,</i>	249
<i>sōddēśa, privilege,</i>	201
<i>Sōdha[da] Nāyaka, minister,</i>	271, 272
<i>Sōdhāka, m,</i>	140
<i>sōdāṅga, privilege,</i>	16, 152, 211, 221
<i>Sōlāval Plates,</i>	174
<i>Śōkkachechyan, sur of Pallava ch Kōpperuñ jūgadāva I,</i>	175, 180, 181, 182
<i>Sōlānāyanār,</i>	175
<i>Śōkka Śiyan, s a Śōkkachechyan,</i>	175 n
<i>Sōja kōn, m,</i>	177
<i>Sōlūli I, dy,</i>	231
<i>Sōlanjalakonda Vira Pāndya, Pāndya I,</i>	284 & n
<i>Sōlapuram Inscription,</i>	144
<i>Sōlūyam, measure,</i>	286, 288
<i>Sōma, god,</i>	253
<i>Sōma, m,</i>	140
<i>Sōmadattā, ch,</i>	199, 200, 202
<i>Sōmadāva, Maulhara ch,</i>	15, 46, 52
<i>Sōmakula, dy,</i>	251, 253, 254, 255
<i>Sōmakuli, s a Sōmanāthi,</i>	249
<i>Sōmanātha, deity,</i>	271, 277, 278
<i>Sōmanātha, te,</i>	134, 137, 138, 139
<i>Sōmanāthadēva, s a god Śiva,</i>	135, 136, 140, 190, 195
<i>Sōmanātha palli (or pallika),</i>	134, 139, 141
<i>Sōmavamsa, dy of Kōśala,</i>	70, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120
<i>Sōmanāthi, 'lunar race',</i>	188 n
<i>Sōmanāthi, family,</i>	90 n, 91, 94 n, 249
<i>Sōmāśvara, Hoysala I,</i>	180 n, 193
<i>Sōmāśvara I,</i>	165
<i>Sōmāśvara, Śilāhara I,</i>	192
<i>Sōmāśvara I, W Chālukya I,</i>	134
<i>Sōmāśvara II, do,</i>	134
<i>Sōmāśvaradāva, ch of Chākraśūlya</i>	244
<i>Sōmāśvaradāva, Śilāhara I,</i>	270, 275 n, 278, 279, 280, 281

	PAGE		PAGE
Somnath, .	192	Śrīsthānaka,	281
Sonabhadra, <i>s a vi</i> Śravanabhadra,	103	Śrīvallabha, <i>Pāṇḍya l</i> ,	285
Sone East Bank, <i>l</i> ,	222	Śrīvallabha, <i>sur of</i> Gōvinda IV,	106
Sonepur, <i>state</i> ,	248, 250	Śrīvallabha, <i>sur of</i> <i>Rushtrakūṣa l</i> Gōvinda	
Sonepur or Sonopur Raj, <i>ci, s a ca</i> Suvarna		III,	10, 16
<i>purā</i> ,	248, 250	Śrīvallabha, <i>sur of</i> Vākpati Muṣija,	108, 112
Sonnalige, <i>vi</i> ,	190 & <i>n</i> , 191, 193, 194, 195	Śrīūstavya Kāyastha, <i>caste</i> ,	224, 230
<i>s ōpanidhi</i> , privilege,	21, 87, 120, 261	Śrungaṇarapukōṭa, <i>vi</i> ,	56, 59
<i>s ōpanikara</i> , <i>do</i> ,	16 <i>n</i> , 109, 152, 201, 291	Śrungaṇarapukōṭa Grant of Anantavarman,	64
Sōpura, <i>vi</i> ,	103, 106, 110	Śruti, <i>s a Vēda</i> ,	89, 98, 99, 163, 164, 257,
Sorab Inscription,	190 & <i>n</i>		260 & <i>n</i>
<i>s ōrdhv ādhas</i> , privilege,	229	Stambha, <i>Rāshtrakūṣa ch</i> ,	11 & <i>n</i> , 12 <i>n</i> , 215 & <i>n</i> ,
Sōrō, <i>vi</i> ,	197, 201 & <i>n</i>		216, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297
Sōrō dandapīṭa,	201	Stambha, <i>Rushtrakūṣa l</i> ,	144
Sōrō Plate of Mahārāja Bhānudatta,	203	Stambha Tōrana, <i>s a</i> Thamb Tōraṇ,	42, 43
Sōrō Plate of Mahārāja Śambhuyasas,	201	<i>star, emblem on seal</i> ,	73
Sōrō Plates,	108	Stūhāna, <i>l</i> ,	277, 278
Sōrō Plates of Sōmadatta,	202	<i>Stūhānāntarika</i> , <i>off</i> ,	201, 202, 203
<i>s ōtpadyamāna viśhīla</i> , privilege,	152, 211, 221	<i>stūpa</i> ,	280 & <i>n</i>
<i>Śraivana</i> , <i>nakshatra</i> ,	100	Subandbu, <i>author</i> ,	217
Śravanabhadra, <i>vi</i> ,	103, 105, 106, 110	Śubhadatta, <i>m</i> ,	158, 161
Śrāvastī, <i>s a</i> Sāvastī,	103	Śubhākarādēva, <i>Bhauṃa l</i> ,	201
<i>śrēṣhṭhin</i> , 'banker',	79, 80, 140	Śubhasmha, <i>com</i> ,	199, 203
Śrī, <i>s a</i> goddess Lakshmi,	72	Sudarśana, <i>Vishnu's discus</i> ,	151, 154
Śrībhavana, <i>vi</i> ,	206, 209, 215, 216, 218, 220, 297	Sudassana, <i>myth l</i> ,	149
Śrīdatta, <i>m</i> ,	157, 159	Sudcvarīja, <i>s a</i> Mahā Sudcvarāja,	22 <i>n</i>
Śrīdēvi, <i>s a</i> goddess Lakshmi,	182 <i>n</i>	<i>sudha larma</i> , 'white washing',	170
Śrīdhara, <i>donec</i> ,	213, 221	Sudhamma, <i>monk</i> ,	39
Śrīdhara Dikshita, <i>donec</i> ,	213, 221	Sudi Inscription,	257
Śrīdhara Kausika, <i>m</i> ,	224, 229	Śūdra, <i>caste</i> ,	130, 237, 240
Śrīdhara Kramavid, <i>donec</i> ,	271, 272	Sugata, <i>s a</i> the Buddha,	117, 196, 107, 290
Śrīdhara Māhula, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110	Sujana, <i>com</i> ,	223, 224, 230
Śrīkandakanaka, <i>m</i> ,	152 <i>n</i>	Sulhākara, <i>com</i> ,	186, 188, 189
Śrīkantja, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	108, 112	Śūlapāni, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	253
Śrīkanthacharita, <i>work</i> ,	271 <i>n</i>	Śūhka, <i>s a</i> Chōla (?),	116 <i>n</i>
Śrīkantha śūra, <i>s a</i> Tennavan Pallavarajai		Śūlin, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	187, 188
<i>yan</i> ,	283, 286, 288	<i>śulla</i> ,	190, 196
Śrīlarana, 'record office', 2 <i>add</i> , 6, 8, 271, 272, 276,	278, 279, 280	Sultān,	233
Śrīkhandayaka, <i>m</i> ,	152 <i>n</i>	Sultān of Mālū,	232
Śrīnguraprakasa, <i>work</i> ,	83 and <i>n</i>	Sultāns of Delhū,	187 & <i>n</i>
Śrīngāṭikā, <i>vi</i> ,	261	Sumatī sūdhāra, <i>m</i> ,	8 <i>n</i>
Śrīngika, <i>s a</i> Rishyāśringa,	237, 240	sun, <i>depicted over inscription</i> ,	271, 273, 274,
Śrīngī Rishi, <i>l</i> ,	230, 231		278, 279, 281
Śrīnivāsa, <i>m</i> ,	106, 110	sun, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	67
Śrīnivāsa, <i>s a</i> Śailōdbhaya <i>l</i> Mādhavar		Sūnak Plates of Karnadēva,	50
<i>man III</i> ,	122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130 & <i>n</i>	Sundarānandā, <i>nun</i> ,	38
Śrīpura, <i>ca</i> , <i>s a</i> Śirpur,	19, 20, 115, 118 & <i>n</i>	Sundara Pāndya, <i>Pāṇḍya l</i> ,	285
Śrī Rāma, <i>s a</i> Iādava general Rāmadēva,	282	<i>Sundera Pāndyan lōl, l m</i> ,	26 27
Śrīrama, <i>sur of</i> Prithivī Mahārāja,	89, 99 <i>n</i>	<i>śūnya</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>nollī</i> ,	33 <i>n</i>
Śrīrangam, <i>ci</i> ,	177	Suprī, <i>vi</i> ,	282
Śrīsāmanta, <i>m</i> (?),	261, 263	Sūr, <i>dy</i> ,	132
Śrīsāmanta, <i>tit</i>	76 78 79 80, 128 261, 263,	Surāditya, <i>ch</i> ,	103
	264, 266, 268	Surāditya, <i>m</i> ,	105, 109
Śrīsthāna, <i>l</i> ,	280	Suraguru, 'preceptor of gods', <i>s a</i> Brhas	218 253
		<i>pati</i> ,	

	PAGE
Surapura, <i>s a</i> Amarāvati,	251
Surāshtra, <i>co</i> ,	271
Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna,	12 <i>n</i>
Śūravira, <i>Paramāra ch</i> ,	133
Sūrpāraka, <i>l</i> ,	273, 274 & <i>n</i>
Sūrya, <i>god</i> ,	249, 283 <i>n</i>
Sūryadēva, <i>engr</i> ,	199, 202
Sūryavarman, <i>Maulkhari l</i> ,	116
<i>sūtra, s a sūta</i> ,	241
<i>sūtradhāra</i> , 'mason',	234, 238, 292
<i>sūta, s a sūtra</i> ,	241
<i>Suttanta bhāṣanīya</i> , Buddhist work,	241, 242
<i>Sūta pūṭaka</i> , Buddhist work,	241, 242
<i>Śvārna garuda dhvaja</i> , <i>ep of Gaṇḍarāditya</i> ,	31, 33 & <i>n</i>
Suvarnakara, <i>m</i> ,	2, 5, 7
<i>suvarnakara</i> , 'goldsmith',	87
Suvarnapurī, <i>ca</i> ,	249, 250 & <i>n</i> , 252, 255
Suvarnavarshadēva, <i>sur of Gōvinda IV</i> ,	104, 106, 107
Suvarna vīṭhī, <i>dī</i> ,	159
Suvarnayāsas, <i>m</i> ,	157, 159
<i>sia hasta</i> , 'sign manual',	111, 153
Svalpa dakṣhiṇa vīṭhī, <i>dī</i> ,	158
<i>sūmaṇṣṭika</i> , see <i>sāmavayika</i> ,	79
<i>svāmi</i> , 'member of a guild',	285
Śvāmi Mahāsēna,	167
<i>siarnakāra</i> , 'goldsmith',	143
<i>sia sīmā paryanta</i> ,	229, 272, 281, 282
<i>sia sīmā trīṇa gōchāra gōyūti paryanta</i> , <i>privi lege</i> ,	112
<i>sia sīmā trīṇa kashṭha yūti gōchāra paryanta</i> , <i>do</i> ,	109
<i>sia sīmā trīṇa yūti gōchāra paryanta</i> , <i>do</i> ,	136, 292
Svayambhu, <i>engr</i> ,	79, 80
Svayambhū, <i>s a god Brahman</i> ,	125, 128, 130
Svayamtapa, <i>donee</i> ,	106, 110
Śvēta, <i>s a ca Śvētaka</i> ,	264, 268 & <i>n</i>
Śvētaka, <i>ca</i> ,	78, 79, 261, 262, 264, 266
Śvētka, <i>s a ca Śvētaka</i> ,	268
sword, <i>emblem on coins</i> ,	3
sword, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	1

T

<i>t</i> ,	9, 74, 88
<i>t</i> , <i>final</i> ,	9, 53, 57, 81, 115, 156, 162, 213, 261, 263, 290
<i>t</i> , <i>used for th</i> ,	10
<i>Tabkāt i Akbarī</i> , <i>work</i> ,	233, 234
<i>Tabaqāt i Nāsiri</i> ,	226 & <i>n</i> , 227
<i>Tadanīyuktaka</i> , <i>off</i> ,	129, 131
<i>Tadayuktaka</i> , <i>off</i> ,	157, 159, 201, 202, 203, 291
Tādiparru, <i>vi</i> ,	97
Tagara or Tagarapura, <i>ca</i> ,	29, 30, 31, 33, 276

	PAGE
Tagarapura paramēsvara, <i>ep of Śilahāra l's</i> ,	275, 276
Tanjaprabhu, <i>minister</i> ,	278, 279
Taila, <i>l</i> ,	142 <i>n</i>
Tailapa, <i>l</i> ,	142 & <i>n</i> , 143
Tailapa II, <i>W Chālukya l</i> ,	142
<i>tailikarāja</i> , 'chief of guild of oilmen',	138, 140
<i>Taittirīya samhita</i> , <i>work</i> ,	46 & <i>n</i>
Tajjika, 'Arab',	151 & <i>n</i> , 154 <i>n</i>
Takārī, <i>vi</i> ,	250
Takkōlam Inscription of Parāntaka I,	25
Takshasilā, <i>ca</i> ,	37
Tāla or Tālapa, <i>E Chālukya l</i> ,	167
Talahāri <i>maṇḍala, dī</i> ,	120
<i>talala, t d</i> ,	108
Talakād, <i>vi</i> ,	11 <i>n</i>
Tālatthēre, <i>vi</i> ,	261
Talavanaganara, <i>s a vi Talakād</i> ,	11 <i>n</i>
Talegaon, <i>vi</i> ,	13
Talegaon Plates of Kṛishnarāja,	14 <i>n</i>
Talēvāṭaka, <i>vi</i> ,	10, 13, 16
Tallāru, <i>vi</i> ,	176, 177, 178, 180, 181
Tamil, <i>co</i> ,	178
Tamil literature,	175 & <i>n</i> , 176, 178, 180
Tamparavadama, <i>l</i> ,	199, 201
<i>tāmra, s a tāmrasāsana</i> ,	229
<i>tamrapatra</i> , 'copper plate',	104
<i>tāmrapaṭṭa</i> , 'copper plate',	54, 55, 160, 198, 202, 203
<i>tāmrapaṭṭala</i> , 'copper plate',	129
<i>tamrasāsana</i> ,	21, 121, 143, 248, 251, 254, 255
Tanardā, <i>vi</i> ,	78, 79, 80
Tāndikoṇḍa, <i>vi</i> ,	163, 166, 169
Tāpdrivāda, <i>vi</i> ,	89, 97 <i>n</i>
Taṇjai, <i>s a Tanjore</i> ,	144 <i>n</i>
<i>tapita</i> , 'heated' or 'engraved',	158, 161, 202, 203
Tapōrāṣi, <i>Saiva ascetic</i> ,	165
Tārā Bhāṭṭarīṭā, <i>s a Ārya-Tārā</i> ,	292
Tārāchandi Rock Inscription,	224
Taradamsāka, <i>dī</i> ,	115, 120 & <i>n</i> , 122
<i>Tarīl h i Ālfī</i> , <i>work</i> ,	234
Tārakshyapura, <i>cf Törke</i> ,	30
Tarōd, <i>vi</i> ,	120 <i>n</i>
Tātār Khān, <i>governor of Gujarāt</i> ,	233
Tattāñ Sendil,	287, 288
Taula, <i>engr</i> ,	141, 143
Taxila Copper plate,	37, 38
Taxila Lamp Inscription,	289
Taxila Silver Scroll,	37, 41
Tējakantha, <i>m</i> ,	271
Tel kāl Plates,	58 <i>n</i>
Tekkāl Plates of Dēvēndravarmaṇ,	75, 76, 77 <i>n</i> , 78 <i>n</i>
Tekkāl Plates of Indravarmaṇ,	264

	PAGE		PAGE
Tel r ,	59	Tivarkhūd Plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja,	13 n
Tel, s a r Tel,	250	tm,	176
Tell, r ,	250 n	Tollāppiyam, Tamil work,	175 n
Tellavali, s a r Tel,	59	Tōmara, clan,	135
Tella gramud, r ,	59	Tondai, co ,	176, 180, 181
Tellīru, see Tallāru		Tondaimān,	179
Tellavalli, dī ,	57, 59, 60, 61	Tondaimandalam, co ,	146, 147, 179
Tellavalli, cf Tellavalli,	59	Tondai nādu,	181 n
Telung, 183, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195		Tondaivar,	178
Telungar,	176	Tondamannan,	181 n
Tēmtura, r ,	269	Toragaleya Dīvarasa, s a minister Dōva	
Tēnnavan Pallavadiarayan, m ,	283, 285, 286, 287, 288	rāja (?)	193 n
Tēr, s a Tagarapura (?),	275 n	Tor Dhora Inscription,	37
Tēr, r ,	30	Törke, v ,	30
Tewar, r ,	90 n	Tōsadda, v ,	20
th,	189, 204, 213, 256, 257 n, 259 n	Tōsali, co ,	200
th,	9, 256, 259 n	Tōsarā, v ,	20
Thāyākā, m ,	137, 138, 139	Trakūtaka, dy ,	48, 172, 173
Thallura, tū ,	138, 140, 141, 223, 224, 230	Travidya sāmānya,	151, 155, 213, 214 n, 221
Thalur, tū ,	139	Tribhuvanachakravartin, tū of Chōla k Kulōt	
Thākurdyā Plates of Mahā Pravaraṛāja,		tunga Chōla III,	179
114 n, 115 n, 118		Tribhuvanamlududaiyār,	175
Thamb Tōran, l ,	42	Tribhuvanavirādēva, sur of Chōla k Kulōt	
Thān, s a Sthāna,	277	tunga Chōla III,	176
Thānī, r ,	282	Tridaśapāti, s a god Indra,	20
Thān Plates of Yādava Rāmachandra's Time,	282 & n	Trī Kaluga, co ,	69 & n, 70, 71, 254, 255
Thirūditā, m ,	137, 140	Trīkalīngādhipati, Ganga tū ,	69, 70, 72
Thōran, dī ,	124, 129, 131 & n	Trīkalīngādhipati, sur of Mahā Bhavagupta	
Thāl wādā Plates of Bhōja,	103	II,	251, 253
Thā, s a Delhi,	235	Trīkalīngādhipati, tū of Sōmarasī rulers,	119
Thāsa, mo ,	11, 13, 16	Trīkalīnga Mahādēvi,	268, 269
Thūmipuram Plates,	89, 95 n, 96	Trīkūṭa, mo or co ,	91, 92, 172 & n
Thūpā, l m ,	199 & n, 201	Trīkūṭaprasāda, tē ,	31, 32, 34
Thūr,	233	Trīlōchana, preceptor,	231, 238, 241
Thūram, s a drama,	26, 27	Trīna kashth ōdal ōpēla, privilege,	282
Thūyā, r in Ceylon,	196	Trīnētra, s a god Śiva,	194
Thūngi Grant,	63 n	Triphcine Grant of Vajrabasta, Śaka 982,	68, 70 n
Thūdī Plates of Pravaraṛāja II,	81, 83	Tripura, demon destroyed by Śiva,	226
Thūmadu, q of Pallava ch Kōpperuṅṅadēva,		Tripura or Tripuri, ca ,	90n
181, 182 n		Tripurahara, s a god Śiva,	227
Thūmunaippīdi, dī ,	179	Tripurāntakam Inscription,	177
Thūpātī Inscription,	175 n	Tripurī, ca ,	2, 4, 7, 257, 258 & n
Thūttindīramudaiya Mahādēva, tē ,	24, 25	trī sahasra vidya,	89, 98
Thūvadi, r ,	178	Trīsthal, ' Kāsi, Prayāga and Gayā ',	233
Thūvālūṅṅadu Plates,	97 n	trīśūla, emblem on seal,	114
Thūvālīsvaram, r ,	285	Trīvara, s a Tivaradēva,	90, 91
Thūvālīsvaram udaiyār, tē ,	285	Trīvaranagara, ca ,	90, 91, 92 n
Thūvannūmalai, ca ,	178	Tryambaka kshētra, s a Nāsik,	193
Thūvannūmalai Inscription,	176, 177	Trāndai ōlu Inscription of Buddharāja,	96, 97
Thūvāṇṇipuram Inscription,	175, 177	Tudarūn, f ,	283, 285, 286, 288
Thūvōrūvur, r ,	145	Tulā, ' second harvesting season ', cf Kar,	26, 27
Thūvera or Tivaradēva, Sōmarasī l of Maha		Tula purusha prūduna,	17
Kocala, 90, 91, 92 & n, 94 & n, 95 n, 114,		tula purusha sthita,	10 n.
115, 116, 118 & n, 119 & n		Tūndāru, r ,	163, 169
		Tungabhadra, r ,	206 n, 209, 215, 216, 220

	PAGE
Turushka, 'Mohammadan',	183, 185
Turvulā, <i>s a v</i> Turvunā,	250 <i>n</i>
Turvunā, <i>vi</i> ,	250 & <i>n</i>
Tusdā, <i>vi</i> ,	20
Tutrah Falls,	224
Tyāgadhēnu, <i>sur of E Chālukya k</i> Indravār-	
man,	95 <i>n</i>

U

<i>u</i> , initial,	123
<i>u</i> , medial,	9, 74, 81, 213, 254 <i>n</i> , 256, 259 <i>n</i>
<i>u</i> , medial, used for <i>ū</i> ,	115
<i>ū</i> , medial,	9, 74, 137
<i>ubhayatōmul hī</i> , 'parturient cow',	33 <i>n</i>
Uchchada, <i>donce</i> ,	148, 152, 155
Uchchakalpa, <i>dy</i> ,	59, 171, 172, 173 <i>n</i> , 174 & <i>n</i>
Udayayana, 'winter solstice',	104
Udayār Rājādhirājādēva, <i>s a Chōla k</i> Rājā	
dhirīya I,	24
Udayāditya, <i>Paramāra ch</i> ,	133
Udayāditya, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	117, <i>n</i> , 132, 133 & <i>n</i> ,
	134 & <i>n</i> , 135 & <i>n</i> , 138
Udayana Sōmaśāhī I,	116
Udayapur Inscription,	133
Udayapur Prasasti,	133 <i>n</i>
Udayarīya, <i>Kādamba ch</i> ,	223, 224, 225, 226, 229
Uddallādēva, <i>g</i> ,	186, 188, 189
Uddandapura, <i>ci</i> ,	223 <i>n</i>
uddēsa, Buddhist term,	242
Uddi Basavanna, <i>te</i> ,	165
Uddīna, <i>cf</i> Udyanna,	225
Uddiyana, <i>cf</i> Udyanna,	225
udranga,	154
Udunpur, <i>cf</i> Udyanna,	225
Udyanni, <i>s a</i> Udyanna,	225
Udyanna, <i>ci</i> (?),	223, 225, 226, 228
Ugra, <i>Pandya ch</i> ,	284
Ugrapperuvuludi, <i>Pandya l</i> ,	284
Ujjain Plates of V S 1036,	102, 104
Ujjayini, <i>ca</i> ,	50, 51, 259
Ujjayini <i>ishaya</i> , <i>di</i> ,	102, 112
Ukkiran, <i>s a</i> Ugra,	284
Ukkirankōṭṭai, <i>ti</i> ,	283, 284
ulālīu, measure of capacity,	286, 288
Umā, <i>s a</i> goddess Pārvatī,	168
Umā Mahēśvara, <i>deity</i> ,	163, 169
Umāpati, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	278
Umavarman, <i>Ganga k</i> ,	58 & <i>n</i> , 89 <i>n</i>
umbrella, emblem on seal,	67
Univarāchara, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 109
Una Inscription,	50 <i>n</i>
Unchahra, <i>vi</i> ,	186 <i>n</i>
upadhmānīya,	19, 57, 77 <i>n</i> , 81, 162

	PAGE
<i>upādhyāya</i> ,	38, 223, 229, 230, 273 & <i>n</i> ,
	274 & <i>n</i> , 275
Upalabadā, <i>vi</i> ,	142, 143
Upalada, <i>vi</i> ,	141, 142
Upamshad,	89, 98, 99
vpapatala,	17, 152, 160, 211
Uparichara, <i>Kṛita's son</i> ,	50
Uparika, <i>off</i> ,	79 & <i>n</i> , 129 & <i>n</i> , 131,
	157, 159, 201, 202, 203, 264, 268, 291
uparīkara,	154
upavīta,	44, 45 & <i>n</i>
Upayuktika, <i>off</i> ,	106
Upēndri, <i>s a</i> god Viṣṇu,	256, 260
Upēndrasimha, <i>com</i> ,	124, 129, 131
uposathagāra 'Uposatha hall',	39
Uran, <i>mo</i> ,	227
Uran, <i>vi</i> ,	192, 279, 280
Urana, <i>s a</i> Urana,	280 <i>n</i> ,
Urana, <i>vi</i> ,	278, 279, 280 & <i>n</i>
Uratti, <i>vi</i> ,	178
uri, measure of capacity,	25, 286, 288
Uṛlām Plates of Hastivarman,	67, 68
Utkala, <i>co</i> ,	69 <i>n</i>
Utmānza, <i>vi</i> ,	289
utpratīkara, <i>s a</i> <i>akūṭchit pratīkara</i> ,	54
Utsahakāṭi,	61 <i>n</i>
Uttama Chōla, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	25
Uttara Kandēruvātī, <i>di</i> ,	166
Uttarakuladēśa, <i>di</i> ,	103, 105, 109
Uttarāma, <i>vi</i> ,	290, 291, 292
Uttaramallūr, <i>vi</i> ,	145
Uttaramallūr Inscription I,	23 <i>n</i> , 28
Uttaramallūr Inscription II,	23 <i>n</i> , 28
Uttaramantri, <i>off</i> ,	283
Uttara Rādhā, <i>co</i> ,	74, 76, 77
Uttara Tōsali, <i>co</i> ,	199, 201, 202
Uttarāyana,	278
Uttarāśvara, <i>deity</i> ,	280, 281
utājha, <i>s a</i> <i>upādhyāya</i> ,	276

V

<i>v</i> ,	9, 53, 57, 62, 189, 213, 254 <i>n</i> ,
<i>v</i> , used for <i>b</i>	2, 10, 28, 53 & <i>n</i> , 68, 74,
	102, 124, 141, 156, 198, 205, 231, 249, 256,
	261, 263, 265, 267, 290
vachana, 'saying',	189, 190 & <i>n</i> , 191,
	194, 195, 196
vachanakāra,	190
Vāchaspati,	225
Vadavali Plates of Aparāditya,	271 & <i>n</i>
Vadavāyil amandāl, <i>deity</i> ,	287, 288
Vadavāyil naṅgai, <i>deity</i> ,	284 & <i>n</i> , 285
Vādī, <i>donee</i> ,	11, 16
Vādōdē, <i>vi</i> ,	266

	PAGE
Vāsishthiputra, metronymic of Ganga & Śakti varman,	58 & n
Vāsishthiputra, metronymic of Śaktivarman,	89
Vastupāla, minister,	191
Vasubandhu, author,	241
Vāsudēva, m,	105, 109
Vāsudēva, m,	223, 229
Vasudēva, Rōhini's husband,	50
Vāsudēvabhata, donee,	279
Vāsugi Nāyaka, m,	273, 274
Vasus, gods,	46
Vāṭamutravāmin, donee,	199, 203
Vaṭapadraka, s a Vāgada,	232
Vatapura, vi,	11, 13, 16
Vatar, vi,	273
Vatavallaka, vi,	157, 159, 160
vaṭṭa,	277, 278
Vatsarāja, l,	207, 219, 294
Vatsarāja, m,	205, 212, 213, 214, 222
Vatsasvāmin, donee,	157, 158, 160
Vattāra, vi,	273, 274
vāṭilā, s a vāṭilā (?),	276 n
Vāyalūr, s a vi Vailūr,	174 n
Vāyalūr, vi,	174 n
Vāyalūr Inscription of Rājasimha,	174 n
Vayama, m,	214, 222
Vāyagrāma, s a vi Vagrāma,	103
Vāyu Purāna, work,	164
Vēda,	5, 7, 89, 98, 99, 103, 163, 164, 205, 210, 214 n, 237, 240, 253, 255
Vēdāṅga,	89, 98, 99, 253, 255
Vēdāṅgayōtisha, work,	91
Vēdas —	
Rigvēda,	10, 36, 44 n, 102, 105, 106, 157, 205, 213
Sāmavēda,	53, 55, 94 n, 103, 105, 106
Yajurveda,	74, 77, 94 n, 105, 106, 199
Yajurveda (white),	20, 148
Vēdasīva, Rājaguru,	275 n, 276
Vēdavanam Udayān Ammayappan Annan Pallavarājan, general,	179
Vēdavyāsa, s a sage Vyāsa,	17, 152, 211, 222
Vēdhas, s a god Brahman,	13, 206, 218
Vedic revival,	43, 44, 51
Vedic sacrifices,	47
vedīna, tax,	23
Velanāndu, family,	96
Volāpur Inscription of Śaka 1227	282 n
vēṭ, l m,	26, 27
vēṭṭāsu, tax,	24
Vēllavaśa, vi,	105, 107
Vēlpūru Inscription of Mādhavarman,	96
Vēlūrpālayam Plates,	144
Vēlvikudī Copper Plates	284

	PAGE
Vēlvikudī Grant of Jaṭila Parāntaka Neduñja dāryan,	178
Vēngī, ca,	119 & n, 258
Vēngī or Vēngīmandala, co,	57, 69, 89 n, 92 & n, 96, 163, 167, 206, 209, 215, 216, 217 n, 218, 220, 297
Venravāypēsi, m,	236, 288
Vēsupadavala, m,	273, 274
vēsyā, error for vēśyā or Vaisya,	69 & n, 73
vēśyā, 'courtesan',	69, 73 n
Vēṭṭōvar Vira nāyan,	237, 288
Vētragartā, vi,	157, 158, 160
vetti, tax,	23, 24
vettikkudi,	286, 288
vettipittam, tax,	26, 27
Vēyaghana, vi,	10, 13, 16
Vibhānda or Vibhāndaka, father of sage Rishyasringa,	237, 240, 241
vibhanga, 'exegesis',	241, 242 & n
Vibhanga sūtra, Buddhist work,	241, 242
Vibhanga vagga, Buddhist work,	241
Vichitrahasta, engr,	261, 263
Vidarbha, co,	84, 117 & n, 118
Vidēśasvāmin, engr,	199, 201
Vidyādhara, dy,	30, 32, 33 n
Vidyārāsi, Śaiva ascetic,	165
Vidyāsamudra, tit of Karpura,	190
Vidyēśvara I, Śaiva ascetic,	163, 164, 169
Vidyēśvara Pandita II, Śaiva ascetic, also com,	162, 164 & n, 165, 170
viṭhara,	38, 39, 41
viṭhārikā, 'small monastery',	121
Vijayachandra, Gāhadavāla l,	225
Vijayadāman, Kshatrapa,	48
Vijayāditya I (Bhāṭṭarala), E Chālukya l,	167
Vijayāditya II, do,	163, 167, 169
Vijayāditya III, do,	69, 167
Vijayāditya IV, do,	69, 167
Vijayāditya, sur of E Chālukya l Ammarāja II,	169
Vijaya Kampavikramavarman, s a Pallava l Kampavarman,	144, 147
Vijayanagara, ca,	180 n, 182, 183 & n, 184 n, 185 n, 194
Vijayanagara Inscriptions,	149 n
Vijayanandivarman, Śalanākāyana l,	56, 57
Vijaya sādharma, m,	8 n
Vijayasēna, l,	155, 157, 158, 160
Vijayavāti, ca, s a Bezvāda,	163, 169
viṇṇapti,	86 n
viṇṇāpya, used for viṇṇapti,	82, 86
Vikartana, s a god Sūrya,	283, 288
Vikharani, vi,	230
Vikrama, l	223, 224, 225 & n, 228
Vikrama or Vikramāditya, Mālava l,	50, 51

	PAGE
Vikramāditya, <i>s a Chālukya k</i> Vikramā ditya	227
Vikramāditya <i>Clōla I</i>	96
Vikramāditya I, <i>Bana ch</i> ,	146
Vikramāditya II, <i>do</i> ,	147
Vikramāditya, <i>E Chālukya prince</i> ,	167
Vikramāditya II <i>E Chālukya k</i> ,	69, 227
Vikramāditya, <i>sur of Chandragupta II</i> ,	83, 84
Vikramāditya VI, <i>Chālukya I</i> ,	100
Vikramakṣara	165 & n
Vikrama[mā]hēndravarma, <i>s a Vishnu</i> <i>kundin I</i> Vikramēndravarma II,	91 & n
Vikramanāḍacharita, <i>work</i> ,	134
Vikramarka, <i>s a I</i> Vikrama,	227, 228
Vikramaśōlan ula, <i>Tamil work</i> ,	178
Vikramīśvara, <i>sur of Vishnukundin I</i> Gōvin davarman,	93, 95
Vikramēndra, <i>Chōla I</i> ,	89, 95, 97, 99
Vikramēndravarma I, <i>Vishnukundin I</i> ,	91, 95
Vikramēndravarma II, <i>do</i> ,	88, 91 & n, 92, 93, 95 & n
Vilachū, <i>m</i> ,	75 n
Vilāpdratā, <i>ti</i> ,	135
Vilhiyanūr, <i>ti</i> ,	176
Vilhiyanūr Inscription,	170, 177
Vilāgavāra, <i>ti</i> ,	103, 105, 109
Vimalachandra <i>engr</i> ,	266, 267, 268, 269
Vimalāditya, <i>ch</i> ,	11
vimāna, ' shrine ',	165
Vimayachandra, <i>com</i> ,	62, 63 n, 64, 66, 67
Vimayāditya, <i>Ganga I</i> ,	71
Vimīyaka, <i>s a god</i> Gāṇḍya,	280
Vimayamahādēvi <i>Ganga q</i> ,	68, 72
Vinaya <i>Pāṭala</i> , <i>work</i> ,	38, 39
Vindhyā, <i>mo</i> ,	94 n, 187, 188, 209, 211, 214 n, 222, 243, 297
Vindhyapurī, <i>ti</i> ,	157, 159
Vindhyāśvara, <i>te</i> ,	186, 187, 188, 189
Vinayōga <i>tax</i> ,	26, 27
Vinayūtaka, <i>off</i> ,	291
Virabhadra	228
Virabhadra, <i>te</i> ,	189
Vira Chivundarasa, <i>s a Chivundarasa</i> ,	184
Viradhavala, <i>Chālukya I</i>	191, 192
Vira Kampilādēva, <i>s a Kampilādēva</i> ,	183, 184
Viraśa, sign indicating consonant being mute,	67, 68, 162
Vira Narasimha II, <i>Hoysala k</i> ,	177, 178 & n, 181 n
Vira Narasimhādēva, <i>Yadava ch</i> ,	178 n
Virañjā <i>I</i> ,	199, 203
Vira Pundya, <i>Papūya k</i> ,	165
Vira Papūyan <i>kal</i> measure of capacity,	26, 27
Virapratīpti <i>tit of Vijayanagara I</i> ,	185
Viraśana <i>k</i> ,	138 n
Viraśana, <i>sect</i>	190

	PAGE
Viraśanēda, <i>work</i> ,	233
Virūka, <i>ti</i> ,	75 n
Virūṭika, <i>ti</i> ,	75
Viśākhasvāmī, <i>donec</i> ,	20, 21
Viśākharvarman, <i>Gāṅga k</i> ,	58
Viśāḍēva, <i>Chālukya k</i> ,	192
visarga,	124
visarga, changed to <i>s</i> ,	124
visarga, mark of punctuation resembling —,	204
visarga, omitted,	10, 115, 205, 261, 265, 268
visarga, superfluous,	21 n, 261, 268
visarga, used for punctuation mark,	270
visaya, <i>i d</i> ,	54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 66, 75, 78, 79, 89 & n, 93, 94, 97, 99, 102, 124, 129, 131 & n, 148, 152, 159, 163, 166, 169, 190, 194, 195, 199, 201, 202, 203, 205, 221, 261, 262 & n, 264, 266, 268, 275, 276, 290 & n, 291
Vishayādhikarana,	156 n
visaya māna, ' local measure ', cf <i>raja māna</i> ,	82 n
Vishayapati, <i>off</i> ,	15, 53, 54, 55 & n, 64 n, 79, 106, 129, 131, 151, 157, 159, 201, 202, 203, 210, 220, 264, 268, 291
Vishnu, <i>author</i> ,	43
Vishnu, <i>donec</i> ,	32, 34
Vishnu, <i>god</i> ,	13, 30, 31, 34, 71, 82 n, 102, 119, 130 n, 134, 178 n, 182 n, 249, 253, 255, 256
Vishnu, <i>m</i> ,	100, 110
Vishnu, <i>m</i> ,	205, 210, 214 n
Vishnu, <i>te</i> ,	116
Vishnugōpa, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	89 n
Vishnukundin, <i>dy</i> ,	89, 90, 91, 92, & n, 93 & n, 94 n, 95 & n, 96, 116
Vishnunha, <i>m</i> ,	281
Vishnusarman, <i>m</i> ,	89, 98, 99
Vishnusarman, <i>donec</i> ,	94
Vishnusōmāchīrya, <i>donec</i> ,	261
Vishnuvardhana, <i>s a</i> Kubja Vishnuvardhana,	93 & n
Vishnuvardhana II, <i>E Chālukya k</i> ,	167
Vishnuvardhana III, <i>do</i> ,	167
Vishnuvardhana IV, <i>do</i> ,	167
Vishnuvardhana V, <i>do</i> ,	97, 167
viskula, ' equinox ',	269
Viśvakarman, <i>caste</i> ,	139
Viśvamātṛī, <i>s a goddess</i> Pārvatī,	230, 231, 234
Vistarūpa, <i>work</i> ,	50
Viśvarūpasēna's Copper plate Grant,	188 n
visvusa,	54, 55 n
Viśvāśvas, <i>gods</i> ,	50
Vitarūga, <i>sur of Gurjara k</i> Jayabhaṭa I,	148
vīthī, <i>i d</i> ,	53, 54, 55 & n, 176 n, 177, 158, 159, 160, 290 & n, 291
Vīthy adhikarana, ' Vīthi court ',	157, 159, 160
Vīthy adhikṛta, <i>off</i> ,	159

	PAGE
Vittadēva, <i>donee</i> ,	124, 129, 131
Vitthala, <i>deity</i> ,	193
Vizagapatam Grant, Śaka 1003,	70 n
Vizagapatam Grant, Śaka 1057,	70 n
Vizagapatam Plates of Anantavarman Chōḍa	
ganga,	70
Vōdhūna, <i>s a</i> Bōdhana,	265
īōḍī, <i>com</i> ,	138
īōḍī, <i>s a</i> īōḍī,	138
Vōṅkhīrabhōga, <i>dī</i> ,	64 n
Vōppina, <i>donee</i> ,	11, 16, 18
Vratākhaṇḍa, <i>work</i> ,	192
Vṛiddhīchalam Inscription,	177 n
īrīshabha, <i>com</i> ,	138, 140 & n
īrīshabha, <i>raśi</i> ,	72
Vyāghradēva, <i>Uchchakalpa l</i> ,	171, 172, 173
Vyāghrarāja, <i>l</i> ,	173
vyāghyāna, 'commentary',	89, 98
Vyomasiva, <i>s a</i> Vyōmasiva,	276 & n
Vyapura, <i>vi</i> ,	117 n
Vyāsa, <i>sage</i> ,	17, 21, 55, 56, 66, 67, 87, 98, 99, 121, 211, 222
vyatahārīn,	129, 131, 262, 263
Vyōmakēsa, <i>s a</i> god Śiva,	135 & n
Vyōmaśiva, <i>priest</i> ,	275 n, 276 n

W

Wairion, <i>vi</i> ,	13, 16 n <i>add</i>
Wamgangā, <i>vi</i> ,	13
Wairgarh, <i>vi</i> ,	118
Wani Dindōri Plates,	205 n, 214, 215 & n, 216
Warid, <i>s a</i> <i>vi</i> Varadīkṣita,	84, 85
Wardak Vase Inscription,	37, 41
Wheel of Law, <i>emblem on seal</i> ,	153
Wurgion, <i>vi</i> ,	117 n

Y

y,	9, 45, 156, 189, 198
y, confused with p,	1
y, doubling of consonant before, —,	9, 57, 62, 82
y, used for j,	2, 141, 205
Yādava, <i>dy</i> ,	178 n, 184 & n, 190, 191, 192, 193 & n, 194, 208, 219, 270, 279, 281, 282
Yajñasvāmin Ātrīya, <i>donee</i> ,	20, 21
Yajñasvāmin Kītyāyana, <i>donee</i> ,	20, 21
Yajñavarman, <i>Maukhari ch</i> ,	46
Yaka, <i>vi</i> , <i>cf</i> Ayaka,	103
Yaksha,	37, 41
Yākubi Image Inscription,	289
Yamalagrīma, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107
Yakṣbhita, <i>Sailōdbhita l</i> , <i>see</i> Ayaśōbhita,	64
Yakṣōdharman, <i>l</i> ,	49
yathā kal adhyasin,	251, 262, 264, 266

	PAGE
yathā prādīyamāna bhāga bhōga hrany ādika,	136
privilege,	113
yathā śīpadīyamāna bhāga bhōg ādika,	47 n
Yaudhēya, <i>tribe</i> ,	235, 239
Yavana, 'Mohammadan',	90 n
Yayāti, <i>s a</i> Mahā Śivagupta I	90 n
Yayāti, <i>s a</i> Sōmavamsī k Mahā Śivagupta,	90 n
Yayātinagara, <i>ca</i> ,	90 n
years of the cycle —	
Dhātī,	274 n
Mahāmāgha,	172
Mahāśvayuja,	58
Parābhava,	31, 34, 277 n
Pingala,	271 & n
Plavanga,	277 n
Pramōda,	273
Raktākshin,	190, 195, 196
Raudra,	280
Sarvadhārīn,	216 n
Sarvajit,	183, 185, 205
Śārvara,	281, 232
Saumya,	183 n
Siddhārtha,	278, 279
Subhakt,	277 n
Tārana,	216 n
Vikārīn,	277 n
Vikṛita,	104, 107
Vishva, <i>s a</i> Vrisha,	275 n, 276 n
Viśvāvasu,	271 & n, 277 & n, 278
Vṛisha,	275 & n, 276 & n
Vyaya,	205 & n, 211
years, regnal —	
2+9,	283, 286, 288
2+13,	283, 285, 288
2+14,	283
3rd,	158, 161, 249
5th,	199, 203
6th,	26, 176, 249
7th,	26
8th,	19, 22, 27, 249
10th,	144, 147
11th,	176
13th,	124, 249
14th,	25
15th,	199, 202, 203
17th,	249, 253, 255
18th,	94
23rd,	124, 129, 131
27th,	82, 87
28th,	24, 25
31st,	249
46th,	89, 98, 99
48th,	90
Yellamanchili, <i>vi</i> ,	57
Yī tsing, <i>Chinese pilgrim</i> ,	37, 38

	PAGE		PAGE
Yadīhalli Inscription,	190 n	Yūpa, . . . 43 & n, 44 & n, 45 & n, 46, 51, 52	
Yōga, <i>śāstra</i> ,	89, 98, 99	Yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, . . .	44 n
Yōgisvara, <i>com</i> ,	234, 237, 240	Yutarāja,	167, 193, 223, 229, 265
yōnīpatta,	275	Yuvarāja I—Kēyūravarsha, <i>Kalachuri</i> I, . . .	255, 257
Yuan Chwang, <i>Chinese pilgrim</i> , . . .	118, 119 & n, 241		
Yuddhamalla I, <i>L Chālukya prince</i> , . . .	167		
Yuddhamalla II, <i>do</i> ,	167		
Yudhishthira, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . 22, 60, 66, 85, 98, 121, 152, 161			

Z

Zafar Khān, <i>s a</i> Muzaffar Shāh I,	233
---	-----

